FROM PARIAH TO PHOENIX:

IMPROVING A NATIONAL REPUTATION FROM THE ASHES OF THE PAST

By

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(Under the Direction of Brock Tessman)

ABSTRACT

Since the end of the Cold War, one of the most commonly cited threats to international stability and security has been the existence of pariah or rogue states who actively defy many of the rules and standards of behavior of international politics in an attempt to challenge the legitimacy and general functioning of the international system. Such states pose a significant challenge to the foreign policy of many nations as well as to international law and the organizations that are tasked with enforcing it, most notably the United Nations. While it is well known how such states become designated as pariahs, primarily due to their deviant behavior relative to global norms on things such as nuclear proliferation, human rights, or non-intervention into the internal affairs of other states, it is much less clear how they might be re-socialized into the international community short of a forced military intervention and regime change. What role might these states as well as those that interact with them on a regular basis play in reducing their deviant behavior and helping to improve their national reputations and the stigma and punishment

associated with their pariah status? How are members of the international community to know when such nations enact meaningful attempts at removing their pariah designation? To answer these questions, this project proposes a theory of reputational improvement that combines elements of existing theories on reputation with aspects of a growing literature on nation branding and public diplomacy that will show how pariah states might go about improving their reputations and more importantly, convincing others that they are no longer deserving of the designation of being a deviant state. Through careful tracing of the reputational improvement process across three classic examples of pariah states, including South Africa under the Apartheid, Libya under the rule of Muammar Gaddafi, and North Korea under the rule of the Kim regime, this dissertation will show how some attempts at rebranding of a state from pariah to non-pariah are effective at inducing an improvement in national reputation, while others are unsuccessful at eliminating the pariah designation. In addressing this issue, this project adds value to the theoretical understanding of reputation as a public good and tool of public diplomacy as well as provides several policy prescriptions for how the international community might approach existing pariahs to promote their eventual re-socialization into global society.

INDEX WORDS: national reputation, public diplomacy, nation branding, state behavior and rhetoric, credible signaling, global norms, pariah states, human rights, weapons of mass destruction, state-sponsored terrorism, Myanmar, South Africa, Libya, North Korea, Iran, process tracing

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Reputation is a jewel which nothing can replace; it is ten thousand times more valuable capital than your diamonds. –Edouard Rene Lefebure Laboulaye

One of the most basic concepts of public diplomacy in international politics is that of a nation's reputation. For most states, a national reputation is something to be prized. The maintenance of a positive reputation often results in favorable treatment by most members of the international community, and more importantly, in the accumulation of what Joseph Nye (2005) referred to as 'soft power,' or the ability to influence other nation's interests and actions without any form of inducement. For others, however, a national reputation is something that can prevent them from pursuing a wide range of national interests. For these states, being labeled as a pariah or rogue garners them scorn and punishment in the form of economic and political sanctions, reductions in foreign direct investment and trade, and/or the revocation or suspension of membership in key regional or international organizations and agreements (Herrmann and Shannon 2001; Nincic 2005). If such a state were to desire to improve their reputation, then what changes could it pursue to remove the stigma attached to its reputation as a pariah? At the same time, how might members of the international community determine when to alter their perceptions of that state? What rhetorical and behavioral changes should the international community expect to observe to indicate that a change in national reputation is in order? The answers to such questions are of particular relevant due to historic changes that have taken place in Myanmar (formerly Burma) since 2010 and more recently, in Iran since late 2013.

In the later part of 2010, the nation of Myanmar began a momentous and unexpected journey. The nation, for the better part of the last half century, had been under the control of a

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military junta that ruled the country with an iron fist, imprisoning those who opposed it (most notably Aung San Suu Kyi, who had been elected overwhelmingly in free and fair elections held in 1990 following major protests across the country), cracking down violently on domestic protests, and controlling nearly every aspect of society through Soviet-style nationalization and central-planning (Fink 2001). The regime's horrible human rights record in conjunction with the military-style dictatorship resulted in the nation being labeled as a "virtual pariah state" and officially labeled by former U.S. President George W. Bush as an "outpost of tyranny" (Head 2012). This reputational blacklisting by the United States and most other members of the international community (excluding Myanmar's close ally, China) resulted in near total isolation as well as a fairly rigorous sanctions regime placed on the nation after the massive crackdown following attempted democratic elections in 1990. In addition, the nation found itself in 2012 as the second poorest (per capita) on the Asian continent, behind only Afghanistan (Lowrey 2012).

In an apparent effort to improve their position and reputation in the international system and to encourage Western nations to abandon economic sanctions levied against the nation, the government of Myanmar embarked on what U Kyaw Hsan, the Information and Culture Minister of Myanmar at the time, referred to as an "irreversible" reform process in an effort to boost Myanmar's international reputation (Barta 2011). In the same interview, he "blamed U.S. sanctions for delaying the country's development and said they made Myanmar more reliant on Chinese companies" that took advantage of and treated Myanmar like a client state (Barta 2011). As part of these seemingly sweeping reforms, Myanmar's military leaders stepped down in August 2010 prior to the first general election held since 1990, which were designed to help transition from military to civilian leadership. While the pro-military party won the highly contested election, the post-election environment saw other major changes that signaled to the

international community that the reforms may be credible attempts to change Myanmar's perceived reputation as a pariah state. A week after the election, Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest. She was allowed to run for a seat in Myanmar's Parliament about a year later. In addition, the ruling party granted amnesty to thousands of political prisoners, passed new labor laws allowing unions to form, signed laws allowing for peaceful demonstrations, signed a ceasefire with the rebels of the Karen ethnic group (which has since become a major problem for the new government), and held another set of elections in January 2012. These elections were generally perceived as being free and fair, and resulted in the National League for Democracy (NLD) party, the party of Aung San Suu Kyi, winning 43 out of 45 seats in Parliament. These credible and more importantly, costly actions taken by the military junta resulted in an official visit by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in December of 2011, who noted that the United States was "prepared to walk the path of reform with you [the Burmese] if you keep moving in the right direction," and later the easing of U.S. and E.U. sanctions on Myanmar in April 2012 and finally, an official visit by Barack Obama in November 2012. Since 2012, ethnic tensions and concerns about human rights conditions in the country have continued, prompting many Western states to demand the release of more political prisoners, improvement of the treatment of the nation's ethnic minorities and human rights more generally, and several constitutional reforms leading up to the next presidential election in 2015 before further normalization can occur (Solomon 2014).

Another relevant and current example of the importance of reputation involves the negotiations over Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program during the end of 2013 and the first part of 2014. While it is far too early to levy a final judgment as to the success or effectiveness of the new wave of diplomacy that broke out following the election of Hassan Rouhani as the

President of Iran, the types of ideas, statements, and offers being produced by the negotiations appear to indicate a possible shift in some of Iran's preferences. In addition, they might signal a desire to find a course of action that would result in the cessation of international sanctions that have been levied against the nation for its deviant behavior regarding the development of an illicit nuclear weapons program and military threats made against nations in the Middle East, most notably directed towards Israel. This fairly dramatic change in tone and approach to the nuclear question by Iran is fairly surprising considering the aggressiveness of the nation's rhetoric and actions in the many years prior. What factors have encouraged these developments? If negotiations were to continue and produce a breakthrough that led to the verifiable dismantling of Iran's suspected illicit nuclear weapons program, then at what point would outside observers know that they could confidently reassess their impressions of Iran as a declared pariah state and begin the process of re-socializing the nation into the global economy and political system? More generally, how do reputations evolve and devolve in international politics? What changes, if any, can or should a state designated as a pariah make to improve its reputation? These are questions that are difficult to answer provided existing theories on reputation and public diplomacy. This project will address these important theoretical and policy-oriented questions and provide a better framework by which the reputational improvement process can be observed and assessed in a multitude of cases.

The current-day cases of Myanmar and Iran provide a clear example of the important role that a state's reputation plays, whether for good or bad. For nations designated as pariahs like Myanmar and Iran, the reputational costs associated with being blacklisted and punished by most members of the international community have produced severe political and economic costs. In Iran's case, it is too soon to determine whether their attempts at improvement are meaningful and

reflective of a new found desire to reenter global society, however it is quite clear that the high costs associated with the extensive political and economic sanctions that have been levied against the nation since the 1979 have produced some economic hardships at the domestic level that, in addition to the global recession that occurred between 2008 and 2010, may be influencing the regime's rhetoric and behavior today. In the case of Myanmar, the costs of such sanctions and political isolation were ultimately too great to bear and were the primary explanation provided by the ruling party for the sweeping reforms and changes we have witnessed there over the last few years (United Press International 2012). More importantly though, the case of Myanmar's miraculous rebirth shows how a nation assigned with an unfavorable reputation and the consequences associated with it can rebrand itself through costly domestic reforms and behavioral changes that produce a sweeping reform of the perceptions among members of the international community that is reflective of the assignment of an ultimately more favorable reputation.

1.1 The Argument in Brief

At the heart of this project is to identify and formulate the blueprint by which states such as current-day Myanmar or Iran are to improve their national reputations and remove the stigma and punishment associated with their pariah status. The significance of this is that by gaining a better understanding of the process by which reputations can be reconstructed from the 'ashes' of past deviant behavior, we should be able to not only provide a framework by which past attempts can be analyzed, but also one that will speak to those that occur in the future. How are policymakers to know when changes in a state's rhetoric and behavior are part of a credible shift in that state's preferences, interests, and intentions and are thus reflective of a need for

reassessment of that state's reputational designation as a pariah? This project will provide such a blueprint by providing a careful and methodical analysis of past successes of states shedding their pariah images as well as those that were ultimately unsuccessful. To accomplish this, a theory of reputational improvement will be developed that clearly identifies and explains how the reputational improvement process functions in international politics by incorporating elements of existing theories of reputation in international relations as well as aspects of theories from the nation branding and public diplomacy realms.

For this project, reputation will be treated as blend of the rationalist and constructivist approaches in that it is both a relational concept that is inter-subjective and socially-constructed among observers of a particular actor as well as an asset or type of 'property' belonging to that actor that can be managed and manipulated to some degree. By approaching reputation in this manner, we can get at both the origins of reputation (its inter-subjective nature) and how it operates after its initial development (its nature as a form of property). This combination is possible due to incorporation of research from the theory of nation branding, which is based on the idea that states possess a national 'brand' or image that they actively project and promote outwardly to other states in the international system. These images, which are essentially a conglomeration of that state's rhetoric and behavior as a signal for its intentions, interests, and preferences, are received by members of the international community and compared to existing images of the state based on previous projections (Anholt 1998, 2006, 2012; Dinnie 2008; Fan 2006, 2010; Van Ham 2001, 2010; Wang 2006a, 2008).

This comparison between images of the past and images of the present is primary mechanism by which a state's reputation is formed since reputation at the end of the day is in the 'eye of the beholder'. In instances in which the new image is wildly divergent from the previous

image, observers are likely, although not guaranteed, to reassess their fundamental beliefs about that state and its intentions, interests, and preferences. When this happens, there is likely to be a reassessment of that nation's reputation, which depending on the desirability of the rhetoric and behavior, may produce an improvement or worsening of that nation's reputation. In this sense, while reputation is indeed socially constructed through observations of another actor's disposition (e.g. rhetoric and behavior), it can and often is directly shaped and influenced through the process of nation branding. Although it is always possible for information about rhetorical and behavioral changes to be ignored by outside observers, an occurrence that should be accounted for in any model on reputation, it is unlikely to occur in the case of pariah states. This is the case because the international community has an interest in identifying when a pariah no longer behaves as a pariah as it indicates that punishment and isolation are no longer required, thus allowing re-socialization (e.g. investment and trade, political benefits). In addition, such changes signal to other deviant states that norm-abiding behavior will be rewarded with the political and economic benefits of re-socialization, potentially encouraging them to follow suit. For outside observers then, it would be counterproductive to not acknowledge desirable changes in the behavior of a pariah as it would defeat the fundamental purpose of the pariah designation and the punishment and isolation that is produced by it.

This process of rebranding and rebranding is the centerpiece to the theory of reputational improvement developed in this project because it offers the causal mechanism by which a state actor is able to effectively shape and alter its national reputation from one of a pariah or rogue to one more favorable. For a state to credibly display to other states that it is deserving of an improved reputational assignment, it must successfully rebrand itself from an image of a pariah, or a state in violation of numerous global norms and standards of behavior, to an image of a non-

pariah, or a state that generally tends to abide by global norms and acceptable standards of behavior. This can be accomplished through the enactment of costly behavioral changes that commit that state to a new course of action that makes amends for its past deviant behavior and projects an image of it as a state that is unlikely to commit deviant acts in the future and more importantly, an image of a state that is invested in the international system and the rules that govern it. In addition to costly behavioral changes, a state's rebranding attempt should also include some amount of rhetoric before and after its behavioral changes to publically convey meaning to those changes. Rhetoric that follows a behavioral change, referred to as priming rhetoric, helps to draw attention to changes that are about to occur and 'primes' the audience, in this case, members of the international community, for the changes that are about to occur. Rhetoric that proceeds a behavioral change, referred to as framing rhetoric, helps to 'frame' the behavioral change in positive light and as indicative of a shift in state preferences, interests, and intentions. This combination of rhetorical and behavioral changes is called a rebranding attempt.

Rebranding attempts can be diverse and are not always successful at achieving a change in a state's reputational assignment. In some cases, rebranding attempts are often little more than attempts to deceive others through cheap rhetoric and superficial behavior changes. Such attempts serve only to perpetuate the pariah status of the state and often make it significantly more difficult for the state to rebrand itself in the future because their audience will be far more skeptical of the authenticity of their attempts. For a rebranding attempt to be successful, it is necessary that any changes in rhetoric or behavior be perceived as being costly, meaning that any reversion to past deviant behavior would be so costly to make such reversal unlikely. In some instances, however, rebranding attempts consist of perceptually 'cheap' or superficial changes that are not indicative of any change in disposition. In these cases, it is unlikely that any

reputational reassessment will occur. Another key factor that can impact the effectiveness of a rebranding attempt has to do with the conditions during which it is made. States are constantly presented with various occurrences that provide them with a 'window of opportunity' during which a shift in state preferences is both possible and potentially likely to occur. These opportunities can include things such as external shocks like the end of the Cold War or a global economic recession, the introduction of new global norms through the formation of international agreements or organizations, or the end of a state's involvement in external conflicts. If a rebranding attempt occurs within a 'window' of opportunity,' it is more likely to be reflective a shift in preferences than a rebranding attempt that occur in the absence of such an opportunity. In addition, such windows offer outside observers an indication that some internal or external influence upon a nation's interests and intentions may have changed to such a degree that the state's disposition may have changed.

To test this theory of reputational improvement, a careful tracing of the reputational improvement process will be carried out across three distinct cases of pariah states throughout the post-World War II era, including South Africa under Apartheid, Libya under the rule of Gaddafi, and North Korea under the rule of the Kim regime. The logic of selected pariah states as the primary focus for this project is simple: if states with some of the worst reputations in international politics can improve their reputations, then most other states with less severe reputational deficits should be able to as well. It is worth noting that states with stellar reputations also face difficulty in improving their reputations since there is less ground for improvement, but such cases would not be as valuable as those of pariahs. This is because pariahs tend to present significant foreign policy challenges to most states in the international community because they often pose a threat to regional and/or global stability. Any insight into

how such states function and may attempt to improve global perceptions of their nations would be of great value to many policymakers around the globe. The cases of South Africa, Libya, and North Korea were selected not only because they pariahs with some of the worst violations of global norms in modern history, but also because in the cases of South Africa and Libya, the pariah image was successfully shed as the result of some change in the state's behavior. Alternatively, North Korea's pariah status is as firmly in place as it was when it was initially assigned at the outbreak of the Korean War.

1.2 Project Structure

This project will proceed as follows from this point forward. In the next chapter, I provide a discussion of the existing theories on reputation in international relations and what expectations that they make in regards to the operation of reputation in international politics. Next, I provide a discussion of the nation branding literature and how it complements existing theories on reputation. Finally, I provide a detailed discussion of what constitutes a pariah state and which states might fit such a conception. In Chapter 3, I introduce a theory of reputational improvement that incorporates existing theories of reputation with those on nation branding to provide a unique framework by which attempts at nation rebranding can be identified and analyzed. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of methodology, theoretical expectations and hypotheses, and finally, a discussion of key behavioral and perceptual indicators that will be used to compare rebranding attempts across each case. Chapter 4 will provide an analysis of South Africa's time as a pariah state as well as a careful tracing of its sole rebranding attempt from 1989 to 1994 that brought an end to its pariah status. Chapter 5 will discuss Libya's pariah period under the rule of Muammar al Gaddafi and a careful tracing of the reputational improvement

process during each of its five rebranding attempts, paying close attention to its successful attempt in 2003 that removed its pariah status. Chapter 6 will detail North Korea's pariah period under the collective rule of Kim Il-Sung, Kim Jong-Il, and Kim Jong-Un as well as a tracing of the reputational improvement process during five rebranding attempts that all ultimately failed to produce an end to the nation's pariah status. Finally, Chapter 7 will provide a discussion of theoretical implications and policy prescriptions of the project's findings as well as a discussion of the project's limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: REPUTATION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PARIAH STATE

It takes many good deeds to build a good reputation, and only one bad one to lose it.
-Benjamin Franklin

Reputation is central to any environment in which various types of actors interact with each other on a regular basis. This is the case because actors in such social environments are likely to interact more than once in any particular context, meaning that all actors are sensitive to the reputation effects that their behavior might have on future interactions. This concern about future interactions, known as the 'shadow of the future,' is at the root of multiple explanations of conflict, competition, and cooperation in international relations (Axelrod 1984; Keohane 1984). Reputation is often described as a "judgment of someone's character (or disposition) that is then used to predict or explain future behavior" (Mercer 1996: 6-7). According to Mercer (1996, 7), a reputation forms if two conditions are met:

> First, observers must explain an actor's behavior in dispositional—non situational—terms (e.g., French decision-makers were resolute). Second, observers must use the past to predict similar behavior in the future (e.g., French decision-makers will be resolute). A reputation forms when both conditions are met (e.g. French decision-makers have a reputation for being resolute).

This conception of reputation is important because it describes how reputation is used as an indicator and predictor of past and future behavior by those who make such judgments, providing the concept applicability to a multitude of time-frames that are of interest in the study of international relations. Reputation then is generally a matter of comparing calculations of current conditions with those of the past in an effort to supplement the incomplete nature of information in international politics. Von Weizsacker (1980, 72) refers to this tendency by states to pay close attention to past behavior of others as the extrapolation principle:

By this I mean the phenomenon that people extrapolate the behvaiour of others from past observations and this extrapolation is self-stabilising, because it provides an incentive to live up to these expectations... By observing others' behaviour in the past, one can fairly confidently predict their behaviour in the future without incurring further costs (as cited in Sharman 2007, 22).

An example of this tendency is noted by Khong (1992) in that decision-makers commonly use analogies as a cognitive shortcut to address the uncertainty of international politics. These analogies are based on some past event that leaders use to compare to some event in the present or future in an effort to help assess options available to them in the new situation and to avoid some of the missteps of the past behavior. Along these lines, Tomz (2007, 230) found that financial experts, investors, and their advisors "consistently treated the past as an indicator of future risk" when determining the creditworthiness of potential investments in the "high-stakes" realm of sovereign debt. He (2007: 230) notes that:

investors made dispositional attributions not only when countries defaulted, but also when they repaid. Countries that broke obligations were branded as lemons and lost access to foreign loans, whereas countries that met commitments were classified as good types and received easier access to external capital. Both undesirable and desirable behavior had reputational consequences.

This finding is of particular interest because it suggests that not only do decision-makers factor in calculations of the past and present when assessing the behavior and disposition of others, but that both undesirable and desirable behavior had reputational consequences. This is in contrast to Mercer's Desire-Based Model which promotes the notion that reputations can only form when behavior is desirable and more importantly, when it is carried out by someone whom the observer is fond of. The difficultly with such a conception of reputation is that it defines reputation in terms of how an observer feels about the actor they are observing without mention of any input from the actor being observed. Mercer claims that reputations only form when one

observes undesirable behavior carried out by someone they are not familiar with or that they do not care for. For him, this undesirable behavior generates a reputation for the other as a 'bad-type.' One very notable problem with this logic however, is that it creates an environment in which only negative reputations matter.

If one was to accept that only undesirable behavior can generate a reputation, then how might different actors improve their reputation? If one was to believe that only undesirable behavior generates reputational changes, then any state that has been categorized as a 'bad-type' due to past undesirable behavior will be left with no recourse to improve the perceptions of their state. Are these states' reputations damaged beyond repair? What tangible steps can these states take to attempt to remove sanctions levied against them by the international community for example? An additional problem is that the dependency on perpetual, non-changeable types of states means that "[g]ood reputations, once built, will become nearly impossible to destroy," which is problematic in a world in which good reputations are constantly damaged by the words and deeds of countless states (Cripps, Mailath, and Samuelson 2004). Tomz (2007, 21) notes that this type of model that uses perpetual types creates a paradox in that if reputational types never change in response to undesirable behavior by those states with whom an observer's relationship is positive, then a state with a spotless record of repayment of debt obligations will be able to default without suffering any meaningful consequences. As he goes on to note, this is simply not the case. This problem is addressed by adding in the possibility for unstable or changing preferences. Tomz (2007, 21) notes that by doing this, "it creates slack for reputations to change, and it provides a mechanism for the initiation and termination of cooperation." There must exist some mechanism by which these types of states can take action to improve their reputation,

which as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, adds in an element of agency of state in the formation and alteration of its national reputation.

2.1 Existing Perspectives on Reputation

This element of agency is a critical component of the reputational improvement process, particularly for rationalist explanations that generally perceive reputation as type of asset that can often be manipulated to promote the interests of a particular actor in a variety of situations. To rationalists, the conception of reputation as a form of property means that they believe that actors have the ability to manipulate their behavior to form and shape their reputation for resolve regarding the credibility of their actions. For example, some rationalist explanations treat reputation as an "economic good" (Kreps 1990, 94) or as more of an asset (Schelling 1966). In this sense, different types of actors are given agency in regards to ability to influence how others perceive their actions. Reputation then is less about what others think of you and more about what you are able to convince them to think about you. This conception of reputation as property is critically important because it is what allows for cooperation in a variety of contexts. The notion of reputation as a form of property finds it origins in the field of economics and their contribution of game theoretic models to the study of decision-making. Kreps and Wilson (1982), Milgrom and Roberts (1982) among others analyze the behavior of firms in a bilateral game theoretic context and found that reputation plays a role when a dominant firm in an industry wants to preempt the entrance of a new firm into the industry so it can maximize profit. From this perspective, the dominant firm has an incentive to act aggressively towards any new competitors by engaging in a price war to help establish a reputation for toughness in an effort to

deter new firms from entering the industry in the future (Williamson 1985, 272-273; Sharman 2007, 23).

This same logic was then applied to the realm of politics and in particular, game theoretic models of deterrence, by Robert Axelrod (1984, 150) who found that when actors will repeatedly interact in similar contexts, they will be forced to consider how their behavior in one iteration of the interaction will affect how other actors will behave in future iterations and that makes it possible for rationally, selfish actors in an anarchic social environment to overcome the uncooperative equilibrium of the single-shot prisoner's dilemma and to find opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperative outcomes. He refers to this concept as the 'shadow of the future,' which forces actors to consider the reputational costs of their past and present behavior across a variety of contexts and that is fundamentally at the root of various explanations of cooperation in international politics. Downs and Jones (2002, 95-96) for example note that this phenomenon is the "linchpin" of neoliberal institutionalism, as it is the primary explanation for why states would comply with various international agreements and to believe the maintenance of their commitments is critical to ensure further mutually beneficial cooperation in the future. While these applications of reputation are critical to a number of explanations in international relations, a common criticism levied against them is that they fail to account for the origins of reputation. Such criticisms argue that reputation does not function as a property concept as rationalist explanations assume it due to the intersubjective nature of reputation (Sharman 2007).

In contrast to the rationalist perspective, the constructivist view of reputation is one of an inter-subjective, socially-constructed origin that generally functions away from the direct influence or control of the actor it is assigned to. Sharman (2007, 20) notes that from a rationalist perspective, reputation is the "degree to which an actor reliably upholds its commitments, based

on a record of that actor's past behavior," while constructivists view reputation as the "generally shared opinion of a referent's character or nature, based on a wide range of information, associations, and social cues." For constructivists, reputation is a relational rather than a property concept (Mercer 1996, 27; Tang 2005, 38; Sharman 2007, 23). In this sense, reputation "has an inter-subjective, emergent quality as a social fact, rather than being an aggregation of individual perceptions" (Sharman 2007, 23). Reputation then is more about what others think about you in terms of shared beliefs and opinions. If one takes this explanation of the origins of reputation into account, one can see quite readily that no one actor can control every aspect of its reputation as reputation is in the 'eye of the beholder.' From a game theoretic perspective, actors seem to be nothing more than a record of their past choices and actions and gives little agency to what parts of reputation are beyond the control of an actor (Sharman 2007, 26-27). Reputation then is viewed as more of a collective or 'shared' idea that as Sharman (2007, 27) notes "does not entail being universally shared, and thus an actor may acquire different reputations among different communities and peer groups" (Searle 1995, 26-28). As Chapter 3 will show, neither approach to reputation provides a satisfactory framework by which reputation seems to actually operate in international politics. Rather than be either a property concept or a relational concept, it is quite possible that reputation is a bit of both. Its origins may stem from its inter-subjective nature, but only by adding in a consideration of an actor's agency in the management of that reputation can the reputational improvement process be complete.

2.2 Nation branding

Nation branding is a relatively new literature that has developed from the ideas and theories of practitioners of policy and those who study the links between economic explanations

for social behavior such as advertising and marketing and the realm of domestic and international politics. Simon Anholt, commonly attributed with coining the phrase 'nation branding' and a prolific researcher of the subject summed up the logic behind the concept of nation branding in an interview for the *New York Times Magazine*: "Just as companies have learned to 'live the brand,' countries should consider their reputations carefully—because... ...in the interconnected world, that's what statecraft is all about" (Risen 2005 as cited by Kaneva 2011). In this sense, nation branding is fundamentally about how a nation consciously projects its image to various audiences, whether they be domestic or international, and how that audience then 'brands' that nation in the form of a reputation (Anholt 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2012). Kaneva (2011, 118) provides a working definition of nation branding as "a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and rebranding paradigms," which includes practical applications "ranging from 'cosmetic' operations, such as the creation of national logos and slogans" to being a major component of national policy to help formulate and project a positive image and reputation of a nation. The notion of the nation as a brand has been broken down further to looking at how particular geographical locations or places can be likewise branded. Van Ham (2010, 136) defines the concept of place rebranding as "an effort to manage, if not necessarily wield, the social power of geographical location by using strategies developed by the commercial sector," which is "closely linked to public diplomacy since place rebranding tries to affect the image and perception of foreign as well as domestic communities regarding territorial entities, be they states, regions, or cities." A brand then represents "the totality of the thoughts, feelings, associations, and expectations that come to mind when a prospect or consumer is exposed to an entity's name, logo, products, services, events, or any design or symbol representing them" (van Ham 2002, 153) He continues by noting that the study

of place rebranding fits clearly within the Constructivist literature on reputation because it "builds on the understanding that territorial actors have considerable agency in shaping their place and role in international politics," much like the rebranding processes within the advertising sector (136). He (van Ham 2010, 137) concludes by noting that states pursue place rebranding because they desire legitimacy, credibility, and trust in their foreign policy.

While nation branding is a fairly critical component of any discussion of the role of identity, image, or reputation in international politics, it is important to note the disconnect between the research conducted on nation branding and of that conducted in the more traditional realm of international relations theories on reputation. This disconnect, while occasionally overcome by a few scholars[1] who draw concepts and ideas from both camps, is a critical oversight in the development of a complete conception of what reputation is, how it forms, and how it functions in international politics. For theorists in the nation branding camp, the value of an enhanced discussion between the two camps would posit more analysis of the theoretical and political implications of their fairly well-developed notions of what nation branding entails and how it is used by states, a common limitation noted of the nation branding literature thus far (Fan 2010; Kaneva 2011). In regards to international relations literature, nation branding offers an opportunity to open up the process of image and reputation construction, projection, and management to critical analysis from an angle that has previously been overlooked. From its most accepted perspective, nation branding exists in the nexus between the rational choice and constructivist approaches to reputation, as it recognizes the socially constructed and inter-subjective nature of the formation of a nations' image and reputation and that it gives agency to

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[1] For examples of some linkages between the nation branding literature and the international relations literature, see van Ham (2001, 2010); J. Wang (2006a); Y. Wang (2008); and Fan (2010).

the state to manage and potentially manipulate those socially constructed images or brands through very tangible and strategic actions.

In a conceptual mapping of nation branding literature, Kaneva (2011, 130) finds that some of the problems with nation branding are that it "[i]gnores historic inequalities among nations" and often "privileges the economic" while obscuring the political. As a product of this 'privileging' of economic explanations like marketing and public relations, Kaneva (2011, 130) notes that there is often a "commodification" and "depoliticitization of national identity," which fails to account for important political components of national identity and reputational management that is addressed elsewhere in the reputational literature that we have already discussed. The value that the nation branding literature offers is to provide a critical discussion of the role that nation branding discourses and practices "enter and alter the construction of nationhood and governance" and how to consider the "cultural and political implications of treating nations as brands (Kaneva 2011, 131)." This project will attempt to incorporate these ideas into a broader framework that will bridge the gap in theoretical perspectives on reputation in international relations and more importantly, to develop a unified and hopefully useful assessment of how the process of reputation development and management operates in international politics. With a better idea about some of the broader applications of reputation in the international relations, it is now possible to briefly discuss more specific applications of reputation in a variety of contexts that perceive it as either a relational or inter-subjectively developed concept. The first such usage is in studies of deterrence and crisis behavior that primarily view reputation in a relational manner in which it is useful as an indicator of past behavior and predictor for future behavior. The second usage is in studies of treaty compliance and reputation's role in international organizations and international law, which primarily view

reputation in a relational manner, but with hints at the inter-subjective nature of the concept with their mention of concepts such as 'legitimacy' and 'trust' in relation to how they perceive reputation to function.

2.3 The Origins of the Pariah State

Although international norms have existed long before the establishment of the United Nations, the enhanced proliferation of such norms dictating 'acceptable' standards of behavior in the international system that occurred as a result of the end of World War II made it increasingly critical for states to be perceived as being in line with such rules and standards of behavior. Donnelly (2007, 79) notes that this homogenization of what constitutes 'proper' behavior has led to the emergence of an "international norms regime" that makes it substantially easier to identify those states in line with and in violation of global norms (Weiss 2012). This relative ease to identify norm supporters and violators is significant because it also makes it easier to assign the benefits or consequences associated with each. On one hand, states that are perceived as following most international norms most of the time, with limited exceptions, often find themselves with a positive reputation, and the benefits that come with it, among members of the international community. These benefits can include things such as favorable trade relationships with key economic players, membership in exclusive international agreements, organizations, or treaties, or favorable political positions in important regional or international agreements or organizations. On the other hand, states that are perceived as violating part or all of at least one major international norm, with limited exceptions, often find themselves with a negative reputation, and the consequences that come with it, among members of the international community. These consequences can include things such as the levying of economic or political

sanctions against their nation, imposed diplomatic, political, and/or economic isolation, and most seriously, the possibility of external military or political intervention into their state's internal affairs. The following chapter will provide identifying characteristics of pariah states, an exhaustive list of states that meet such criteria, an analysis of the behavior of such states and why it garners often hostile treatment by the international community, and most importantly, discuss the important theoretical linkages between a state's pariah status and its national reputation and how that relationship operates in international politics.

The basic notion of being labeled a pariah originates from the idea that individuals and groups tend to treat members of their group who act in a manner inconsistent with the overall interests and behavioral standards of the group as outcasts, often treating them with some combination of stigma, isolation, and/or banishment for endangering the overall needs of conformity of the group (Freud 2002). This tendency to isolate and punish those who act contrary to the group consensus is also found among states in the international system. When a state acts in a manner that is perceived to be 'selfish' and against the normative consensus of the international community, it is usually isolated diplomatically, politically, and economically and considered an outcast by most. For example, if a nation were to attempt to develop a nuclear weapons program in direct violation of the global nuclear proliferation regime setup by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), then it is very likely that it would experience harsh treatment through economic and political sanctions levied against it until it verifiably eliminated any element of such a program from its territory. This example has been played out numerous times in international politics (e.g. South Africa, Iraq, and Libya) and continues today through examples such as North Korea or Iran and their perceived pursuit of nuclear weapons capabilities. Such cases are almost always immediately condemned and labeled as social pariahs

for their illicit or 'unsavory' behavior by some element of the international community, whether it be the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the World Trade Organization (WTO), some regional political organization, or even individual norm-setting states such as the United States or European Union.

State labeled as pariahs come in all shapes and sizes and can be stigmatized and isolated for a variety of norm violations. Due to this complex nature, there exists a great deal of disagreement about what objectively constitutes a pariah state and what such states should even be called. Many terms have been used by policy-makers and scholars to identify and describe states that generally act in violation of commonly held and enforced international norms. These terms include pariahs (Betts 1977; Harkavy 1981; Beit-Hallahmi 1989; Weiss 2012), deviants (Geldenhuys 2004), outcasts (Inbar 1985), outlaws (George 1993), rogues (Klare 1995; Litwak 2000), and renegades (Nincic 2005)[2]. Such diverse terminology, however, has tended not to provide as diverse an outcome in thick description of what exactly constitutes these types of states (Weiss 2012). In essence, it seems as if such diverse terminology exists primarily because there has been no attempt to draw connections between the different usages in either scholarly works or in the policy-making world, noting that policy-makers and the international media use such terminology almost interchangeably on a fairly-regular basis. In the absence of a unified and accepted definition of what constitutes a pariah state, Weiss (2012) set out to create one of his own using characteristics of different definitions as well as a focus on the types of norms that are often violated by such states.

Weiss (2012, 12) defines a deviant or pariah state as a state that "has violated a norm held by its greater regional or international community" that "has experienced a formal rebuke (whether through condemnation, censure, sanctions, etc.) from the same community that labels

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[2] For an overview of the historical development of the concept of the pariah or rogue state, see Henriksen 2001.

the state for its transgression." The first part of the definition, that the state has violated a norm held by its surrounding community, is important because the norm violation is the cause for a state being designated as a pariah and for any consequences that may stem from it. International norms are a complicated subject to discuss due primarily to their ever-changing nature and because norms can conflict with one another at times, while at other times, they can change fairly swiftly so as to make some types of state behavior out of favor seemingly overnight, as was the case with Apartheid South Africa and the emergence of a human rights regime following the end of World War II (Florini 1996; Geortz and Diehl 1992; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). Katzenstein (1996, 5) characterizes norms as the "collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors within a given identity" that are designed to "have 'regulative' effects that specify standards of proper behavior." This 'regulative' effect is the critical component, as it the part of a norm that acts to constrain the behavior of states to a prescribed set of expectations by its surrounding community, providing an opportunity for the type of deviance required to garner pariah status (Jepperson, Wendt, and Katzenstein 1995; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Florini 1996).

The second part of Weiss' definition of a pariah state, that the state has experienced some form of reproach or punishment for its deviance, is significant because any formal reprimand given to a state is the primary indication that a high-consensus, central norm has been violated by the state and more importantly, that it is considered and treated as a pariah or deviant by some or all of the international community. From this perspective, pariahs can be identified for their deviance to some central norm of the international system and by the form the international response takes once the norm has been violated. Geldenhuys (2000, 2004) elaborates on this notion of deviance by noting that the violation of a communal standard for behavior, detailed in

some international agreement or organization (e.g. the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights or the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)), often warrants some form of disapproval and punishment that is heavily dependent upon the importance placed on the violated norm, often taking the form of public condemnation of the state in the case of lesser violations and the removal or suspension from some international agreement or organization, the imposition of political or economic sanctions, or the most extreme form of punishment, armed intervention by some external force in the case of more serious norm violations. This disapproval and/or punishment is often delivered by the most powerful and influential states in the international system since they most often play the role as norm-setters and enforcers in any respective system (Nincic 2005; George 1993; Herrmann and Shannon 2001). According to Weiss (2012, 12), some examples of key norm violations of pariah states "1) Acquisition of excessive or illegal arms, 2) state sponsorship of terrorism, 3) human rights violations, 4) posing a threat to status-quo interests, 5) lacking formal recognition as a state, and 6) the export of violence."[3] The proceeding section will provide a discussion of each of these norm violations and the state behaviors that often lead to them.

The Acquisition of Excessive or Illegal Arms

The acquisition of excessive or illegal arms is one of the most commonly violated norms by pariah states, with numerous examples of such states having attempted to obtain nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons (e.g. North Korea, Iran, Libya, South Africa, and Syria). Most often, the objective for the obtainment of such weapons and their delivery vehicles is to increase a state's power thereby improving its status and position in its region or the international system

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[3] Weiss (2012, 12) notes that this list is by no means inclusive of all forms of pariah state behavior, rather is a listing of the most egregious violations of what he calls "high-consensus" norms. For more in depth analysis of pariah behavior, see Litwak 2000, 47; Geldenhuys 2004, Chapter 2; or Nincic 2005, 48-53.

as a whole (Geldenhuys 2004). The development and trade of such weapons and their respective technologies, however, is not only illegal for such states, but also in violation of widely-held normative beliefs about the dangers associated with the potential use of such weapons of mass destruction as well as to the overall stability and security of the international system. In regards to the illegality of the pursuit of such weapons, the international community has passed numerous agreements and treaties and established several organizations designed to identify and punish violators. These agreements and organizations include the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)[4], which banned the proliferation of nuclear weapons materials and technology for non-peaceful uses and is enforced by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)[5], which is an expansion of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 (that banned the use of biological weapons following World War I) that made the production, stockpiling, or use of biological weapons illegal, but lacks any verifiable enforcement mechanism, and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)[6], which outlaws the production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons and is enforced by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). It is important to note that these agreements, while not universally ratified by all members of the international community, still represent a 'high-consensus' norm held by most states in the system, especially the most powerful and influential, on the development and use of such weapons. Price et al. (1996, 115) note that these agreements arose primarily out of a sense of normative obligation towards the continued non-use of such weapons that helped establish "prohibitionary norms that shaped these weapons as unacceptable 'weapons of mass destruction.'" With these socially-constructed taboos against the development

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[4] Submitted for ratification in 1968 and entered into force in 1970.
[5] Submitted for signature in 1972 and entered into force in 1975.
[6] Submitted for signature in 1993 and entered into force in1997.

and use of such potentially devastating weapons firmly in place and heavily enforced, every state, regardless of their ratification status is held accountable to such norms and laws.

While conventional weapons do not carry the same normative or legal stature as weapons of mass destruction, the stockpiling and use of some types of conventional weaponry under particular circumstances are normatively prohibited actions that can often warrant a strong response from the international community. Most forms of conventional weapons proliferation, stockpiling, and usage do not represent a norm violation of the magnitude worthy of pariah designation, however, Geldenhuys (2004, 30) notes that the general rule when it comes to conventional arms is that a state's arsenal should not be out of proportion to what is necessary for its national defense and that any usage of such weapons should not be conducted in an area of regional or international tension or conflict (e.g. the Middle East or East-Central Europe), "lest they create international suspicions and tensions about their true intentions." In this sense, a state may garner a pariah label if its behavior is perceived to be in violation of "a long-standing informal rule" regarding the size of their conventional arsenal relative to their defensive needs that is heavily influenced by the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states as codified in the UN Charter (Geldenhuys 2004, 30). In an attempt to improve global norms on conventional weapons, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) in 2013. The treaty, although not entered into force (as only 8 of the requisite 50 have ratified as of January 2014), is designed to regulate the global trade of conventional arms and prevent such arms from being supplied to abusers of human rights and war criminals in conflict zones across the globe as well as out of the hands of non-state actors such as terrorist groups, pirates, and organized crime syndicates (UNODA 2014). With the passage, and likely entry into force of this treaty, state behavior related to proliferation, stockpiling, and/or use of

conventional weapons is likely to be further scrutinized, with any major violations likely to earn a state pariah status.

The State Sponsorship of Terrorism

While fairly infrequent in the international system, the sponsorship of terrorism by a state represents an extremely serious norm violation that almost guarantees the designation of pariah status. Such a violation has become ever more damaging to a nation's reputation over the last decade, due to the terrorist attacks on September 11th and the global 'War on Terror' that has been waged in response. To support terrorism as a member state of the international community today is to risk immediate pariah designation and the very serious consequences, including armed intervention by an external force, that usually come with it (e.g. American military interventions into Afghanistan and Pakistan). Compounding the matter, however, is the subjective nature of conceptions of what terrorism is and what constitutes a 'terrorist' or a 'terrorist attack.' Terrorism is most often defined as the intentional use of, or threat to use, violence against primarily civilian targets (helping to differentiate it from guerilla warfare) to promote the political objectives of whatever group or individual, most often a non-state actor, that carries out the violence (Ganor 2002, 294-295). Such definitions attempt to objectively define terrorism from a legalistic perspective are helpful to provide some context and differentiation between the varying types of political violence that exist in international politics as well as the particular loathing that such acts evoke among members of the international community, but the simple truth is that in the absence of an accepted, legally-binding definition of terrorism in the international system, there will almost assuredly be disagreement, although not always from the mainstream, over what constitutes terrorism or terroristic acts.

Even through such disagreement, the international community has been able to convene and agree upon a handful of international agreements regarding the illegality and moral repugnance of some subsets of terrorism (Geldenhuys 2004, 28). These agreements include 12 conventions against terrorism, including the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970), the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1980), the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988), the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997), and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999), as well as several regional conventions generally covering the suppression of terrorism from a more regional perspective. In addition, Geldenhuys (2004, 29) notes that General Assembly Resolution 2625, or the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (1970):

> laid down the principle that every state 'has a duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting, or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts.'

This declaration, while not legally binding, provides the basis for international efforts to combat and punish those groups and any states they may sponsor or harbor them as it directly links the use and support of terroristic acts to the Principle of Non-Intervention in the Charter of the United Nations. Such a connection helps bolster the strength of the global norm against terrorism and especially state sponsorship of terrorism by linking it to another prominent and high-consensus norm in international politics. This declaration was bolstered by the U.N. General Assembly Declaration on the Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism (1994), and Security Council resolutions 1189 (1998) and 1269 (1999) that helped reiterate that the prevention and addressing of terrorism is at the root of maintaining international peace and stability. Finally,

following the events of September 11th, 2001, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1373 that laid out 11 obligations of member states that included the prevention of financing for terrorism, a freeze on the financial assets of terrorist groups, and the improvement of information exchanges between states regarding terrorism (Geldenhuys 2004). While these declarations and resolutions have failed to provide a unified, all-encompassing response to the problem of global terrorism, made obvious by the lack of a legally-binding definition of terrorism, they have helped provide guidance and purpose to the international fight against terrorism and have helped establish fairly rigorous standards, although such norms are fairly recent, for state behavior regarding terrorism (Donnelly 2007). Any state found to be financing, harboring, or otherwise supporting non-state terrorist groups or carrying out terrorist attacks of its own volition against another state will find itself labeled a pariah and subjected to the harshest penalties available to the international community.

Human Rights Violations

One of the most common norm violations that has warranted a large number of pariah designations in the post-World War II era has been for a state or its leadership to commit war crimes against the citizenry of another state (e.g. torture, hostage-taking, abuse of prisoners of war) or crimes against humanity (e.g. genocide and ethnic cleansing) and other forms of human rights violations (e.g. political repression, discrimination) against its citizenry. While human rights violations of the scale that would garner pariah status occurred long before World War II, the establishment of the United Nations and the human rights movement that accompanied it in response to the human rights atrocities that occurred during the war brought about a clarified and enforceable vision of what human rights were to be protected and what types of state behavior

that would no longer be tolerated. This movement has been promoted by various agreements, including the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the Vienna Declaration on Human Rights (1993), as well as the various versions and addendums of the Geneva Convention (1864, 1906, 1929, 1949, 1977, and 2005) (Geldenhuys 2004, 32). With such a wide range of coverage helping to detail what constitutes acceptable and deviant behavior in the human rights realm, it is no wonder that so many states have found themselves labeled as pariahs due primarily to various human rights abuses that they perpetuated.

In terms of enforcement, the human rights realm has a large number of monitoring institutions and non-governmental watchdogs. States are closely observed and scrutinized in order to ensure that they maintain their obligations to human rights agreements on a fairly regular basis by a large network of government and non-government actors that include the Human Rights Commission, the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and Freedom House. In addition, some states and regional entities help monitor the status of human rights around the globe, including the U.S. State Department's annual *Country Reports on Human Rights* and the European Convention and Court on Human Rights (Geldenhuys 2004, 33). Despite this well established set of behavioral guidelines and enforcement mechanisms,

Geldenhuys (2004, 31-32) notes that there remain some states whose behavior would "qualify for deviant status on the basis of their undemocratic political orders and the accompanying abuse of human rights, even though they are not treated as such by the world community." This point is important because it suggests that even in an issue area where behavioral guidelines are fairly clear and heavily scrutinized by the international community, some states can and do escape pariah designation because of their importance in terms of another issue area (e.g. security or economic) or to another state that has influence in determining pariah status (e.g. the United States). This point will be elaborated upon and analyzed later in this chapter.

Posing a Threat to Status Quo Interests

The next violation often seen as deserving of pariah status involves a state's propensity for general aggression and deviance to the established political (ideological), economic, or security balance of the international system, often in direct defiance to the values and interests of the dominant state(s) in the system. As Geldenhuys (2004, 24) notes, the primary "transgression, said to have been committed by states forming the core of roguedom, is familiar: they sinned in the domain of high politics by breaking the first rule of international relations, namely posing a threat to international peace, order and security." Naturally, such a violation overlaps substantially with other behavioral norms that have already been discussed; however, there is value to including the imposition of a threat to status quo interest as a separate category since it involves a higher-order challenge to the status quo than any one norm violation alone. Most states that find themselves labeled and treated as pariahs, especially since the end of the Cold War, have at some point posed a serious challenge to some central interest of some or all status quo powers and are often perceived by their peers as being overly assertive in their defiance to

the structure of the international system and fundamentally anti-status quo (Klare 1995, Litwak 2000, Geldenhuys 2004, Nincic 2005, Weiss 2012). Such deviance is often the product of these states feeling marginalized as "innocent victims of an unjust international order that kept them subordinated and exploited," often encouraging them to emphatically and aggressively denounce the state(s) responsible for such an arrangement (Geldenhuys 2004, 36). While such revisionist behavior is not in violation of any specific norm or law, it is perceived by status quo powers as unacceptable because it risks a massive destabilization, or worse, a complete shift in the geopolitical balance and structure of the international system that directly threatens the standing of status quo powers (Armstrong 1993, Geldenhuys 2004, Weiss 2012).

Lacking Formal Recognition of a State

Up to this point, only the prospects for the types of state behavior that could garner pariah status have been discussed; however, it is just as likely that non-state actors and states that may lack the formal recognition of a state from the international community can behave in ways that would brand them as pariahs. Due to the state-centric nature of international politics, for an actor to be considered a 'state,' it must possess two important characteristics: (1) it must have sovereignty (e.g. autonomous control by a government and governing ideology over a territory and nation of citizens) and (2) it must have the formal recognition by others in its surrounding community in the form of the exclusion of external powers from the internal politics of the state (as denoted by the Treaty of Westphalia and the principle of non-intervention) (Morgan 2006). The attainment of formal recognition as a state is, however, a fairly difficult and infrequent occurrence in international politics. More often than not, an entity that aspires to gain statehood will begin to behave as a formal state, often in direct conflict with the established statehood of a

neighboring country or territory, receiving the ire of most in the international community for the destabilization that such behavior often causes. Some examples of entities that have lacked the formal recognition of a state, but have attempted to behave as sovereign entities, include: Taiwan, Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, Somaliland, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia (Weiss 2012). Because such entities often possess some of the characteristics required to be considered a state (e.g. autonomous control over a territory and a citizenry and the formal recognition by at least a few states), they are included as pariah states.

The Export of Violence

The last violation that traditionally results in pariah status involves the export of violence, which is "the use of force by one state to weaken or overthrow the regime of another, through either direct military intervention or destabilization via the support of proxy actors with arms, logistics, or training" (Weiss 2012, 15; also see Bisley 2004, 52-3). Such behavior represents some of the most violent and aggressive actions that a state can take since its primary objective is to challenge the sovereignty and integrity of another state. More fundamentally, this conduct is in direct violation of the Principle of Non-Intervention that has governed international politics since the Treaty of Westphalia and certainly since the establishment of the United Nations and is the "most fundamental norm of modern international law" (Ratner 1999, 25). Despite the robustness of the norm against the export of violence, Weiss (2012) indicates that about 60% of all cases of pariah states since 1648 have been exporters of violence in some manner, suggesting that this is not only one of the most serious norm violations in international politics, but also one of the most common. Not all exports of violence are created equal, however. In a great number of cases, violent intervention into the internal affairs of another state does not guarantee pariah status for

the violator. To garner pariah status, a state must not only use military force, either directly or indirectly, against another state, rather it must be perceived by the international community as either an excessive or unjust use of force (Geldenhuys 2004). In this sense, just like any other global norm, the determination of whether a state is in violation of the norm as well as whether or not the violation warrants the designation of pariah status upon the state is in the 'eye of the beholder.'

2.4 The Making of a Pariah

The notion that pariah status is in the 'eye of the beholder' is an important one since reputation is, after all, primarily an indication of how others perceive a particular actor. With this in mind, it is worth noting that while a great deal of time has been spent discussing various types of deviant behavior that can and often do lead to a state being labeled a pariah, the violation of a norm is not the perfect determinant of which states qualify as pariahs and which do not. The truth is, many states, including those who are perceived as global leaders and norm-setters, often find themselves in violation of a global norm or two that can often be quite serious. In these instances, such states rarely find themselves referred to our censured as pariahs due primarily to their standing in the international system, rather their actions might be, at worst, denounced in a public setting, often with little, if any, consequences assigned to the violating state (Geldenhuys 2004). Geldenhuys (2000) notes that for states to be considered pariahs they must show a willful dismissal of one of the significant, high-consensus norms mentioned above, thus displaying an overall challenge to the legitimacy of the international system. In this sense, pariah status is most centrally about the perceived intentions of a state. In addition, a state's position in terms of relative power and influence in the system also influences whether it is designated as a pariah.

Since norms tend to be hierarchical in that they are often created and enforced by the most powerful states, such states often avoid pariah designation for deviant behavior because they are unwilling to levy punishment against themselves (Goertz and Diehl 1992, 640-1).

This distinction is important because it provides guidance for how the international community determines when a state's transgressions are worthy of pariah status. If their actions can be best understood as an attempt to defend the structure and stability of the current system and its normative consensus, then pariah status is unlikely to be assigned to the state because a pariah designation requires some form of deviance or challenge to the system or its norms (Nincic 2005). In this sense, a state that is labeled a pariah is seen by the international community as a serious and credible threat to the stability and general well-being of the system as a whole since tolerance of a full rejection of one or more of the significant norms of the system will make it increasingly difficult to enforce the norm in future cases (Nincic 2005). It is important to note, however, that while pariah status is a commonly used designation in international politics, there are some who suggest the term is simply a subjective identification used by certain members of the international community, most notably the United States, to draw attention to those states that it or its allies do not like as well as to justify aggressive national security policies and expenditures as part of an American "containment doctrine" towards such states (Klare 1995). The consequence of this point is that it suggests that pariah designation might be under the control of only a few powerful states and thus is potentially biased against states that those few do not like, making the labeling of a pariah something of a popularity contest as opposed to an objective designation by the international community. It is for this reason that the cases selected be those 'pariahs' that are in violation of a large number of global

norms and who are clearly in the out-group when it comes to standards of behavior in international politics.

.   Using these criteria, Weiss (2012, 17) identified every formal entity that qualified as a pariah state from 1648-2012, producing a list of 80 states or empires that violated one or several of the norms provided above, that were officially labeled as a pariah state (or some similar derivation), and in some cases, provides the year in which the state or empire was formally 're-socialized' (e.g. the removal of the label of pariah) into its community. Of these 80 cases, 75 occur during or after World War I, 34 have occurred since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and 22 cases remain nations still actively labeled as pariah states[7]. Such a product is useful here for two purposes.

Firstly, it helps identify the universe of cases that qualify as a pariah state. In addition, it provides the date on which the state was deemed to be in violation of one or more key international norms (and identifies which norms were violated in each respective case) as well as provides an indication of the year in which the state (in some cases) was no longer identified as a pariah state. Some examples of pariah states on this list include past cases such as South Africa under Apartheid (1946-1994), Portugal under Salazar (1960-1974), Libya under Qaddafi (1973-2003), China following the Tiananmen Square Incident (1989-1994), and a number of states actively considered as pariahs today, including Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Sudan. The complete list of pariah states in the post-Westphalian era, with the year they were originally listed as a pariah, the year they were no longer considered a pariah (if it has happened), and the classification of norm violations for each state can be found in Table 2.1.

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[7] These cases include: Israel, North Korea, Taiwan, Syria, Iran, Northern Cyprus, Burma, Sudan, Somaliland, Transnistria, Equatorial Guinea, Belarus, Venezuela, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Uzbekistan, Abkhazia, Kosovo, South Ossetia, Bahrain, Pakistan, Egypt, and Libya.

Secondly, Weiss' classifications help to identify cases of interest in a study of reputational reconstruction. States that have been labeled as pariah states find themselves with the worst possible national reputation designation by members of the international community, meaning that when they decide to cease their various transgressions, they will have the most reputational ground to recover relative to non-pariah states attempting reputational improvement. In this sense, such cases provide the best test of any theory of reputational improvement since they provide the most difficult path by which a national reputation can be recovered or improved. In addition to the fairly obvious theoretical reasons for selecting such cases, from a policy-making perspective, if such extreme cases of reputational damage can be successful at reconstructing their national reputations, then it is likely that any state that desires to improve its reputation should be able to do so with a reasonable expectation of success. This suggests that should a study of attempted reputational improvement by pariah states be successful, then an informal blueprint for the recovery of a national reputation for pariah and non-pariah states alike should be provided, which would be of interest to policy-makers in most states that find themselves desiring to improve their national reputations and in those that must interact with such states.

Table 2.1: Pariah States in the International System: 1914-2012[8]

Country Name[9]	Start Date [10]	End Date	Violation[11]	Country Name	Start Date	End Date	Violation
Ottoman Empire	1914	1923	3, 4, 6	Syria	1979	Ongoing	2,3, 6
Soviet Union	1917	1941	2, 4, 6	Iran	1979	Ongoing	1,2,3, 4, 6

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[8] Adapted from Weiss (2012, 17)
[9] For space reasons, official names are omitted in some cases and used only for clarification when used.
[10] Start Date denotes the year when the state was labeled a "pariah"; End Date denotes year state is 're-socialized' into international community; "ongoing" signifies that the state remains a pariah as of 2014.
[11] Norm Violations: 1) Acquisition of Excessive/Illegal Arms, 2) Support for Terrorism, 3) Human Rights Abuses, 4) Threatening Status-Quo Interests, 5) Lacking Formal Recognition as a State; and 6) the Export of Violence.

Weimar Republic	1918	1933	4	Nicaragua	1979	1990	1,4, 6
Italy	1935	1936	3, 6	Bolivia	1980	1981	3
Czechoslovakia	1938	1938	5	Cambodia	1981	1993	5, 6
Spain	1945	1955	3	N. Cyprus	1983	Ongoing	5
South Africa	**1946**	**1994**	**1,2,3, 4, 6**	Burma	1988	Ongoing	5
Israel	1948	Ongoing	1,2,3,5, 6	China (2)	1989	1994	3
North Korea	**1948**	**Ongoing**	**1,2,3,4, 6**	Sudan	1989	Ongoing	2,3,4, 6
South Korea	1948	1987	1, 3	Pakistan (2)	1990	2001	1,2, 6
Yugoslavia	1948	1955	4, 6	Zaire	1991	1997	3, 6
East Germany	1949	1972	5	Iraq	1991	2003	1,3, 4
China	1949	1970	1,2,3,4, 6	Haiti (2)	1991	1994	3
Egypt	1952	1973	2,4, 6	Somaliland	1991	Ongoing	5
North Vietnam	1956	1975	2,4,5, 6	Serbia & Montenegro	1992	2000	3,4, 6
South Vietnam	1956	1975	3,5	Transnistria	1992	Ongoing	5
Guinea	1958	1978	3,4, 6	Equatorial Guinea	1993	Ongoing	3
Portugal	1960	1974	3, 6	Turkmenistan	1993	2007	3
Cuba	1960	1992	3,4, 6	Nigeria	1993	1999	3
Katanga	1960	1963	5	Afghanistan	1996	2001	2,3,4, 5,6
Albania	1961	1978	4	Belarus	1997	Ongoing	3
Indonesia	1961	1965	4, 6	Indonesia (2)	1998	2001	3
Haiti	1962	1986	3	Liberia	1999	2003	2,3, 6
Pakistan	1965	1980	1,4, 6	Venezuela	2000	Ongoing	2,4, 6
Rhodesia	1965	1980	2,3,5, 6	Zimbabwe	2000	Ongoing	3
Romania	1968	1989	4	Eritrea	2001	Ongoing	2,3,4, 6
Czechoslovakia (2)	1968	1968	4	Haiti (3)	2001	2004	4
South Yemen	1969	1990	2,4, 6	Uzbekistan	2005	Ongoing	3
Taiwan	1971	Ongoing	1, 5	Somalia (ICU)	2006	2006	2,3,4
Uganda	1972	1979	3, 6	Abkhazia	2008	Ongoing	5
Chile	1973	1990	2,3	Anjouan	2008	2008	5
Libya	**1973**	**2003**	**1,2,3,4, 6**	Kosovo	2008	Ongoing	5
Paraguay	1974	1989	3	S. Ossetia	2008	Ongoing	5
Dem. Kampuchea	1975	1979	3, 6	Bahrain	2011	Ongoing	3
Vietnam	1975	1980	4, 6	Pakistan (3)	2011	Ongoing	1,2, 6
Argentina	1976	1983	2,3, 6	Egypt (2)	2011	Ongoing	3, 6
Ethiopia	1977	1991	3, 6	Libya (2)	2011	2011	3
Guatemala	1979	1996	3				

CHAPTER 3: RISE OF THE PHOENIX—A THEORY OF REPUTATIONAL

RECONSTRUCTION

The following chapter will provide a generalized framework for how states labeled as pariahs can reconstruct their national reputations to effectively remove the stigma and punishments associated with that label discussed in the previous chapter. In order to identify the process by which reputational improvement can occur, a few key assumptions must be laid out. The first assumption guiding our discussion of national reputations is that state-actors generally prefer to avoid costly punishments and stigma associated with poor national reputations as a means of maximizing their expected utility by minimizing unnecessary costs of potentially irrational behavior. No state wants to have costly diplomatic or economic sanctions and other negative externalities (whether justified or not) imposed against their country by any segment of the international community. Such limitations often provide untenable domestic conditions that threaten the economic livelihood of a state, but can also provide a direct threat to the legitimacy and viability of the ruling regime (Martin 1992, Guzman 2002). This line of thought, however, does not guarantee that every state will alter its behavior to have such limitations removed against their state. Thus, the second assumption made is that many states in such a situation will refuse to provide validity to what they perceive as attacks against their nation's sovereignty and legitimacy, resulting in some cases of pariah states that choose not to make major behavioral changes that would result in the removal of costly sanctions and other limitations. This is fundamentally the case because leaders desire to maintain their respective offices and control of

government, meaning that they will not behave in a manner inconsistent with that basic goal (Bueno de Mesquita

Such a feature likely explains why so many states labeled as pariahs sustain the costly implications of such a designation for often lengthy durations. This notion, however, does not impose great difficulty to the study of attempted reconstruction of reputations by pariah states due to a third key assumption: although many pariah states choose to maintain behavioral tendencies that sustain their pariah designation by the international community, all that is required to determine whether reputational improvement is possible, and how it functions if it does, is the existence of opportunities for such states to have their pariah status removed. For a state to have an opportunity for reputational improvement, two key components must be present. These include the possibility for a shift in the preferences of the state designated a pariah and more importantly, the willingness of the international community to reassess and adjust its perceptions of the state under question based on such shifts in preferences (Most and Starr 1989).

3.1 Windows of Opportunity

The possibility for shifting state preferences is an important component because, as Tomz (2007: 22) notes, the "mere possibility of shifting preferences makes reputations fragile, thereby contributing to reputational destruction and recovery." As was mentioned in Chapter 2, most existing models of reputation use perpetual types to test whether or not reputations will change, focusing almost exclusively on external circumstances and not on internal characteristics of the actors involved. As Tomz (2007: 20-21) suggests, such models seem appealing due to their simplicity, but miss a "fundamental feature of politics..." that "[p]erhaps individuals never change their stripes, but governments surely do." Through the incorporation of even the

possibility for changes in state preferences and other internal attributes, it should be possible to identify points in time or 'windows of opportunity' when a state is most likely to produce a meaningful modification in behavior (Most and Starr 1989). If windows of opportunity for reputational construction can be identified in a standardized manner across cases, then it should also be possible to discern the set of circumstances required for reputational construction and to better understand why some pariahs were able to effectively remove their pariah status while others have not. With this in mind, a list of opportunities meeting the criteria mentioned above is provided in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Windows of Opportunity for Reputational Reconstruction

Political Transitions/Elections	Political transitions and Elections offer the chance to function with a 'blank' slate and work as a focal point for international community's perceptions
End of a Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID)	The cessation of hostilities from a MID offer the opportunity to refocus attention to broader domestic and int'l interests.
Introduction of New Global Norm through Establishment of Treaty or Organization	With the introduction of a new norm, pariahs have the opportunity to bind themselves to the rules/obligations of treaty or organization Ex. NPT in 1972; International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002.
A Major Change in External Environment	A major change in a state's external environment offers the opportunity to refocus attention to broader domestic and international interests. Ex. A shift in polarity; Global economic/financial crisis
Domestic Political and/or Economic Difficulties Directly Related to Economic Sanctions	If the negative externalities associated with pariah status begin to register with the domestic populace (e.g. through protests, riots, political pressure), then the state should have the opportunity to alter its behavior.

An opportunity for reputational reconstruction occurs when some major event or change occurs either within a particular state or in its external environment that may cause a shift in state preferences and behavior. These opportunities represent key situational contexts in which a state has an opening to behave in an unexpected manner. This is consequential because unexpected, but desirable behavior, especially when perceived as costly to do so, is usually an indication to others that the state's preferences and disposition may have changed, thus necessitating a reassessment (see Figure 3.1). It is important to identify such opportunities because they not only help recognize standardized points when attempts at reputational improvement are most likely to occur, but also because they are the same types of events that the international community monitors to determine whether a change in a particular state's behavior is reflective of 'more of the same' or of a fundamental transformation in that state's disposition deserving of a reassessment of its reputational assignment. This is the case because such cases offer the most likely occasion for a state to fundamentally alter its behavior in a significant way as well as high enough stakes that such behavioral changes can be considered meaningful enough to justify a reconsideration of how others perceive the state under evaluation. Such events include major internal changes within a state, such as political transitions and/or elections or the occurrence of domestic pressures triggered by economic sanctions against the state, or major external changes such as the end of a conflict involving the state, the introduction of a new global norm (either through law or organization), or a change in the state's external economic, political, or security environment. The following section will detail each of these events and identify why they represent a potential opportunity for a state to change its behavior and garner the international attention necessary to warrant a reassessment of that state's reputation.

Figure 3.1: Conditions Required for Reputational Reassessment

| 'Window of Opportunity' | + | Unexpected, Desirable, & Costly Behavioral Change | = | Reassessment of National Reputation |
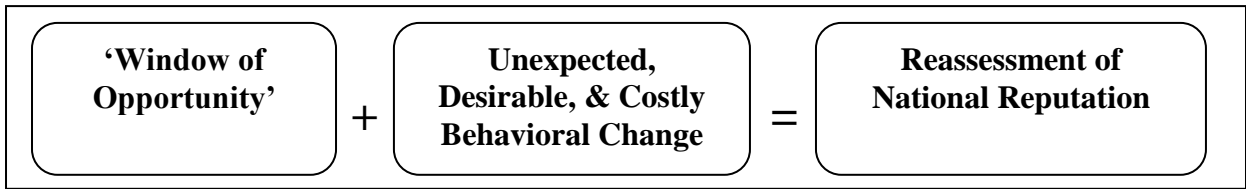
Political Transitions

Political transitions are usually the best opportunity for a state to indicate through its behavior to the international community that they have made significant alterations to its disposition and interests that may be worthy of an improvement in reputation. As Tomz (2007, 22) notes, a political transition "creates room not only for reputational destruction, but also for reputational recovery" because a transition in leadership "makes it possible for countries to return to grace after long stretches of willful nonperformance." Such transitions represent a chance for a state to 'reboot' its system and potentially alter or even completely erase some of the negative images that other states have regarding the state. This is the case because the removal of one leader or regime from power can result in the dissolution of the reputational consequences of past policies and actions by that regime as well as the state itself (Guzman 2002). In addition, the installation of a new leader or regime can provide the prospect of bringing an honest broker to the table that can credibly signal a change in disposition to others primarily as a result of the nature of the change in leadership. Guzman (2002, 1865) notes, however that the ability of a new regime to shed the stigma of the previous regime's past behavior is dependent upon how ideologically similar the two regimes are and whether or not the previous regime can readily return to power at some point in the future. This is not to say that all political transitions will result in major behavioral or dispositional changes or more importantly, that an existing regime would not be able to credibly signal a change in disposition. Reputational

recovery is a product of more than just political transitions. While regime change likely makes reputational improvement more likely, an existing regime can alter its behavior in a meaningful and costly manner so as to signal to others that it is deserving of reputational reassessment. What matters most is that political transitions present a significant opportunity for pariahs to improve their reputations.

Cessation of Conflict

Another opportunity for a pariah to attempt reputational reconstruction is following the end of a conflict involving the state. The cessation of conflict offers an opening for an alteration in disposition for two reasons, the first of which being that the state's involvement in the conflict may have been the result of direct military intervention with the intent to weaken or overthrow another state. Such an intrusion, when deemed an unreasonable use of force by the international community, "violates the norm of sovereignty that underpins the entire state-based international system by guaranteeing that no state has a right to violate another's authority within its borders" (Weiss 2012, 15). In addition, the state may have carried violate acts that were in violation of established humanitarian norms at the time. Therefore, if the pariah's involvement in the conflict was the product of a violation of humanitarian or self-determination norms, then the cessation of that conflict may offer the opportunity for that state to begin the process of deconstructing its image as a norm violator. The second reason why the end of a conflict provides an opening for a shift in state preferences is because an ongoing conflict dictates that state interests focus primarily on security, often at the expense of any reputational concerns. Once the conflict comes to an end, the state may then be able to shift its preferences from a focus primarily on security to

a focus on other domestic and foreign policies seen as more conducive to the reconstruction of its reputation.

Establishment of New Global Norms

A third opportunity for a pariah to shift preferences is upon the establishment of a new global norm, either through the passage of an international law guiding behavior on a specific issue or through the creation of an international organization designed to address a particular problem in the international system. While not all international norms are created equal in terms of enforcement or behavioral costs imposed on those states who abide by the norm, the few that are perceived as costly to accept and are widely enforced provide a chance for a state to sign on and signal a fundamental shift in its disposition to others in the international community. In short, it offers the pariah state an opportunity to behave in a way that is unexpected and desirable to outside observers. For example, a state that has been labeled as a pariah due to its efforts to develop nuclear weapons can signal to the international community that it has given up that pursuit by ratifying the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and allowing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect its nuclear facilities. By observing the behavior of pariahs in light of the introduction of such global norms, it is possible to identify an attempt by the state to improve its reputational standing among the international community. The organizations and laws (and their respective establishment dates) that will be used to discover key opportunities for reputational improvement are provided in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: International Laws and Organizations Since 1945 Used to Identify Opportunities for Reputational Improvement[12]

Law or Organization	Date Established	Issue Area It Addresses
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	16 Dec 1966	Human Rights
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)	1 Jul 1968	Security
Biological Weapons Convention	10 Apr 1972	Security
Additional Protocols to Geneva Conventions Relating to the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflict	8 Jun 1977	Security/Human Rights
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	18 Dec 1979	Human Rights
Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons	10 Oct 1980	Security
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	10 Dec 1984	Human Rights
Convention on the Rights of the Child	20 Nov 1989	Human Rights
Chemical Weapons Convention	3 Sep 1992	Security
World Trade Organization	1 Jan 1995	Trade
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)	10 Sept 1996	Security
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	17 July 1998	General
UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	15 Dec 2000	Global Crime
Arms Trade Treaty	2 Apr 2013	Security

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[12] Information on international treaties obtained from the United Nations Treaty Collection (2013), available at http://treaties.un.org/pages/ParticipationStatus.aspx (Accessed on 10/15/2013). Information on International Organizations obtained from the CIA Factbook (2013), available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/appendix/appendix-b.html (Accessed on 10/15/2013).

Major Shocks in External Environment

The next most likely opportunity for a pariah to shift its preferences to reflect a change in disposition is in response to some major shock in its external environment. While such shocks are infrequent, when they do occur, they can heavily influence a state's priorities. For example, a shift in polarity, like the one the occurred with the collapse of the Soviet Union, can cause a large number of states to significantly alter their preferences. Under such circumstances, it is possible that a pariah state may choose to shift preferences to focus on factors more conducive to reputational reconstruction. Such shocks can be global, regional, or local in scope, but must be fairly large in magnitude in order to evoke a shift in preferences. The external shocks that will be included in an analysis of pariah behavior include major geopolitical shifts during the Cold War, such as the eras of detente between the United States and the Soviet Union that fundamentally altered the political, economic, and security preferences of many states at the time, the end of the Cold War and the bipolar international system during the late 1980s and early 1990s, including the beginning of thawing relations between the West and the Soviet Bloc starting in 1986 to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the terror attacks in New York City and Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001, as well as the global financial crisis and recession of 2007-08, including the years of 2009 and 2010 during which the implications of the recession were still being felt. The logic of including such events into our analysis is that they represent a major shock to the political, economic, or security situation for nearly every state at the time, creating potential for a state to fundamentally change course.

Difficulties Associated with Economic Sanctions

The final opportunity for pariahs to shift their preferences is directly related to how their domestic populace and ruling elite respond to the consequences of pariah status, most notably the impact of economic sanctions imposed against their state. Economic sanctions are designed to not only punish a state for a particular type of undesirable behavior, but also to create pressure from both inside and outside a regime to alter the costs and benefits that determine key policy choices (Martin 1992, Guzman 2002). In some instances, that pressure, displayed in the form of mass protests or riots, and more importantly in the form of economic and financial difficulties, can (but certainly not always) place enough political pressure on the regime to encourage or force a change in preferences and disposition. It is important to note some key factors relevant to this point that may influence whether such an opportunity is meaningful to a shift in preferences or not. Such protests may be directed at the community enforcing the sanctions regime and thus not the ruling regime itself, or just as likely, may be co-opted by the ruling regime as an opportunity to direct popular attention away from the potential wrong-doing of the regime and towards the perceived mistreatment and victimization of the nation by the international community. In either case, popular protests are unlikely to evoke any meaningful shift in state preferences. Although this is the case, it is important to include even such unlikely situations simply because they allow even a small possibility for change. The key will be to identify such opportunities and then to carefully analyze their content and context as to whether they pose a meaningful challenge to the states existing preferences at the time.

3.2 Competing Theories on Reputation

Identifying the opportunities for behavioral adjustment on behalf of pariahs, however, is only half of the necessary components required for reputational improvement. Since reputational assignment and adjustment is predominantly under the influence of an actor's external community, there must be a willingness to modify a reputation among that community or else there would be no combination or amount of behavioral changes that could improve a state's reputation. This willingness of an actor's social environment to form reputational beliefs about the actor originates from the incomplete nature of information in social environments as well as the desire for actors involved in iterated interactions to form expectations about future interactions based on past and current behavior (Axelrod 1984; Keohane 1984). Therefore, it is out of practical necessity that the international community form reputational beliefs about each state based on an analysis of past and present behavior of the state under inspection (Tomz 2007: 28). The necessity of such analysis, however, is a source of contention among scholars of reputation. The following section will detail each of the different theoretical approaches to reputation and provide a basis for comparison and analysis between them.

The first competing perspective on reputation formation in international politics is based on the idea that people tend to interpret history and past behavior in a biased, irrational manner, thus preventing them from being easily able to reassess their basic conceptions of other's dispositions. At the heart of this line of thought is Jonathan Mercer's (1996) Desire-Based model that theorizes that only undesirable behavior can generate a reputation because people have a tendency to revise their firmly held beliefs about another actor's disposition (perceived to be part of the out-group) only when that actor behaves in a manner that is objectionable to the observer. In addition, behavior that is perceived as desirable is credited not to any changes in the actor's

disposition, rather is attributed to some situational explanation that forced the actor to act in such a manner. This is significant because if accurate, any member considered to be part of an out-group would never be able to act in a way worthy of a reassessment of its disposition and thus would never be able to reconstruct a reputation. In addition, while a reputation may initially be based on biased assessments of what is desirable and what is not, overtime, that bias is likely to fade and have a lesser influence upon a state's reputation. As Guzman (2002, 1864) notes, the "passage of time reduces the reputational consequences of any particular act." A Desire-Based model of reputation formation then would predict that attempts at reputational recovery by a pariah state should only produce a change in reputation for a pariah over a very long, drawn-out period of time, but more importantly, that there is little the state-actor will be able to do to influence the process. Following this logic, pariah states, the epitome of an out-group member in international politics, then would find removal of the pariah label or stigma associated with it extremely difficult. As it has been noted across several examples in international politics since the end of World War II, this is not the case. Pariahs have, on numerous occasions, been able to remove their pariah status and re-socialize into the international community over fairly reasonable periods of time primarily due to the influence that their respective agency in the reputational process had on the recovery process. .

Another competing explanation of reputation formation and change is Daryl Press' (2005) Current Calculus Theory, which argues that decision-makers fundamentally judge a state's credibility (and thus reputation) through an analysis of current conditions and information alone, with little to no assessment of history or past behavior. A state's reputation then is the sum of other's perceptions of its preferences and behavior at the current moment and under the current circumstances. It assumes that decision-makers can assess a state's preferences and behavior in

real-time and adjust quickly as time progresses and that decision-makers will only turn to an assessment of past behavior when the stakes of a situation are low (Press 2005). When stakes are high, as they often are in international politics, decision-makers will focus on the collection of current information and intelligence in an effort "to gather more data and to model the situation more thoroughly," rather than assessing lessons from the past (Press 2005, 23). In this sense, Current Calculus Theory would predict that reputational improvement is as simple as changing how one behaves and how it is perceived by others in the current context and more interestingly, that reputations should change quickly and often because ones beliefs about another state can be quickly adjusted in real-time to reflect such changes. While it is likely accurate that leaders prefer to rely on the most up-to-date information about another state, it is unlikely that they are always able to rely on such information without any consideration for the past. One of the common features of international politics is that most information about a state's preferences is incomplete, suggesting that even in a situation in which there is a lot of current intelligence, there will remain a large number of gaps in what is certain and what is uncertain (Frieden 1999; Tomz 2007). To fill those gaps in information, decision-makers often turn to assessments of past behavior, in combination with as much current information as possible, to predict what the other state's preferences and behavior will ultimately be. As Tomz (2007, 31) puts it, "current calculations are costly; they require extensive study of politics in foreign countries. Past actions, in contrast, provide insight on the cheap." In addition, as was noted earlier, the passage of time helps to reduce the influence that any one event or type of behavior might have on a state's reputation (Guzman 2002). Without any consideration of past actions or conditions, there would be no mechanism by which one could analyze the impact that the passage of time might have on a state's reputation.

Both the Desire-Based and Current Calculus theories of reputation formation offer a viable and clear explanation for how reputations form and operate in international politics, however, as previously noted, each appear to have theoretical blind-spots that prevent them from explaining why a large number of pariah states have been able to effectively convince others that their reputations as pariahs warranted reassessment and improvement. From the Desire-Based perspective, one would not expect to observe any states shedding their pariah status or the stigma associated with it, nor any semblance of reputational improvement among the most obvious members of the international community's out-group. From the Current Calculus perspective, one would not expect for so many pariah states to be so unsuccessful at losing their pariah status considering the seemingly constant updating of outside decision-makers beliefs about their state across a wide-range of different contexts and situations. In addition, the very nature of reputation makes it difficult for calculations of current conditions alone to explain how pariah states improve their reputations. Because a state's reputation is both an aggregation of countless perceptions of its past behavior as well as based on the contrast between how the state behaved in the past with how it is behaving in the present, an assessment of current information alone would not be able to provide a decision-maker with any semblance of whether their current perceptions are accurate. Therefore, only a comparative calculus, in which both current and past behavior and conditions are factored in, would allow a decision-maker to effectively analyze the reputation of another state.

With these two approaches in mind, what should be some key characteristics of an ideal theory of reputational improvement if it does exist? The first component must be a recognition that while state actors are likely to attribute desirable changes in a pariah's behavior to some situational explanation that forced the actor to act in the favorable manner, there are times at

which states, when confronted with overwhelming evidence of a behavioral shift that cannot be explained by the situational context alone, may be more attune to reputational reassessment. This overwhelming evidence often takes the form of major, costly changes in behavior across a wide range of issues on the part of the pariah. As it will be revealed in the theory of reputational reconstruction developed in the next section, these 'costly' changes are significant because they represent an almost irreversible commitment to a new disposition and behavior that can only be explained by a fundamental shift in the preferences of the state under consideration. Therefore, for any members of a perceived out-group that desire to alter other's perceptions of them in a favorable manner, it is then critically important to change behavior in such a dramatic manner so as to leave others in their external environment little to no doubt that they have truly changed in a desirable way. The next component must be the inclusion of a comparative calculus of both current and past behavior and situational conditions. Only by looking at current behavior and conditions in the context of the past will there be an understanding of why a particular state has garnered a pariah label and whether or not such a designation remains accurate in the present time. This is not to suggest that current conditions are not the most relevant or important component of most decision-makers' calculus, rather that because current information is often obtained at great cost and heavily augmented by abundant uncertainty, it must be supplemented with details and lessons from the past.

The final component is the inclusion of a state's agency in the reputational improvement process. Although a state's reputation is a construction of other's perceptions regarding its disposition and behavior, it is important to consider the role that a state plays in influencing those perceptions. Through the tools available to that state through public diplomacy, it is possible to evoke changes in other's perceptions in a meaningful enough way so as to cause them to reassess

their reputational beliefs about that state. These tools can include rhetoric, which can be cheap or costly depending upon the venue and context in which it is given, or behavioral changes, which can likewise be cheap or costly depending on the context and scope of the commitments that the changes bind the state in the future and whether or not the behavior is easily reversible or not. Through the skilled use of costly rhetoric and behavioral changes, states should, but not always, influence how others generally perceive them.

It is important to note that while the tools of public diplomacy can be a powerful mechanism allowing states to 'manage' their image and reputation in international politics, they are unable to overcome certain factors that can also influence a state's reputation. One of these factors occurs when a state's violations of international norms become so intertwined in the perceptions of other states that the improvement of behavior towards one norm can be ignored at the expense of the continued stigma associated with the continued violations of other norms. In this sense, deviant behavior and norm violations can often become layered to such a degree that any punishments that are assigned to one violation can become closely associated with other violations, making it substantially more difficult for a pariah to improve its situation. An example of this occurrence is the linkages made between South Africa's violation of nuclear proliferation norms in the 1970s and 1980s and its military involvement in Angola and Namibia from the 1960s onward with its continued usage of the racially motivated social and political policies of Apartheid by members of the international community. South Africa's violation of human rights norms became so closely associated with all of its other transgressions that occurred after that its leaders determined that they would gain no reputational benefits for dismantling their nuclear weapons program during the early 1980s, causing them to continue to

develop nuclear technology and violate global norms on nuclear development and proliferation until 1989 (Stumpt 1995, Pabian 1995, Liberman 2001).

Other factors that might make it difficult for a state to influence other's conceptions of its national reputation might include a lack of knowledge about the clarity of a state's obligation to some norm as it changes or adapts to new conditions or the severity of a norm violation causing reputational harm (Guzman 2002), a lack of formal diplomatic contact or recognition in one or more dyadic relationships or a lack of desire to alter their reputation, which can stem from the demands of domestic politics or threats in their external security environment that preclude them from making any major behavioral changes. Despite the potential limitations of public diplomacy, the very fact that a state might be able to directly influence or manage how others perceive it provides it some agency or 'ownership' of its reputation that must be included in any theory of reputational improvement. From this perspective, reputation is a complex concept that is simultaneously a cognitive indicator developed and used by others to assist them in determining how to behave towards a particular state *and* is a critical property belonging to each state in international politics that can be influenced and managed through public diplomacy in most instances. The following section will develop a theory of reputational improvement that meets these three criteria and will offer a lens by which the reconstruction and improvement of a state's reputation can be assessed and analyzed.

3.3 A 'Rebranding' Strategy for Reputational Improvement

The following section will offer an explanation of reputational development and improvement that complements the existing theories of reputation and offers a functional explanation for how pariah states have in the past or may in the future remove the reputational

stigma associated with their pariah label. As was noted previously in this chapter, reputation consists of two related, but distinct components. The first is that reputation is a form of ideational property belonging to a state that can be managed and influenced through the tools of public diplomacy in great number of instances. The second, which will be discussed further in a moment, is that reputation is a cognitive indicator developed through countless perceptions of other's behavior and disposition and used by states as both individual entities and as a collective to assist them in determining how to behave towards a particular state.

The first step in developing a theory for reputational improvement is to provide a discussion for how a state can effectively identify, develop, communicate and promote its preferred image to members of the international community. The identification of a state's preferred image is an important component of the process since their rhetoric and behavior act as such as strong influence upon other's perceptions of the state. A nation's image is a projection of what they desire others to think about their nation in a very general sense that is adaptable to a variety of contexts and situations (Fan 2010, 100; Whetten and Mackey 2002, 400). This notion is supported by O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2000, 58), in that "[t]he nation's image can be a signaling device to telegraph meaning in a cryptic form, a meaning typically built up and nuanced over the years." This meaning is often derived from a combination of a nation's identity, which "refers to the essentially irrational psychological bond that binds fellow nationals together" with the calculated needs of the state, which is to say, a nation's image of itself is a mixture of what its citizens think it means to be from that state (e.g. culture, values, interests) with the political, economic, and strategic (often military) needs of the state (Fan 2010, 100). In its simplest form, a nation's image then is the materialization of lasting illustrations and ideas about what is unique and worthy of attention about that state.

The process of identifying a nation's preferred image is complex and can often produces an incomplete or incoherent outward projection of the national image if the nation's leaders are unable to arrive at some semblance of a clear and unified notion of what it is they want the rest of the world to believe about them. But more importantly, that they even if they do have such a unified vision, that they all work as a cohesive unit to promote it. If a state does not have a clear, comprehensive, and most importantly, unified vision of how it would like others to perceive it, then its rhetoric and behavior are unlikely to seriously influence other's perceptions due to the communication of mixed signals. Any uncertainty about the projected direction that a state is headed is likely to be perceived as indecisiveness and more importantly as a lack of commitment to that particular course of action. The worst thing a state desiring to alter other perceptions of itself can do is to project an image of itself that is uncommitted to any changes in behavior or rhetoric that it makes. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the central component of any attempt to improve a state's reputational situation is whether or not others perceive the rhetorical and behavioral changes it is making as costly commitments that bind the state to predictable and perceptually more positive behavior in the future.

Following this logic, successful identification of a preferred national image, not to mention the develop and transmission of the image that is to follow, is contingent upon several key factors, including the cohesiveness among all relevant groups at the domestic level about what the preferable trajectory is for the state in terms of its strategic needs and interests, that even in the absence of total cohesion among the competing domestic factions, no individual or group speak or behave in a manner that is dramatically inconsistent with the predominant image that is to be projected, and finally, that the new image comprehensively acknowledges and addresses *all* past behavior that produced its pariah image. A state cannot expect to successfully

project a non-pariah image of the state that only improves the states behavior in one category of past deviant behavior while foregoing progress in another category due primarily to the layered nature of norm violations. Only by improving behavior across all areas of past deviance will a state be able to successfully project a non-pariah image.

The next step in the reputational improvement process then is the development of the preferred image of the state, which is inclusive of any rhetorical or behavioral changes that were identified during the previous step. Although a state's agency in this process is limited by the inherent perceptual nature of reputation, even a constrained role is sure to net a state some direct influence on the process of reputation formation. At the heart of a state's capabilities to influence the reputational improvement process are the various tools available to a state through public diplomacy, including the use of rhetoric in meaningful venues, the signing or ratifying of key international agreements, the joining of major international or regional organizations, as well as several diplomatic tools, including the maintenance or promotion of formal relations with a large number of states and often more significantly, with major powers such as the United States, the European Union, Russia, or China.

In addition to the tools of public diplomacy, a state can also directly influence the reputational improvement process through changes in its behavior. Such changes can include improvements in electoral behavior, including promotion of electoral self-determination, the execution of high quality, free and fair national elections, as well as the presence of electoral observers during a major election, improvement in the nation's respect for human rights, including its overall rating of the physical integrity of its citizens and by the number of political prisoners imprisoned by the state, the cessation of the involvement in the internal affairs of its neighbors as well as external conflicts more generally, and finally, an improvement in the

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nation's behavior towards major global norms such as those against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), violations of human rights and state-directed repression, state support or involvement in global terrorism, which can be improved by the nation ratifying major agreement or joining key international organizations in a particular issue area. These various behavioral changes and how they will be measured or observed can be seen in Table 3.3 later in this chapter.

Once a nation has identified and developed its preferred image, it now must communicate or advertise that image to the international community through a variety of 'rebranding' strategies that are available to them. At the most basic level, rebranding is the use of rhetoric to draw a connection between a nations' past image (based primarily on past behavior, and in this case, past deviant behavior), its new and reformed behavior, and the image that it prefers the international community to accept. Fan (2010, 102) notes that:

> For a nation to change its image, it first needs to change its behavior. Then, equally important, it needs to tell all people in the world about the changes. This is because images of a nation will not automatically change after changes in reality. The way for a nation to gain a better reputation is to communicate to the international audience as to how good they are — this practice is called nation branding.

In this sense, a state that desires to improve its reputation needs to significantly alter its behavior from the past to reflect a fundamental change in its disposition *and* needs to advertise and frame these changes through its rhetoric in meaningful venues such as the United Nations or in a highly public forum such as a Presidential address to the legislature or an official communiqué to some international organization. The main point is that the framing rhetoric occurs in a relatively 'high-stakes' environment in which 'cheap' talk is minimized. In addition to the use of framing rhetoric, however, the inclusion of meaningful rhetoric prior to any major behavioral changes as a form of priming would be useful in helping draw its audience's attention to (e.g. prime) the goals that it

intends to achieve regarding its altered behavior. With the combination of priming rhetoric and framing rhetoric delivered in a 'high-stakes' venue by an official representative of the state (e.g. the nation's leader or a foreign minister or ambassador), it is much more likely that the international community will draw its attention to any behavioral changes made and potentially initiate a revision of their reputational beliefs about the nation.

Of particular importance during the transmission stage of the reputational improvement process is the degree to which the state's reformed behavior is fundamentally different from its past, deviant behavior. In many instances, a state desiring to project a non-pariah image of itself will fail because the changes in rhetoric and behavior that is promotes are perceived as 'cheap' and lacking commitment to the behavioral standards required of the image they attempted to project (Jervis 1989). If the state's altered behavior is generally perceived as a half-hearted attempt to meet the demands of a non-pariah image (e.g. the absence of all major norm violations), then other states are unlikely to reevaluate their firmly held beliefs about the state and continue to perceive the state's behavior as undesirable, only serving to confirm the state's image of a pariah. So long as the state's new behavior remains close to or exactly the same as its past, deviant behavior, no reputational change is likely to occur since the state is only confirming what others already believed about it. This form of rebranding, which will be referred to as *confirmatory rebranding*, primarily consists of behavioral changes that are minor and perceptually on the 'cheap' for a state. Such a strategy can be useful to states desiring to project an image of their state that they find as an acceptable reflection of their preferred image, which most often applies to states that already possess a reputation for being a 'good' global citizen because they are perceived as generally following and promoting global norms. Since reputation is such a fluid conceptualization, states generally need to regularly reinforce their preferred

image. So long as that preferred image is similar to the one that is assigned by the international community, the state need only pursue behavior that confirms and reinforces that image.

Although confirmatory rebranding is useful and necessary for many states to reinforce preexisting images of themselves among the perceptions of the international community, it only works so long as the assigned image of the state matches up with the preferred image of the state. Confirmatory rebranding is not particularly useful to states wishing to 'climb' the ladder of reputation and remove the label of a pariah since reputational change requires other states to revise their perceptions of that state. Therefore, a second form of rebranding, which will be referred to as *revisionist rebranding*, is required. Revisionist rebranding consists of substantial and costly behavioral changes that must be such dramatic departures from a state's previous behavior to produce a reassessment of other's perceptions about the state. As was discussed previously, the primary objective of a state desiring to improve its reputation is to provide overwhelming and irrefutable evidence that its reformed behavior is not just a product of changing situational factors, rather is a direct result of a fundamental shift in the state's intentions, interests, and behavior, all of which is done in an effort to overcome the 'desire-based' bias that exists among state actors in the international system (Mercer 1996). At the heart of revisionist rebranding is the use of signaling, which is the application of either cheap or costly changes in rhetoric or behavior to 'signal' to others a change in intention and/or disposition.

The idea of credible signaling is a well-developed concept in the field of deterrence and functions well in relation to rebranding strategies because they both relate to how different actors are able to convince others that their actions and words are credible. Many scholars have argued that signals must be costly if they are to credibly communicate one's resolve and intentions (Schelling 1966; Jervis 1970; Powell 1990; Nalebuff 1991; Fearon 1994a, 1994b, 1997; Huth

1999; Morrow 1999). Fearon (1997, 69-70) notes that to credibly signal resolve to others, leaders can 'tie' their hands by making public statements that commit them to a particular course of action, creating high 'audience costs' for bluffing or cheating or they can make financially costly moves to show their commitment to the particular course of action. Only when an actor's behavior is perceived as costly will those changes be considered a genuine modification in the actor's disposition. When those actions are 'cheap,' such attempts are likely to be perceived as attempts to manipulate others' perceptions of the states' image in order to deceive (Jervis 1989). This line of thought, in conjunction with the previous discussion of the importance of rhetoric and behavioral changes, produces five possible types of rebranding attempts designed to help improve national reputation. These options (as displayed in Figure 3.2), ranging from rhetoric alone to costly behavioral changes combined with rhetoric, can be placed on a hierarchy of relative expected effectiveness in regards to improvement of a state's reputation.

Most Effective

Likely Significant Improvement in Reputation
• Costly Behavioral Change Alone
• Costly Behavioral Change with priming and framing rhetoric

Likely Slight to Moderate Improvement in Reputation
• Cheap Behavioral Change with priming and framing rhetoric

Unlikely to Improve Reputation
• Rhetoric Alone
• Cheap Behavioral Change Alone
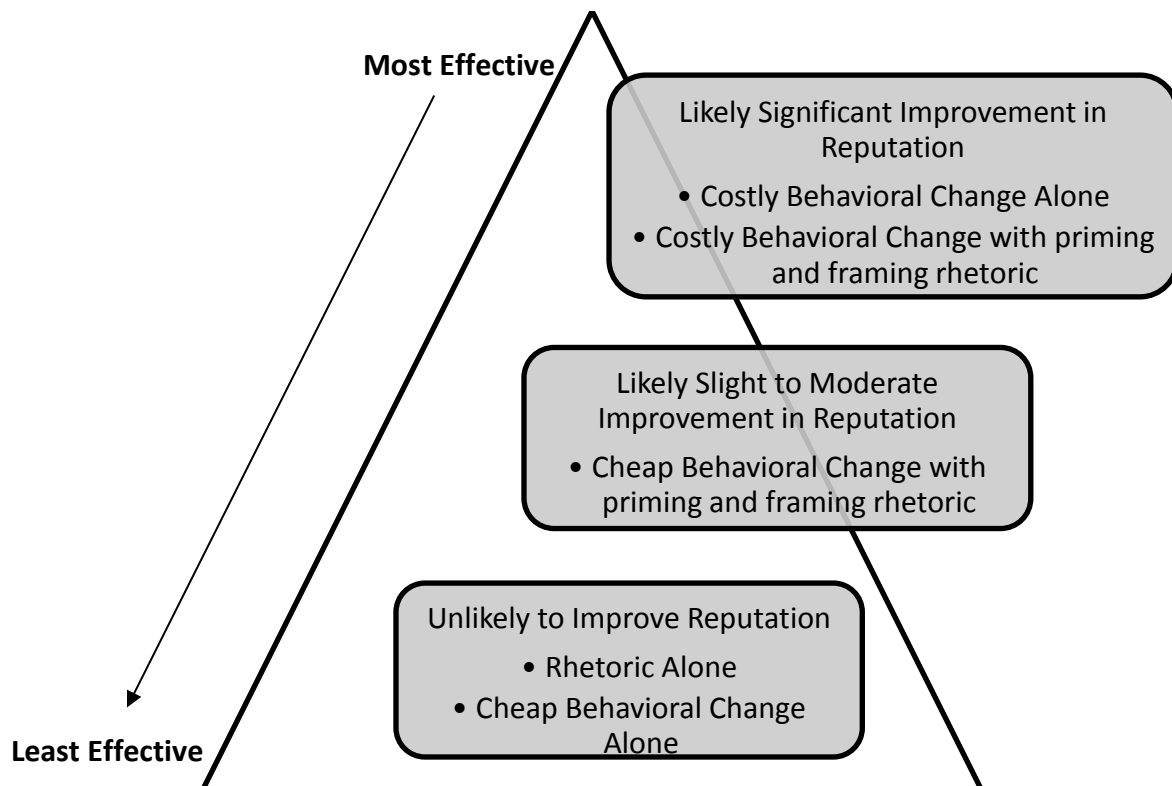
Least Effective

Figure 3.2: Hierarchy of Effectiveness in Rebranding Attempts

The first rebranding attempt, which is the use of changes in rhetoric in the absence of any notable change in state behavior, is the least likely strategy to produce any improvement in a state's reputational situation. This is the case because talk, even when conducted in a meaningful venue with reasonably high 'audience costs,' is likely to be at best perceived as a non-committal statement of the type of reputation a state desires to have and at worse, an attempt to deceive others as to the true intentions of the state (Jervis 1989, Fearon 1997). The second attempt, which is the use of perceptually 'cheap,' or confirmatory behavioral changes in the absence of any priming or framing rhetoric, is also unlikely to produce a change in a state's reputation primarily because 'cheap' behavioral changes are also generally perceived as lacking commitment to a new course of action or as an attempt to deceive. In addition, if a state alters its behavior in the absence of any attempt to advertise and frame those changes in a meaningful way to the international community, then such behavioral changes are unlikely to have the desired effect since no observer will be able to attach any major significance or value to the behavioral changes. This is why one would expect a costly behavioral change in the absence of any priming or framing rhetoric to be less effective and occasionally less successful at producing a change in reputation than an attempt that combines the two, although it is still likely that costly behavioral changes, even in the absence of meaningful rhetorical changes, will produce revision of a state's reputation in a less effective or efficient manner.

In this sense, rebranding attempts that rely on rhetoric or cheap behavioral changes alone are expected to produce little, if any change in a state's reputational situation. In the middle, the combination of cheap behavioral change combined with meaningful rhetoric is similarly unlikely to produce a significant change in reputation, however, it is not out of the realm of possibility

that such an attempt would produce a small to moderate change in reputation. A small to moderate change in reputation would most likely consist of some general improvement in how others treat the state, such as a lessening, but not total removal of sanctions levied against the nation or the partial normalization of formal relations between the state and others (e.g. the opening of an 'interests section' rather than a full embassy in the state). Finally, rebranding attempts that involve costly changes in state behavior either with or without meaningful rhetoric are then expected to produce significant improvement in the state's reputation. Significant improvement would be denoted by the complete removal of all embargoes and sanctions imposed on the state, the full normalization of formal relations with most states in the international system (or at least those that there is a logical reason for having formal relations with), and an increase in foreign direct investment and development assistance into the nation. These perceptual changes will be discussed in more detail below, however, with these feature in mind, the following models of reputational change can be produced. Figure 3.3 shows the expected relationship between rebranding attempts that consist of cheap behavioral changes alone or meaningful changes in rhetoric alone with their expected effect on reputation.

Figure 3.3: The Effect of a Rhetorical OR Cheap Behavioral Rebranding Attempt on Reputation
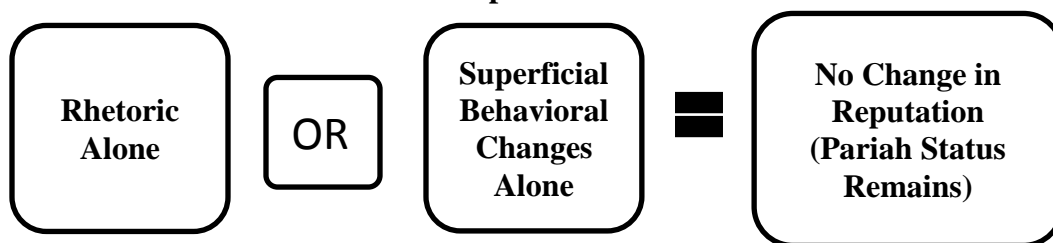
Figure 3.4 shows the expected relationship (in order of occurrence) between a rebranding attempt that combines cheap behavioral changes with meaningful rhetoric and its expected effect on reputation.

Figure 3.4: The Effect of a Rhetorical & Cheap Behavioral Rebranding Attempt on Reputation

Priming Rhetoric ➕ Superficial Behavioral Change ➕ Framing Rhetoric ➖ Small to Moderate Change in Reputation (Pariah Status Remains)
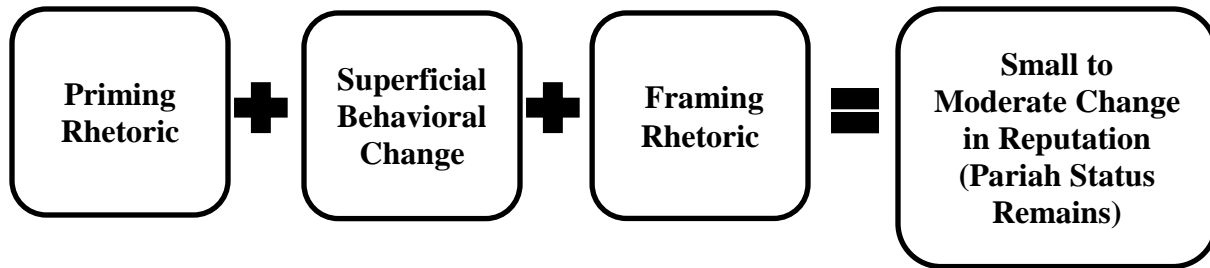
Finally, Figure 3.5 shows the expected relationship (in order of occurrence) between a rebranding attempt that either combines rhetoric with costly behavioral changes or behavioral changes alone and its expected effect on reputation.

Figure 3.5: The Effect of a Rhetorical & Costly Behavioral Rebranding Attempt on Reputation

Priming Rhetoric ➕ Costly Behavioral Change ➕ Framing Rhetoric ➖ Significant Improvement in Reputation (Pariah Status Ends)
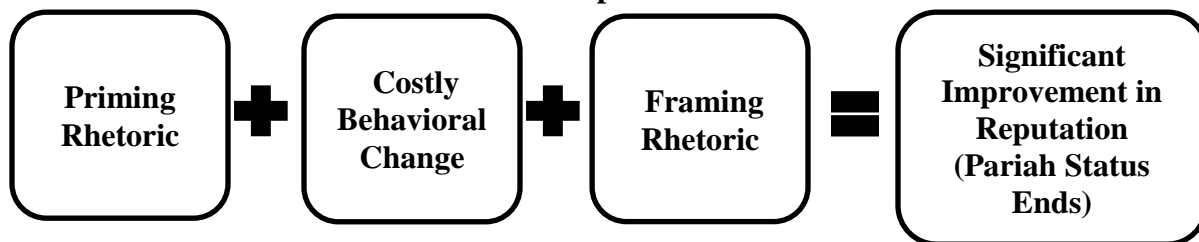
3.4 Hypotheses

These models yield the following three hypotheses:

H_1: A state's reputation is likely to significantly improve (as denoted by the removal of its pariah status) when it pursues a rebranding attempt, during a window of opportunity, consisting of costly behavioral changes when combined with priming and framing rhetoric.

H_2: A state's reputation is unlikely to improve when it pursues a rebranding attempt consisting of rhetoric alone or cheap behavioral changes alone, even in the presence of a 'window of opportunity.'

H_3: A state's reputation is likely to minimally or moderately improve (as denoted by some combination of reductions in punishments levied against it and improved treatment by other states) when it pursues a rebranding attempt, during a window of opportunity, consisting of cheap behavioral changes when combined with priming and framing rhetoric.

3.5 Case Selection

In order to effectively test these hypotheses, the primary focus will be on conducting comparative case studies of three distinct cases of pariah states (as selected using criteria defined in Chapter 2) which made an active attempt to improve their reputation. These cases include South Africa between 1946 and 1994, Libya between 1973 and 2003, and North Korea between 1948 and the present. Each were selected from the list of all pariah states between 1914 and 2012 (see Table 2.1) and were chosen because they each were or still are in violation of several global norms simultaneously (at least four different violations) and because two (South Africa and Libya) are cases where attempts to improve national reputation were successful while the other (North Korea) is a case where attempts to improve national reputation have been unsuccessful to this point. By providing both successful and unsuccessful cases in the analysis, any selection bias for choosing only cases of success should be avoided. In addition, since a rebranding attempt (whether successful or not) and not each actual case is the event to be observed, there exist several observations within all but one of the cases. In the case of Libya for example, there were five independent rebranding attempts pursued by the Gaddafi regime to improve its reputational position between 1973 and 2003, including attempts in 1979, 1989, 1994, 1999, and 2003. The value of having more than one observation within each case is that it increases the overall number of rebranding attempts to be assessed for why they were successful or failures, lending significance to any findings that might be produced. The only exception to this feature is the case of South Africa, which contains only one actual rebranding attempt (between 1990 and 1994) that can be independently analyzed. All other cases possess multiple observations that will be assessed separately within each chapter.

3.6 Methodology

The primary evaluation of the selected cases will be conducted through careful tracing of the reputational improvement process across the period of analysis for each case. As was noted previously in this chapter, the process by which reputations can be improved is a step-by-step process that if present, should be able to be traced from start to finish to identify whether a state's rebranding attempt using some combination of cheap or costly changes in rhetoric and behavior directly influences indicators of perceptions among members of the international community. In this sense, the most effective method for discerning what role states are able to play in the alteration of their national reputations as well as recognizing whether the causal mechanism of costly changes in their behavior combined with priming and framing rhetoric is the cause of their improved reputation, as denoted by the removal of their pariah status, is the use of process tracing (George and Bennett 2005). To accomplish this, the structure for each case study will be nearly identical, with sections dedicated to the state's pre-pariah status, the origins and development of its pariah status, a discussion of each type of 'windows of opportunity' in turn to identify potential rebranding attempts, and a step-by-step account of each state's rebranding attempts (whether successful or not at improving the state's reputational situation) in order to effectively test each hypothesis regarding expected success or failure for each type of attempt, and finally, for the South Africa and Libya cases that have seen an end to their state's pariah status, a thorough and methodical discussion about the process by which their pariah designation was removed through a careful analysis of behavioral and perceptual indicators that should identify any causal link between changes in the state's rhetoric and behavior and the general perceptions of that state by members of the international community.

In addition, due to the complex nature of the reputational improvement process, it is nearly impossible to quantify reputation as a measurable concept. With so many potential inputs into the process and because a great deal of reputational formation and reformation occurs within the confines of the perceptions of decision-makers, a series of proxy measures must be relied upon to provide a good indication about whether changes in a state's rhetoric and behavior has any effect upon its reputation. With this in mind, this project will rely upon a wide-ranging and far-reaching set of proxy variables in the behavioral and perceptual realms that will hopefully capture the dynamic reputational improvement process in each case. The main objective will be to identify whether any direct perceptual changes develop as a result of changes in a pariah state's behavior. If the theory of reputational improvement developed above is accurate, then costly behavioral changes when combined with meaningful rhetoric should produce fairly dramatic changes in perceptual indicators of how members of the international community treat the state and most importantly, what they think about it.

To accomplish this, each case study will be conducted with a common framework so that the analysis is as robust as possible and so that direct comparisons can be made after each study is completed. The first step of the process will be to identify and discuss the pre-pariah status of each state in an effort to pinpoint the reason for why each state's pariah status developed at the onset of the state's 'pariah period' identified in Table 2.1 as adapted from Weiss 2012, 17). The second step will be to comprehensively identify and discuss all of the components of each state's pariah status, including analysis of each of its norm violations (as identified in Table 2.1) and the subsequent punishment and isolation implemented by some or all of the international community. The third step will be to assess the variety of opportunities for each state to improve its reputational situation (as presented in Table 3.1) as well as every independent rebranding

attempt made by the state during its pariah status. At this stage, each rebranding attempt will be assessed for the presence of priming or framing rhetoric as well as cheap or costly behavioral changes in an effort to discern why the attempt was either successful or unsuccessful at improving the states reputation and/or producing an end to its pariah status. As part of this step, all rhetorical and behavioral changes made by the state will be analyzed as well as an assessment of the international community's treatment of the state during the period. The last step will be a thorough discussion of any rebranding attempts that may have produced an end to the state's pariah status. This section will only be presented for the South Africa and Libya case studies as both state's saw their pariah status come to an end during the period of analysis, while North Korea's pariah status remains ongoing. To assist in the analysis of each rebranding attempt, the following rhetorical, behavioral, and perceptual indicators will be used.

Rhetorical Indicators

Rhetoric is an important component of the reputational improvement process since it is often what someone says and how they say it that is used as an initial indication of who and what they are in terms of disposition as well as an indication of what their intentions and interest might be. The deceptive nature of rhetoric, however, makes it difficult for outside observers to rely on words and their delivery alone to determine everything they may want and need to know about someone or something they are interacting with. In international politics, this reality is all too familiar to the decision-makers and world leaders that have to form judgments about their colleagues, friends, enemies, and everything in between. The temptation for leaders, ministers, and other representatives of states to present half-truths or misrepresentations of their true intentions, interests, and disposition is a common feature rooted in the uncertainty present among

states in the international system (Jervis 1989). Despite this tendency, there are some means by which decision-makers can attempt to discern between deceptive and potentially insincere rhetoric and meaningful and genuine rhetoric. The primary distinctions between the two forms of rhetoric involve assessment of the venue where the rhetoric is delivered, the content and context of the statement, and most importantly, a careful assessment of the actor's behavior immediately following the rhetoric to determine whether they have behaved in a manner consistent with their statement or not. The venue at which the rhetoric is delivered is an important, but only a mildly useful indication of whether an actor's rhetoric can be trusted. While it is meaningful to deliver a statement in front of a meeting of the United Nations Security Council or in a televised address before the national legislature as opposed to a personal conversation at a meeting of the G-20, deceiving remarks can still remain despite the choice of a meaningful venue, although venue clearly matters when determining the significance of rhetoric (Mearsheimer 2010).

In addition to the forum where the rhetoric is delivered, the content and context of the statements made by an actor are a critical indication of an actor's stated intentions, but as is the case with venue choice, an analysis of content and context alone will not overcome problems of deceptive and disputable rhetoric. Although a content and context analysis alone cannot guarantee an honest depiction of state interests and intentions, the overall objective of a speech and its carefully selected content can often be an important part of determining whether such rhetoric is meaningful. The final and best method for assessing whether rhetoric is meaningful and predominantly truthful is to compare information obtained about the venue, content, and context of the statement made to the actor's behavior immediately following the delivery of the rhetoric. If an actor behaves inconsistently with the statements made, then such rhetoric will be dismissed as disingenuous. If however, the rhetoric prefaces major behavioral changes that are

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then carried out, then the rhetoric is likely to play a role in priming and framing the behavior in a manner of value to the actor delivering it.

For our purposes then, rhetoric delivered on behalf of a pariah will be assessed by the venue it is delivered in, the content and context of the statement delivered, and the correlation between the content of statements and state behavior following the delivery of the statement. 'Meaningful' rhetoric that might be used for priming or framing purposes should be delivered in a consequential forum, such as in a statement before the United Nations Security Council or a major address to the national legislature, should contain mention of substantial changes in state behavior that would be reflective of a non-pariah state, such as the public renouncement of past behavior in a general or specific sense or an official announcement of a major event or plan of action for how behavior will change in the future, and most importantly, should not be made in the absence of any follow-up in terms of behavioral changes in line with what was describe in the statement. If a statement fails to meet any of these criteria, then it is unlikely to be taken seriously by any audience among the international community and will be treated as 'inconsequential' rhetoric.

Behavioral Indicators

Although a state's rhetoric is an important indication of what its intentions and interests are, it is the inclusion of indicators of a state's behavior into one's observations and analysis of another that will help discern whether the state is being truthful. This is the case primarily because, as the old idiom goes, 'actions speak louder than words.' A state is far less likely to be able to deceive others with its behavior than with its rhetoric simply because actions tend to be far more costly in terms of time, energy, and resources to execute than a speech or statement. As

Jervis (1989) notes, it is most often 'cheap' behavior changes that are intended to deceive others. In addition, as behavior increases in terms of the time, energy, and resources that it will take to enact a particular course of action, it likewise becomes more costly to renege or reverse course in the future, making costly behavioral changes an opportunity for a state to signal to others that a transformation of its intentions and/or interests has taken place (Fearon 1997). Therefore, if a pariah is attempting to improve its reputation, one should expect to observe it committing itself to perceptually costly behavioral changes through meaningful rhetoric and then actually carrying those changes in behavior out in a reasonable period of time.

For our purposes, the key behavioral indicators that will be used to assess a state's commitment to change other's perceptions of it will include indicators of political and human rights conditions in the state as well as changes in a state's involvement in external conflicts and its ratification of or membership in a wide range of key international agreements and organizations (Table 3.3). The first set of key indicators involve those that show the state of political rights and the quality of elections within the nation, which are necessary to reveal whether the state is in violation of global norms on democratic governance and civil society. These include a four-point rating (from 0-4) of the quality of major elections held within the state, a three-point rating (from 0-2) of the right of a nation's citizenry to electoral self-determination, and finally, a binary indicator of the presence of international electoral observers during a major election, particularly during a transitional election. The next set of key indicators involve those that show the condition of human rights in the state, which are needed to demonstrate whether the state is in violation of human rights norms. These include a nine-point ranking (from 0-8) of a state's respect overall respect for human rights and the physical integrity of its citizenry, and a three-point rating (from 0-2) of the number of prisoners incarcerated for

politically-motivated reasons in the state in a given year. The next indicator is a binary measure

of whether the state is involved in an external conflict in a given year where it is perceived to be

exporting violence, in violation of the global norm of non-intervention into the internal affairs of

other states, either through direct military intervention or indirect financial support for a group

within another state. The final indicator is a qualitative measure of a state's membership in key

international agreements or organizations in a given year as a proxy indication of that state's

commitment to following key global norms. If a state wants to display a credible and costly

commitment to a new disposition, then it should join international organizations and agreements

that have strict, binding rules and requirements (Mansfield and Pevehouse 2008).

Table 3.3: Indicators of Behavioral Changes (from Pariah)

Variable	Measurement/Source	Expectations
Quality of Election	Based on a 3-point scale *[Quality of Elections (QED) Data Project]*[13]	A costly Δ denoted by +1 improvement in quality of election (e.g. from 1 to 2)
Right to Electoral Self-Determination	Improvement of Electoral Self-Determination Indicator from 0 (1989-1993) to 2 (1994) *[CIRI Human Rights Project]*[14]	An improvement of +2 during the timeframe indicates a <u>costly</u> behavioral change
Presence of Electoral Observers	Binary; yes, no *[Quality of Elections (QED) Data Project]*	A costly Δ denoted by presence of electoral observers
State's Respect for Human Rights [CIRI Physical Integrity Rights Index]	0-8 scale; 0 no respect; 8 full respect *[CIRI Human Rights Project]*	A costlyΔ denoted by an improvement of at least +2 in Index score over the course of a few years.
# of Political Prisoners	Based on a 3-point scale *[CIRI Human Rights Project]*	A costly Δ denoted by movement from many prisoners (+2) to either few prisoners (+1) or none (0)
Intervention in External Conflicts (Export of Violence)	Binary; yes, no (is state involved in external intervention/conflict?) *[Correlates of War Data Project]*[15]	A costly Δ denoted by the cessation or withdrawal of external intervention(s) by

[13] See Kelley and Kolev (2012).
[14] See Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay (2013).

		pariah state from year to year.
Abide by International Norms/Standards (commitments to int'l organizations/agreements)	Membership in key international treaties/organizations (e.g. NPT, WTO, UN, regional organizations, etc.) [*Correlates of War Data Project*]	A costly Δ denoted by pariah joining agreements and/or organizations that have strict, binding rules/requirements on state behavior.

Perceptual Indicators

The final set of indicators required to provide a complete assessment of the reputational improvement process that can occur following a rebranding attempt are those that show changes in other state's perceptions of that state. Indicators of other's perceptions are a critical component of the reputational improvement process since reputation is at its core an evaluation of what others think about a particular actor's disposition. Perceptions, however, are something that cannot be directly measured or observed. Instead, the paper will use a wide-range of proxy measures of large-scale behavioral changes made by members of the international community that would only be expected to occur should there be a shift in the perceptions of such states. In this sense, perceptual indicators that will be used in this analysis include a binary measure of the imposition of political, economic, or military sanctions against a state, the number of diplomatic exchanges (denoted by the number of embassies) that a state has in a given year, a binary measure of whether a state has formal relations with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia or China, a measure of foreign direct investment (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA) to a state in a given year, and finally, a binary measure of whether a state is sponsor of terrorism or not. If substantial changes are observed across most of these variables, then it should be an indication that the international community has altered its perception of the state under question for the better, resulting in an improved reputation. In addition to identifying whether an improvement in reputation has occurred, changes in these perceptual indicators can

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[15] See Ghosn, Palmer, and Bremer (2004).

also speak to the magnitude (at least in a general sense) of the reputational change. Expectations about the content and magnitude of these perceptual indicators can be seen in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Indicators of Perceptual Changes (From International Community)

Variable	Measurement/Sources	Expectations/Magnitude
Presence of Sanctions	Three-point measure; 1) sanctions are same as previous year, 2) sanctions are less than previous year, but not completely removed, 3) sanctions are less than previous year and are completely removed. [*Qualitative Sources for each case*]	Small to Moderate Δ in Reputation: Reduction from previous year, but not completely removed (no removal of pariah status). Significant Δ in Reputation: Reduction from previous year and completely removed with a removal of pariah status.
Diplomatic Exchanges (Number of Embassies)	Divide # of states pariah has embassies in by # of states in international system = percentage of diplomatic exchanges in given year [*Correlates of War Dataset*]	Small to Moderate Δ in Reputation: Increase of 2%-5% in a 3 year period (or equivalent) Significant Δ in Reputation: Increase of 5% or more in a 3 year period (or equivalent)
Diplomatic Exchange with Great Powers (US, UK, France, Russia, China)	Binary; yes, no (does pariah have diplomatic exchange with each state in given year [*Correlates of War Dataset*]	Small to Moderate Δ in Reputation: Improvement of relations with 1 great power in a 3 year period (or equivalent) OR normalized relations with no more than 3 great powers. Significant Δ in Reputation: Improvement of relations with 2 or more great powers (in a 3 year period) OR normalized relations with at least 4 of 5 great powers
Change in FDI and/or ODA to pariah state	FDI/ODA in $US/year [*World Bank Development Indicators*][16]	Small to Moderate Δ in Reputation: An increase of FDI and ODA of 3%-5% over a 3 year period (or equivalent) Significant Δ in Reputation: Increase of 5% or more in a 3 year period (or equivalent)
State	Binary; yes, no	Small to Moderate Δ in Reputation:

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[16] See World Bank (2013).

Sponsorship of Terrorism	[*U.S. State Department and/or qualitative sources for each case*][17]	A reduction in state's support for or involvement in global terrorism (as denoted by statements/reports at UN) during a 3 year period, but not removal of state from 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' List. Significant Δ in Reputation: Removal of state from 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' List.

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[17] Information obtained from U.S. State Department's 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' List produced annually.

CHAPTER 4: SOUTH AFRICA (1946-1994)

The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centered around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail.
-F.W. De Klerk, statement for the opening of Parliament (February 2, 1990)

For a country that not so many years ago was the polecat of the world, South Africa has truly undergone a revolution in its relations with the international community.
-Nelson Mandela, statement for the opening of Parliament (February 5, 1999)

4.1 Introduction

South Africa under the rule of Apartheid is perhaps the best example of a state being forcibly labeled and treated as a pariah by the international community in the post-World War II era. Prior to the creation of the United Nations and the sweeping changes in major international norms on human rights, self-determination, and decolonization, South Africa was seen as a respected and active member of the international community despite its reliance on the discriminatory policies of Apartheid and its heavy political and military influence over South West Africa (now Namibia), enjoying "an international standing quite out of proportion to its relative power" (Geldenhuys 1990, 111). During this period, the international community thought of South Africa as a valuable member of the international community, being one of only a few independent and relatively successful states on the African continent. This period of diplomatic harmony, however, would not last as South Africa's reputation at the time was heavily dependent upon the lack of global norms in the human rights realm. Following the end of World War II and the heavy promotion of new global norms on human rights and self-determination that coincided with it, South Africa began to experience a heavy dose of

international stigma and forced diplomatic isolation by most of the international community in response to its continued use of the discriminatory policies of the Apartheid government.

Over the course of much of the mid-to-late twentieth century, South Africa's pariah status and isolation was only aggravated by the nation's continued deviant behavior, including its successful attempt to develop nuclear weapons and its continued intervention into the internal affairs of its neighbors (e.g. Namibia and Angola). These actions only served to enhance South Africa's political isolation and poor reputation among most members of the international community by confirming their beliefs that the nation was a deviant. More significantly, however, was the fact that these new violations of key global norms (e.g. norms on nuclear proliferation and the non-intervention into the affairs of other states) became intertwined with past norm violations in the human rights realm in the perceptions of the international community. As was discussed in previous chapters, norm violations are not mutually exclusive, suggesting that the continued violation of norms in other issue areas is likely to not only further entrench the image of a nation as a pariah in the perceptions of the international community, but to also make it increasingly difficult and complex for the state to alter its future behavior in an attempt to improve its reputation. In South Africa's case, the violation of behavioral standards regarding the development of nuclear weapons, their continued occupation of Namibia, and their support of anti-Communist rebels in Angola helped to isolate the nation from nearly every other state, including both Western and Soviet spheres of influence. More importantly, however, were the linkages drawn between South Africa's deviant behavior in the human rights realm (e.g. Apartheid) and in the security realm (e.g. nuclear proliferation and intervention) that made it increasingly difficult for the nation's leaders to alter their behavior in a meaningful enough way so as to improve South Africa's reputation. As it will be discussed later, in order for South

Africa's reputation to improve, there would now have to be dramatic behavioral changes across every issue area where violations occurred in order to effectively convince the international community that a reputational reassessment was deserved. Only with the nearly simultaneous dismantling of the South African nuclear weapons program, the independence of Namibia from South African control, the cessation of South African intervention into Angolan internal affairs, and the end of Apartheid rule did the nation's reputation begin to improve.

4.2 Pre-Pariah Status

Prior to World War II, South Africa enjoyed an international standing that was significantly out of proportion to its power relative to the major European and American powers at the time. It was perceived as an invested and trusted member of the international community, contributing its leadership to the League of Nations as well as being one of only a handful of independent nations, let alone the most economically advanced, on the African continents (Pienaar 1985, Geldenhuys 1990). In addition, the nation's close ties to Great Britain, having gained independence from the British Empire in 1934, and it being a member-in-good-standing of the British Commonwealth helped the nation to be heavily involved in and influence international politics. Despite its good standing in the international system, South Africa did often experience some international criticism for its poor treatment of racial and ethnic groups in it borders, including the perpetuation of segregationist policies (e.g. The Native Lands Act of 1913) and rampant economic and political inequality between the native-African majority and the European/White minority as well as between those groups and migrant populations, most notably those from the Indian subcontinent (Pienaar 1985). One such example of international criticism was filed in a 1930 report, discussed in the Permanent Mandates Commission of the

League of Nations, regarding educational inequalities in South Africa that "suggested to the South African government that to spend £11000 on 'native' education and £120000 on that for whites was highly inequitable in a territory where the black population outnumbered the white by 10 to one" (Pienaar 1985, 7). Such disapproval, however, never materialized to more than mere public criticism of the nation's policies and practices and did little to harm South Africa's reputation among members of the international community. It was only after the further institutionalization of policies of racial segregation, known as Apartheid, and the creation of the United Nations and the sweeping changes in global norms in the human rights and security realms that the nation began to truly experience criticism, censure, and eventually punishment and isolation for its behavior.

4.3 Development of Pariah Status

South Africa's pariah status was primarily the product of growing tensions that developed at the end of World War II between the 'old' ways, in which human rights abuses and practices such as colonialism, occupation, and segregation were generally ignored or left unaddressed by the international community, and fast-developing global norms that condemned and effectively banned such practices. In the mid-to-late 1940s, the nation found itself at a crossroads where it could choose to join the growing international consensus on human rights and self-determination through the United Nations and its Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) or where it could continue its institutional abuse of its citizen's human rights and occupation of neighboring Southwest Africa (now Namibia)[18], resulting in diplomatic isolation and censure. South Africa's

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[18] South African occupation of Southwest Africa was a product of a mandate from the League of Nations that put the territory under the control of the South African Union, a part of the British Empire at the time. The occupation continued after the declaration of South African independence as well as after the dissolution of the League of Nations and its mandates (Shillington 2004).

choice to continue and later bolster its reliance on segregationist policies upon the ascension of the National Party in 1948 produced numerous hostile responses from the international community through statements and resolutions at the United Nations. These public condemnations and subsequent responses by individual member-states generated South Africa's pariah status.

The stigma and punishment of this designation remained constant through much of the 1950s and 1960s, but was slightly heightened and extended during the South African Border War, also referred to as the Angolan Bush War, which saw South Africa become embroiled in the Angolan Civil War and Namibian War of Independence starting in 1966. Its intervention into these conflicts placed the nation at odds with different segments of the international community, including the United Nations for its continued occupation and armed responses to popular uprisings in Namibia as well as the Soviet Union and its allies for its intervention and military support of anti-Communist forces during the Angolan Civil War. In the late 1970s, however, South Africa experienced a significant enhancement of its pariah image and corresponding punishment among members of the international community upon the discovery of its secret and illegal nuclear weapons program.

The violation of developing norms against nuclear proliferation, most notably the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) that had entered into force in 1970, created greater stigma and isolation for South Africa by turning the few Western nations that had resisted eliminating all support and diplomatic contact with the nation due to Apartheid, especially Britain, France, and the United States, against South Africa and forcing them to condemn and implement hefty economic sanctions against the nation. By this point, South Africa found itself predominately isolated from nearly the entire outside world, leaving it with diplomatic missions in only 21 out

of a possible 166 independent states in existence at the time, nearly all of which were in European and North American nations that had placed economic embargoes on the nation in response to its nuclear weapons program (Christopher 1994, 443). The 1980s brought with it much of the same for South Africa, however, near the end of the decade, a notable shift in South African intentions and behavior began to appear. These changes included the voluntary dissolution of the nation's nuclear weapons program in 1989, the end of hostilities in Angola and the independence of Namibia in 1990, and most significantly, the steady chipping away at the policies of Apartheid during the early 1990s and the holding of the nation's first, free and fair national election in which all citizens, regardless of their race, would be able to place their vote for President and Parliament that produced the nation's first black leader, Nelson Mandela and brought an effective end to the decades-long battle to end Apartheid.

Apartheid

At the heart of South Africa's reputational problems during much of the twentieth century was its practice of Apartheid, translated from Afrikaans to mean 'the state of being apart,' or the institutionalized segregation and alienation of the majority of South Africa's black population by the white minority population, including the denial of many basic human rights such as citizenship, representation, and economic and social equality (Clark and Worger 2013). The practice of racial segregation and systemic discrimination based on race and ethnicity began as far back as the mid-1600s when South Africa was a Dutch colony, continued under British rule and beyond independence, but was formalized as an official government policy in 1948 upon the election of the National Party led government, which was the primary political tool of the White, former colonial minority known as Afrikaners.

The fundamental intention of Apartheid rule was for the white minority to establish legal and institutional control over the black majority through political and social segregation based solely on race as well as to extend their political, social, and economic control of the nation. Legal and institutional control was established through the implantation of several strategic laws, including the Population Registration Act (1950) that formalized four distinct racial classifications in the country (e.g. White, Black, Coloured, and Indian) and introduced an identity card system that required all individuals over 18 to carry identification of their designated racial group, the Group Area Act (1950) that assigned individuals to only reside in areas designated for their respective race (and later enforced by forced resettlement if a group was living in a place not designating for their racial group), effectively beginning the process of total segregation of South Africa, as well as other laws that enhanced the institutional separation and unequal treatment of different races including the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Immorality Act (1950), the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951), the Bantu Authorities Act (1951), and the Bantu Education Act (1953) (Van der Ross and Marais 1986, Goldin 1987, Beck 2000). In addition, political representation in the South African government for the black and coloured minorities was rendered non-existent by the installment of the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act (1959), and later the Black Homeland Citizenship Act (1970), that established 'self-governing' and 'independent' developments or 'homelands' for the black minority called Bantustans, most of which were located in Southwest Africa (modern day Namibia), that would be considered as separate from the rest of the nation (e.g. semi-autonomous administrative regions), completely separating the racial and ethnic minorities from the white minority and fundamentally eliminating any representation or more importantly, South African

citizenship of those groups, leaving whites as the only enfranchised racial group in the nation (Du Pre 1994).

Naturally, the segregation, discrimination, disenfranchisement, and overall poor treatment of the black majority under the ruling National Party instilled a great deal of resentment among those marginalized, which materialized in the form of an internal resistance movement that was one of the largest contributors to the downfall of Apartheid in the early 1990s. This resistance included the incorporation of groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) and its offshoot, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), as well as other advocates including Steve Biko, founder of the Black Consciousness Movement and eventual 'martyr' of the resistance movement upon his death in police custody, Desmond Tutu, the first black Archbishop of the Anglican Church of South Africa of Cape Town and major social rights activist, as well as a small minority of white activists who opposed Apartheid policies. Of course, the most well-known leader of the anti-Apartheid movement was Nelson Mandela, who had been a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and who led or took part in several non-violent, civil resistance campaigns as well as a sabotage campaign through the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) militant group, that he helped found, that led to his 27 year imprisonment for crimes against the Apartheid government (Van der Ross and Marais 1986). He was released in 1990 as part of the National Party's attempts to end the major civil discord that had broken out and F.W. de Klerk's attempts to end Apartheid rule and establish multiracial elections. In addition to extensive internal resistance to Apartheid-rule, numerous international resistance movements and foreign governments, including from the members of the British Commonwealth, the United Nations, the Catholic Church, and the Organization for African Unity (OAU), placed a great deal of pressure upon the ruling government to end Apartheid rule. As I will argue later, pressure and punishment

from the international community played an extensive role in helping bring an end to Apartheid rule in South Africa.

Intervention into the Internal Affairs of Neighbors

In addition to the international stigma associated with the nation's Apartheid policies, South Africa also found itself heavily criticized by many in the international community for its intervention (both in terms of armed intervention and support for external military groups) into the internal affairs of its neighbors, most notably its occupation of Namibia and its intervention into the Angolan Civil War. The occupation and control of Namibia, formerly Southwest Africa, began following World War I when British-controlled South Africa was mandated by the League of Nations through the Treaty of Versailles to administer the territory as a colony. The region remained under the nation's control following its independence from Britain in 1931 as well as following the end of World War II. Following the establishment of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council, which was tasked with assisting colonies around the globe in obtaining independence, South Africa's occupation of the territory was potentially no longer mandated by international law, bringing with it increasing pressure from the international community for the occupation to end and for Namibian independence. Although the International Court of Justice (ICJ) dismissed a formal complaint submitted by Ethiopia and Liberia on behalf of Namibia to end South Africa's occupation of the territory in 1966[19], the matter was exacerbated for South Africa when the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 2145(XXI), which formally revoked the mandate for South Africa to administer the territory (Thornberry 2004). The ICJ, however, reversed course in 1971 (likely influenced by the General Assembly's

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[19] The ICJ dismissed the case on the grounds that neither Ethiopia nor Liberia was the proper party to bring the case. See Ethiopia v. South Africa or Liberia v. South Africa as part of the South-West Africa Cases (Second Phase) for more.

actions) when it issued an advisory opinion asserting that the continued occupation of Namibia was illegal.

In the midst of international challenges to the continuation of South Africa's administration of Namibia, major internal resistance to the nation's occupation and implantation of Apartheid-like policies in the territory began to develop in the late 1950s. In 1960, the Namibian national liberation movement materialized in the founding of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which was the dominant nationalist group in the nation at the time and remains an active political party in modern-day Namibia. Following the formal revocation of South African authority to administer Namibian territory in 1966, SWAPO, through its militant wing called the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), began what would become a lengthy protracted guerilla conflict, called the South African Border War or Namibian War for Independence[20], between South African military and police forces and PLAN forces stationed in neighboring Zambia. Almost simultaneously, the Angolan war for independence from Portugal was beginning to brew just north of the border with Namibia, drawing in South African involvement in 1967 when the South African Air Force dispatched helicopters in support of Portugal's conflict with the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In 1974, the Portuguese revolution brought an end to the rule of the Salazar regime and with it, Angolan independence in 1975. Independence, however, brought with it three competing factions for control of the government, pitting previous allies (UNITA and MPLA) against each other and launching the Angolan Civil War. In addition, external powers also became involved, with Cuba and the Soviet Bloc offering support to the MPLA and South Africa and the United States

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[20] The conflict is also widely considered to be closely intertwined with the Angolan Civil War, which is also referred to as the Angolan Bush War.

offering covert assistance to the UNITA and the conflict becoming a proxy war of the Cold War (Garzlecki 2004). With such wide international interest in the conflict, South Africa suddenly found itself embroiled in the Cold War. In addition, South African intervention and support of UNITA as well as the National Party's general dislike for Communism created tensions between itself and the Soviet Bloc, furthering the nation's political isolation that it had been experiencing as a product of Apartheid rule. South Africa remained embroiled in both the War for Namibian Independence and the Angolan Civil War for many years, ending only in 1989/1990 upon the negotiation for the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and its formal independence and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola in 1989 upon the end of the Cold War[21]

South Africa's Nuclear Weapons Program

During the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa invested a great deal of time and energy into developing a nuclear weapons program that was ultimately successful at producing six nuclear weapons, making the nation one of only a handful of states to obtain functional nuclear weapons in history. The decision to pursue nuclear weapons was one heavily influenced by the nation's security and reputational situation in the early-to-mid 1970s, with the nation being challenged by overwhelming international condemnation (and the corresponding political isolation) of the policies of Apartheid and the continued occupation of Namibia as well as by the potential for an intensification of armed conflict between South African-supported rebels and Soviet- and Cuban-supported Marxist rebels in neighboring Angola (Albright 1983). At the time, South African leaders feared the potential, however small, for a Soviet- or Cuban-led invasion of South Africa

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[21] Although the Angolan Civil War lasted until 2002, the period between 1989 and 1991 represents a transitional period in which the conflict changed from primarily a proxy war of the Cold War (with external intervention) to one between political groups in Angola (i.e. UNITA and MPLA).

(or Namibia) and pursued a nuclear weapons program to, as P.W. Botha, leader of South Africa from 1978-1989, function as a "diplomatic weapon to defend South Africa" by not only improving its security environment, but also the nation's 'self-respect' (Liberman 2001, 58). This threat to South Africa was exacerbated by the fact that many of the nation's former allies in the West would be unable and likely unwilling to come to the nation's aid due to its ongoing pariah status among most in the international community should the Soviets decide to attack. The isolation of South Africa's pariah designation created a fierce sense of vulnerability that was a dominant and consistent influence upon the nation's foreign policy.

The pursuit and eventual development of a South African nuclear bomb during this period was significant because it served to further entrench the nation's reputation as a pariah among members of the international community. As was noted previously, the isolation produced by the nation's pariah status created a tenuous security situation in which it had few friends and even fewer allies that would be likely to come to its aid in the event of an attack, leading it to pursue a nuclear weapons program. Ironically, the development of an illicit nuclear weapons program and later, the preparation of testing of said weapons in the Kalhari desert in 1977 and later over the Indian Ocean in 1979 [22], led the United Nations to implement a conventional weapons ban against the nation in 1977, as well as the enactment of unilateral sanctions on the sale and transport of nuclear technology and materials by states in North American and Western Europe (Liberman 2001, 45). It was the imposition of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (NNPA) by the United States in 1978, which made it illegal for the U.S. to trade any materials that could be used to produce nuclear weapons to any nation not under IAEA

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[22] The 'Vela Incident' was a report from a Vela American surveillance satellite that identified a distinct 'double-flash' detonation over the Indian Ocean off of South Africa's coast on September 22, 1979. Initial reports indicated that the flash was a South African nuclear test, perhaps in conjunction with Israel, while later reports retracted these suspicions (Stumpt 1993).

safeguard regulations, that produced what Dr. Waldo Stumpf (head of the South African Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC)) called the "nuclear isolation" of the nation (Pabian 1995, 2-3).

Up to this point, the United States and most other nations in Western Europe, including Britain and France, had resisted international efforts to completely isolate South Africa for its policies of Apartheid, however, upon the discovery that South Africa had pursued and was close to succeeding at developing nuclear weapons, these nations were forced to join the rest of the international community in its condemnation of South Africa (Stumpf 1995). By 1985, the United States, upon the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, effectively linked South Africa's 'nuclear isolation' with its deviant behavior regarding Apartheid (Pabian 1995). In this sense, South Africa's attempts to address the consequences of its pariah status, most notably that of a sense of insecurity and isolation, only resulted in further isolating and worsening the reputation of the nation. As it will be shown in later chapters, however, pariah states tend to be prime candidates for the pursuit of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, creating a feedback-loop in which isolation begets vulnerability which begets further isolation (Betts 1980). In the case of South Africa, the response to this enhanced isolation was not to immediately surrender the very weapons program that had seemingly worsened their situation, rather, it was to continue with their pursuit of nuclear weapons, since, only with nuclear weapons would South Africa be safe, secure, and earn the respect of the international community (Solingen 1994, 1998).

A major influence upon the government's decision not to give up their nuclear capabilities upon the imposition of enhanced sanctions and other reputational costs in the late-1970s was the interrelated nature of international condemnation for the regime's policies of Apartheid and its nuclear weapons program (Liberman 2001, 45). Members of the South African

government noted at the time that should they set out to dismantle their nuclear weapons program in an effort to ease the sanctions and isolation that stemmed from its pursuit, they would ultimately be unsuccessful, since international condemnation for its pursuit of nuclear weapons had become intertwined with the stigma from its continued reliance of Apartheid (Stumpt 1995, Liberman 2001). Pabian (1995, 15) notes that:

> in view of the political and economic isolation it faced because of its apartheid policy, South Africa had no reason to expect that giving up its weapon program would remove its pariah status. If anything, sanctions seemed to have reinforced South Africa's determination to have the bomb. Only when internal political reform had reduced its isolation from the world community was it ready to abandon the program.

Thus, from their perspective, ceasing the production of nuclear weapons would not lead to a major improvement in their reputational position since their reputation had become so closely connected with the global perception of human rights conditions in South Africa. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, however, the dismantling of the South African nuclear weapons program in 1989, while primarily representative of a significant change in the nation's external security environment (e.g. with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War), would later serve as an opportunity for the pariah to display to the international community that there had been a significant shift in its intentions and behavior, requiring a reassessment of its reputational situation.

4.4 International Response and Treatment

The general global response to the installment and use of Apartheid policy in South Africa was predominantly a negative one, with most states and organizations throughout much of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s mobilizing to diplomatically and politically isolate the nation. Christopher (1994, 439) provides a detailed account of the status of foreign representation (e.g.

embassies and consulates) in South Africa as well as South African diplomatic representation abroad and notes that many states refused to recognize the legitimacy of the ruling government and that "the pattern of South African foreign representation was highly skewed between 1948 and 1994 and not commensurate with a country of its size and power." For example, in 1965, South Africa maintained only 19 'resident missions,' three of which were only headed by a charge-d'affairs rather than an ambassador, with most embassies existing in Western European nations and other members of the British Commonwealth[23] around the globe, and zero (of a possible 68) present on the African or Asian continents, a theme which would continue well into the early 1990s (Christopher 1994, 441).

This diplomatic isolation was a direct result of international efforts, primarily through the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which called for nations to end all diplomatic contact with South Africa in response to its racist government policies. In 1961 for example, the UN General Assembly passed resolution 1598, which affirmed "that the racial policies being pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa are a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are inconsistent with the obligations of a Member State" and requested that "all States to consider taking such separate and collective action as is open to them, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to bring about the abandonment of these policies" (United Nations 1961). The United Nations continued its condemnation of Apartheid and South Africa's continued reliance on 'racist policies' through numerous resolutions and conventions in the Security Council and General Assembly (see Table 4.1). For the most part, these actions taken were either unanimous or nearly unanimous, which was reflective of the near universal disapproval of South

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[23] South Africa left the British Commonwealth upon the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 and rejoined in 1994.

Africa's use of Apartheid policies as well as its interventions into Namibia and Angola and its

development of nuclear weapons.

Table 4.1: United Nations Actions Regarding Apartheid in South Africa (1948-1994)[24]

Year	United Nations' Action	Description
1950	UN General Assembly Res. 395(V)	Declaration that the policy of Apartheid was racial discrimination
1960	UN Security Council Res. 134	Formal condemnation of Apartheid
1961	UN General Assembly Res. 1598(XV)	Declared Apartheid as a violation of the UN Charter and Declaration on Human Rights
1963	Creation of the 'Special Committee Against Apartheid"	Primary international voice against the continued use of Apartheid policies
1963	UN Security Council Res. 181	Voluntary embargo of arms and ammunition to South Africa in response to continued military intervention in Namibia—had little immediate effect
1963	UN General Assembly Res. 1899 (XVII)	Installment of oil embargo against South Africa for continued military intervention in Namibia
1966	UN General Assembly Res. 2202 (XXI)	Apartheid labeled a Crime Against Humanity.
1968	UN General Assembly Res. 2396 (XXIII)	Called for the suspension of all cultural, educational, and sporting exchanges between member states and South Africa
1970	UN Security Council Res. 282	Reemphasized voluntary arms embargo passed in UNSC res. 181.
1973-1976	UN Convention on the Suppression & Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid	International Convention that made the use of Apartheid and other racist policies criminal acts—entered into force in 1976
1977	UN Security Council Res. 418 and Res. 421	Embargo of arms and ammunition to South Africa (UNSC res. 181) made mandatory for all member-states.
1984	UN Security Council Res. 554	New Constitution of South Africa deemed 'racist' and 'null and void'
1986	UN Security Council Res. 591	Unanimous resolution to bolster arms embargo against South Africa extending it to all areas of military transfers and training through third parties.
1989	UN General Assembly Res. A/RES/S-16/1	"Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa" passed by consensus and called for negotiations to end Apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy

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[24] Information on United Nations resolutions, conferences, reports, and statements regarding Apartheid in South Africa between 1948-1994 can be found in United Nations (1994).

1992	UN Security Council Res. 772	Dispatched the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) (50 total observers) in response to growing tensions in the nation.
1994	UN Security Council Res. 919	Termination of the arms embargo and other sanctions against South Africa

While most of South Africa's diplomatic isolation was produced externally as a direct result of international disapproval of its domestic political system, some was indeed produced internally. In 1954, for example, South Africa asked the Soviet Union to withdraw its consular offices in the nation as part of its broader campaign to resist the spread of Communism in Southern Africa (Christopher 1994). Along similar lines, South Africa unilaterally withdrew from the British Commonwealth in 1961 upon the establishment of the nation as a republic. Both actions served to move the nation further away from the two spheres of influence that had developed during the Cold War as well as to isolate the nation from newly formed nations on the African and Asian continents. South Africa's leaders at the time, most notably of which was Prime Minister Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, began to believe that the international community had become oriented in manner unfavorable to them, but that it was not their domestic policies of Apartheid that pushed other nations away from them, rather it was "without any doubt" that "the attacks against us are created by the struggle of communism for world domination and not so much in local factors" (Christopher 1994, 441). This philosophy was extended to South Africa's foreign policy throughout much of the 1960s and 1970s during which it pursued Prime Minister B.J. Vorster's 'outward looking' foreign policy to help improve its security, status, international legitimacy, and overall national reputation (Barber and Barratt 1990). This outward focus was directed mostly at nations who were themselves embroiled in anti-communist struggles, most notably in Latin and South America, resulting in South Africa establishing diplomatic relations with 8 states in the region. In addition, South Africa established closer relations with other states that had been deemed global pariahs in its search for status and security, including the Republic

of China (Taiwan), Israel, and Rhodesia. In addition to these successful attempts at extending South Africa's diplomatic reach, Vorster's 'Outward Looking' policy did fail to lure most African or Asian nations to diplomatically recognize the state. During this period, Vorster met with several African leaders, such as Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria in 1962 and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in 1967, and offered technological and financial aid to any African state that would be prepared to receive it (Freund 1999). The only African states willing to accept South African aid, other than those economically dependent upon it such as Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana, was Malawi, which was the only holdout from the OAU's movement to isolate South Africa completely from African regional politics (denoted by the near unanimous passage of the Lusaka Manifesto) in 1969, and later Mozambique in 1975 (Christopher 1994). While other states, including Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Madagascar, Mauritius, Gabon, Zaire, and the Central African Republic, did receive financial and economic aid from South Africa, they continued to denounce the continued use of Apartheid and participate in the OAU's movement against South Africa.

While this diplomatic 'offensive' led to enhanced diplomatic relations with several nations, South Africa remained primarily isolated either by international sanctions or by choice. By the late 1980s, South Africa maintained embassies in only 21 out of a possible 166 independent states, while the internal opposition movement of the African National Congress (ANC) held almost double that number (Christopher 1994). Upon the election and inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first post-Apartheid leader of South Africa, the number of diplomatic missions abroad increased almost overnight to 69, which was limited primarily by the inability of the state to reciprocate international diplomatic recognition quickly enough, with most new recognitions coming from African and Asian states that once refused to acknowledge South

African legitimacy. In addition, South Africa was welcomed back to the United Nations as a member in full standing as well as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and was allowed to join the Organization of African Unity, the Non Aligned Movement, and the Southern African Development Community.

In addition to the diplomatic and political isolation of South Africa, most major international organizations and groups such as the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and the European Community (EC) as well as global and regional powers such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom placed a variety of military, trade, and financial sanctions against the nation in response to its various norm violations between 1948-1994. The bulk of sanctions occurred in two general waves, one of which occurred in the early-1960s when the United Nations first began to condemn and treat Apartheid rule as a criminal act and the other occurring in the mid-1980s when the global movement against Apartheid began to gain steam across the United States and Europe (Klotz 1995). The near universal application of military, trade, and financial sanctions against South Africa by the mid-1980s influenced the political and social reforms that were to come in the late-1980s upon the ascension of F.W. DeKlerk as President of South Africa. Table 4.2 details multilateral sanctions placed against South Africa, while Table 4.3 details bilateral sanctions placed against the nation.

Table 4.2: Multilateral Sanctions Placed Against South Africa (1960-1989)[25]

	Military[26]	**Trade**	**Finance**
UN General Assembly	1962-63; 1983[27]	1962; 1965	1966; 1969
UN Security Council	1977; 1984	1985 (voluntary)	1985 (voluntary)
British Commonwealth	1971	1985-86	1985-86
European Community	1985	1986	1986
Nordic Countries	1977; 1985	1985-87	1979; 1985-86

[25] Adapted from Klotz (1995, 5).
[26] Includes embargoes on arms, ammunition, and technology transfers as well as oil resources
[27] Dates indicate initiation year of sanctions; most sanctions regimes were in existence until the early 1990s, with all coming to an end in 1994 upon the election of the African National Congress to power.

	Military	Trade	Financial
Organization of African Unity (OAU)	1963	1963	1963

Table 4.3: Bilateral Sanctions Placed Against South Africa (1960-1989)[28]

	Military	**Trade**	**Financial**
United States	1963; 1977; 1985; 1986	1978; 1985-86	1985-86
United Kingdom	1985	1986	1985-87
West Germany	1986	1977	1977 (informal)
France	1985-86	1986	1985
Japan	1986	1986 (informal)	1985
Soviet Union	1964	1964	1964

The increase of political, economic, and military sanctions against South Africa in the mid-to-late 1980s by nearly every member-state of the United Nations added a great deal of external pressure upon the ruling National Party to alter its dependence on policies of Apartheid. United Nations Secretary General from 1992-1996, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, noted in retrospect that South Africa felt international pressures placed upon the nation quite acutely and that a 1989 report from the Special Committee against Apartheid that sanctions had "imposed substantial constraints on the South African economy, primarily through the denial of loans and capital for investment," with estimates of the total cost imposed by international sanctions predicting that "South Africa's economy could have been 20 to 35 per cent larger than it was," with the oil embargo alone costing the economy "an estimated $22.1 billion in the period from 1979 to 1988" (United Nations 1994, 87).

4.5 Opportunities for Reputational Improvement

As was noted in Chapter 4, pariah states interested in reputational improvement are often presented with a handful of critical opportunities in which the enhancement of their national

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[28] Adapted from Klotz (1995, 5).

reputation is possible if a series of difficult, but necessary rhetorical and behavioral changes are made. These opportunities are most often left unrealized by pariahs, however. Despite this point, it is important that all potential opportunities for reputational improvement during the period under evaluation be identified to assist in recognizing any and all attempts made by a pariah to boost its national reputation. These opportunities include major national elections and political transitions, the end of the state's involvement in external conflicts, the development of new global norms, major changes in the state's external security or economic environment, and any major internal challenges stemming from the consequences of the state's pariah status (e.g. economic sanctions).

Elections and Political Transitions

One of the most direct ways for the South African government, led by the National Party from 1948-1994, to signal to the international community that there were changes being made to its deviant behavior was to fundamentally alter how the South African electoral system functioned (e.g. suffrage issues) and to allow for international electoral observers to be present during the election to guarantee that the election was carried out freely and fairly for all citizens. In South Africa, parliamentary elections took place on a regular basis between 1948 and 1994, frequently occurring at constitutional designed 5-year intervals. Table 4.4 shows qualitative data regarding the general quality of each legislative election during the period from 1948 to 1994. The election of 1948 is considered the first national election during the Apartheid era, as the successful election of the National Party brought with it the installment of Apartheid policies in the years to follow. In the elections of 1948 and 1953, members of the black majority were marginalized by the Representation of Natives Act, passed in 1936, that removed Black,

'Coloured', and Indian voters from the national list of voters and made them separate 'native' voters who would only be allowed to vote for designated representatives of the House of Assembly and the Cape Provincial Council, all of whom were selected from members of the White minority (van Wyk 1982). These seats, however, were not contested in the 1953 or 1958 elections (only in a special 1954 election), marginalizing members of the majority even further. The Representation of Natives Act was repealed in June 1959, leaving blacks with no formal representation in either the General Assembly or Cape Provincial Council. The elections of 1961, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1977, and 1981 were characterized by severally limited suffrage, with blacks not allowed to vote for any seats of Parliament and "Coloureds' and Indians only allowed to vote in special elections of selected 'white only' seats of Parliament in 1969 and 1975. In 1983, the South African government passed a new Constitution by referendum that created a tricameral parliament, with a House of Assembly only populated and voted on by members of the white minority and a House of Representatives (voted on by 'Coloureds') and House of Delegates (voted on by Indians only) only populated by members of the white minority. This change, however, only led to massive boycotts by members of the 'Coloured' and Indian minorities during the elections of 1984, 1987, and 1989.

Table 4.4: Quality of South African Legislative Elections (1948-1994)

Election Date	Type of Election	Electoral Quality	Ruling Government
26 May 1948	Legislative	Members of Black majority only allowed to vote for designated White parliamentary members[29]	National Party
15 April 1953	Legislative	Members of Black majority only allowed to vote for designated White parliamentary members	National Party
16 April 1958	Legislative	First election where only White minority was allowed to vote	National Party

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[29] Data on the general quality of legislative elections between 1948-1994 were obtained from National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) dataset. See Hyde and Marinov (2012) for more information.

October 8 1961	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
March 30 1966	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
22 April 1970	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
24 April 1974	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
30 November 1977	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
29 April 1981	Legislative	Limited suffrage	National Party
1983	Creation of Tricameral Parliament, with whites-only House of Assembly, the House of Representatives for 'Coloureds', and the House of Delegates for Indians.		
22-28 August 1984	Legislative (all three chambers)	Limited suffrage; Marked by massive boycotts by 'Coloureds' and Indian groups	National Party
6 May 1987	Legislative (House of Assembly)	Limited suffrage; Marked by massive boycotts by 'Coloureds' and Indian groups	National Party
6 September 1989	Legislative	Acceptable[30]; boycotts by 'Coloureds' and Indian groups	National Party
26-29 April 1994	Legislative	Acceptable; near universal suffrage guaranteed by Constitution; some violence and tensions at polls.	African National Congress

The legislative elections of 1994 represents a major shift from every previous election in that there was near universal suffrage guaranteed by the interim Constitution of 1993 (replaced by the Constitution of 1996), which allowed members of all races to participate in the election of all seats of Parliament for the first time. The election was classified by nearly all outside observers as free and fair, which was confirmed by over 6,000 international election observers across South Africa during the 3-day election. With the assistance of 2,120 United Nations observers, 596 observers from other intergovernmental organizations (150 from the OAU, 120 from the Commonwealth, and 326 from the European Union), 600 from individual governments, and about 3,000 observers from over 97 non-governmental organizations (totaling about 6,300 observers in South Africa during the lead-up to and the actual election day), the election was

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[30] 'Acceptable' is a designation given by the Quality of Elections Data (QED), which only judged the 1989 and 1994 elections in South Africa during the period under investigation. This designation only measures the quality of election itself and doesn't include a judgment about the amount of participation in the election. See Kelley and Kolev (2010) for more information.

carried out with only some violence and tension at the polls that did not impact the overall quality of the election (Kelley and Koley 2010, Hyde and Marinov 2012). The outcome of the election resulted in the winning of 252 (62.65%) seats in Parliament for Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) compared to 82 (20.39%) for F.W. de Klerk and the National Party and 43 (10.54%) for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The election is almost universally considered the formal end to Apartheid rule, despite persistence of racial tensions, and a political transition from open anocratic to democratic rule, as denoted by the formal measure of South Africa's polity score. Figure 4.1 displays this transition in polity score between 1990 and 1994 in which the nation's formal polity score improved from 4 (open anocracy) to initially a 5 between 1991 and 1993 and then to a score of 9 (full democracy) immediately following the 1994 presidential election.

Figure 4.1: South Africa's Polity Score (1946-2010)[31]
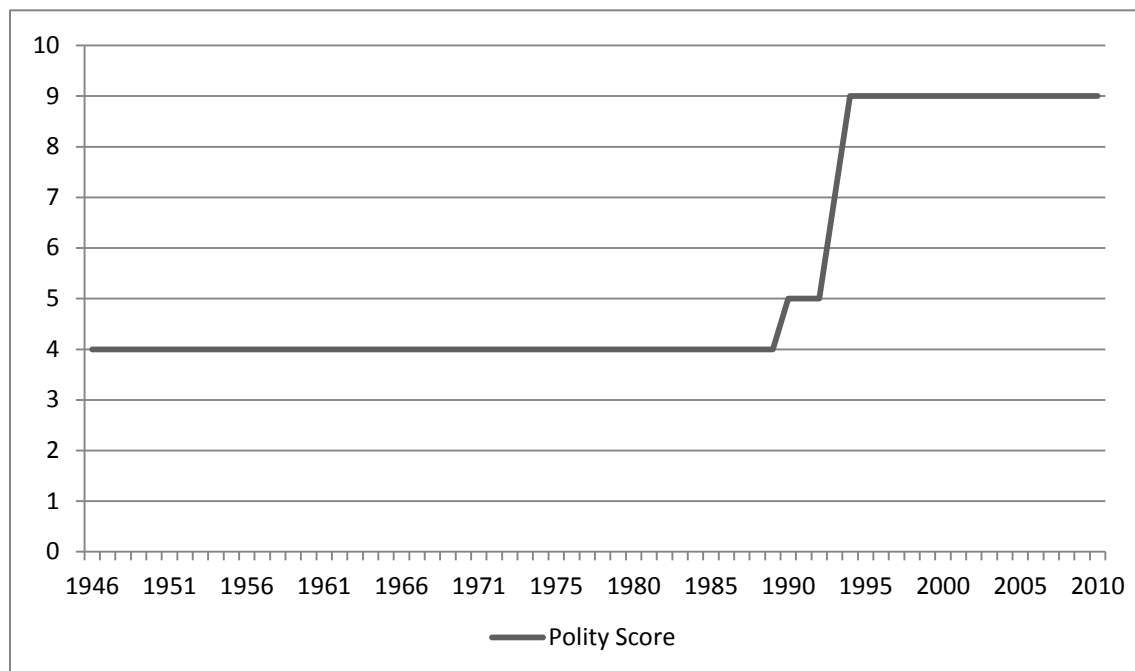
End of Involvement in External Conflicts

The next opportunity for reputational recovery for pariah states involves the cessation of their military involvement, whether or direct or indirect, in external conflicts. In South Africa's case, their participation in conflicts in Namibia (formerly Southwest Africa) and Angola garnered them an unfavorable reputation among many members of the international community, particularly because their occupation of Southwest Africa and its involvement in the Namibian War for Independence throughout the mid-to-late Twentieth century was in direct violation of UN and ICJ mandates and their indirect financial and military support of anti-communist forces in Angola placed them at odds with members of the Soviet Bloc. In the late 1980s, the necessity of South Africa's involvement in these two conflicts was beginning to slowly change. In August 1988, representatives from Angola, Cuba, and South Africa agreed to the ceasefire as part of the New York Accords, which also granted independence to Namibia and ended all direct involvement of foreign military forces in the Angolan Civil War, which continued despite the end of foreign involvement until 2002 (Tvedten 1997, 38-39). The ceasefire was confirmed and enforced by the United Nations Security Council in Resolution 625, which created the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) that dispatched UN peacekeepers to Angola in early 1989. F.W. de Klerk (1990), in his opening speech before the opening of Parliament on February 2, 1990 noted that:

> Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events. This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

> At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

With an end to South Africa's direct military involvement in Namibia and Angola, the nation took a major step in recovering its national reputation.

Development of New Global Norms

The next key opportunity for reputational recovery is a product of constantly changing and adapting norms of the international system on various security, economic, and human rights issues. For South Africa, the development of global norms in all of these issues areas often seemed to go unnoticed by the ruling government. In the security realm, for example, South Africa failed to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968 and instead, proceeded to develop nuclear weapons in violation of international law throughout the 1970s. In the human rights realm, South Africa failed to ratify nearly every international convention or treaty on the subject until well after their establishment. In general, South Africa rarely signed, ratified, or accessed to new global norms between 1946 and 1994 at the time of their establishment, with the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) being the only exception. Instead, nearly every major human rights or security treaty or convention that came up for consideration was ignored until 1993 or beyond in most cases (see Table 4.5). This is contrasted by the tendency of the South African government after 1994 to join and/or follow every new global law and norm within a year or two of the establishment of each.

Table 4.5: Dates of South African Accession to or Ratification of Major Global Norms

Law or Organization	Date Established	Date of South African Accession/Ratification
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	16 Dec 1966	Signed 3 Oct 1994 Ratified 10 Dec 1998
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)	1 Jul 1968	10 Jul 1991

Biological Weapons Convention	10 Apr 1972	Signed 10 Apr 1972 Ratified 3 Nov 1975
Additional Protocols to Geneva Conventions Relating to the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflict	8 Jun 1977	21 Nov 1995
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	18 Dec 1979	Signed 29 Jan 1993 Ratified 15 Dec 1995
Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons	10 Oct 1980	Accession 13 Sep 1995
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	10 Dec 1984	Signed 29 Jan 1993 Ratified 10 Dec 1998
Convention on the Rights of the Child	20 Nov 1989	Signed 29 Jan 1993 Ratified 16 Jun 1995
Chemical Weapons Convention	3 Sep 1992	Signed 14 Jan 1993 Ratified 13 Sep 1995
World Trade Organization	1 Jan 1995	1 Jan 1995
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)	10 Sept 1996	Signed 24 Sep 1996 Ratified 30 Mar 1999
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	17 July 1998	Signed 17 Jul 1998 Ratified 27 Nov 2000
UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	15 Dec 2000	Signed 14 Dec 2000 20 Feb 2004
Arms Trade Treaty	2 Apr 2013	Signed 25 Sep 2013

From this information, it is clear that South Africa chose not to make any meaningful attempts at reputational improvement by binding itself to new treaties or conventions between 1948 and 1990. These opportunities, however, were taken advantage of during the transitional period between 1990 and 1994 as well as by the new regime led by Nelson Mandela and the ANC starting in 1995, providing ample opportunities for reputational improvement for South Africa.

Major Changes in External Environment

The end of the Cold War brought with it an opportunity for South Africa to reassess its external security environment and to determine that it could make significant changes to its defense priorities, the most obvious of which was the much publicized dismantling of the nation's nuclear weapons program in the late-1980s as well as the end to its involvement in the Cold War proxy war in Angola and Namibia. As was noted previously, the security concerns posed by the direct and indirect involvement of the Soviet Union and its allies and the spread of communism more generally across much of the African continent and in Southern Africa in particular, as well as the overall political isolation experienced by the National Party government, instilled a deep sense of insecurity and vulnerability that heavily influenced the government's national security strategies (Garzlecki 2004). The opportunity for substantial behavioral change created by the end of the Cold War, and more specifically, by an end to direct Soviet involvement in Southern Africa is central to any explanation for the actions of F.W. de Klerk between 1990 and 1994, the eventual end of Apartheid-rule, the voluntary dismantlement of South Africa's nuclear weapons program, and the reputational improvement experience by South Africa during the same period.

John Daniel (1996, 102; 2009) suggests that as early as 1986, the process for change in South Africa domestic and foreign policies had been set in motion primarily by the results of the Reykjavik summit in October 1986 between the new Soviet premier, Mikhail Gorbachev and American president, Ronald Reagan. At the meeting, the two leaders agreed on what amounted to "a redefinition of spheres of interest in the world" [by which] "the United States agreed to a non-interventionist role in Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and Afghanistan in return for which the Soviet Union ceded Africa to the United States – specifically the Horn of Africa and southern

Africa" (Daniel 1996, 101-102 as cited in Daniel 2009, 143). In response to this change of circumstances, talk of major domestic and foreign policy changes, most notably a negotiated end to South African military involvement in Angola and Namibia and domestic reforms (but not the total revocation) to Apartheid policies began to circulate. These developments, Daniel (1996, 2009) suggests, materialized in an end to South African involvement in Angola and Namibia through the acceptance of the New York Accords in 1988-89, the granting of independence to Namibia in 1990, and the 'surprising' shift in policy and behavior as a result of de Klerk's famous speech before the opening of Parliament on February 2, 1990 in which de Klerk (1990) announced that the "dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa" … "among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations."

In addition to the dramatic shifts in South African military and domestic policies, the voluntary dismantling of South Africa's nuclear weapons program in 1988-89 was likely a direct result of the major changes in the nation's external security environment as a result of the de-escalation and eventual end of the Cold War between 1986 and 1989. Van Wyk (2009, 10) notes that one of the primary influences upon the development and continued reliance on a nuclear deterrent was the inability of the South African government to distinguish between "the perceived expansion of communism and radical black liberation movements in Southern Africa" that forced the government to address them as a singular issue. As the fears regarding the spread of communism began to subside with the waning of Soviet power and influence in the region, the government began to reassess its security needs and in late 1989, de Klerk made the decision to dismantle and destroy South Africa's nuclear weapons program, including the six nuclear bombs that it had produced during the 1970s (Shearer 1993; Liberman 2001, 56). By mid-1991, all

details and production capabilities, including any blueprints, for enriched uranium were destroyed (van Wyk 2009, 10). On July 8, 1991, South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), effectively ending its nuclear weapons program and helping to eliminate the stigma associated with its decades-long violations of global norms on nuclear proliferation.

Internal Challenges Produced by Pariah Status

During much of the period under Apartheid rule, the ruling National Party government often experienced a great deal of internal resistance to its oppressive policies from native African populations who had been heavily marginalized and mistreated by the social and economic organization of South Africa. As early as 1953, the government had enacted a series of restrictive and harsh laws as part of its proclamation of a state of emergency, often imposing stiff punishments for violations such as lashing, forced imprisonment, and in the most extreme cases in which the violations were considered 'acts of treason,' the death penalty was often used (United Nations 1994, 13). These laws, in conjunction with the other demeaning and racist policies of Apartheid, spurred a great deal of domestic unrest that materialized in the form of massive protests and organized boycotts by various resistance groups such as the ANC and the PAC that ultimately materialized as the Black Consciousness Movement in the late-1960s. These protests and boycotts were frequently met with violent resistance from the state security forces, often leading to mass arrests (such as those of major resistance leaders such as Nelson Mandela or Steve Biko, who infamously died in police custody in 1977) as well as state-led attacks against large groups of protestors such as those at the Sharpeville Massacre (March 21, 1960) or at large groups of students such as at the Soweto Uprising/Massacre (June 16, 1976). These

measures taken by the South African government led to increased international pressures from the United Nations and many of its member-states, including the financial support of internal resistance movements by Sweden and other Western nations starting in the late-1970s. These internal resistance efforts continued for the duration of Apartheid-rule that not only placed a great deal of pressure upon the government to eventually bring their repressive and racist policies to an end, but also helped draw international attention to their efforts that created and maintained South Africa's political and economic isolation throughout much of the 1970s through 1990s (United Nations 1994).

In the later part of the 1980s, the ruling party began to experience enhanced pressures not just from internal resistance movements such as the ANC and the PAC and other unaffiliated violent uprisings against Apartheid ruling, but most importantly, from supporters of the party from within the White minority community, especially from business owners. This group was fearful of the increasing violence across the country leading to a protracted civil war as well as the economic damages being done by continued international isolation and sanctions, both of which encouraged members of the South African business community to begin meeting with the exiled leadership of the ANC and placing a great deal of internal pressure upon the National Party government to begin meaningful political reform that they perceived as ultimately inevitable (United Nations 1994, 87). This pressure led to fairly substantial reforms to social policies following the election of F.W. De Klerk as President and leader of the National Party in 1989. These reforms of course fell short of completing end Apartheid rule and establishing a fully non-racial, democratic society in South Africa, however, they were able to create an environment in which negotiations for political change and reform were possible and helped signal to the international community that the general attitude of the ruling government had been

substantially modified. In response to these changes, the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, upon suggestion by the ANC, adopted the Harare Declaration on the Question of South Africa (also known as the Harare Declaration) on August 21, 1989, that stated that:

> We believe that a conjecture of circumstances exist which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations (Harare Declaration 1989).

This declaration represented a watershed moment in which the international community, through the OAU[32], successfully communicated to the National Party regime that any attempts at serious and meaningful negotiations to end Apartheid rule would be well-received. In addition, the Declaration served as a means of communicating what specific steps would need to be taken (and what particular order) by the South African regime to cease international pressures (and the pariah status that came with them) placed upon the nation. These steps (in the order they were intended to be completed) included demands to:

- Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them
- Lift all bans and restrictions on all prescribed and restricted organisations and people.
- Remove all troops from the townships.
- End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as, and including, the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity.
- Cease all political executions (Harare Declaration 1989).

In addition to the Harare Declaration, the United Nations General Assembly also passed the Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in 1989, which was heavily influenced by the Harare Declaration. Along these lines, Klotz (1995, 156) summarizes the general demands and expectations of the international community towards any South African behavioral reforms as calls to "(1) repeal the state of emergency; (2) release all political prisoners; (3) unban the ANC and other political parties; (4) eliminate apartheid laws; (5) enter

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[32] The United Nations General Assembly also passed the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa in 1989 which was heavily influenced by the OAU's Harare Declaration.

into negotiations for a new political system." As it will be discussed in the next section on reputational recovery, these demands would become central to the significant behavioral changes instituted by de Klerk in his speech before the opening of Parliament on February 2, 1990.

4.6 Reputational Recovery

F.W. De Klerk, in the opening speech before the opening of Parliament on February 2, 1990, provided a clear and detailed set of political changes that would steer the course of negotiations to help normalize the political situation in South Africa and served as priming rhetoric to outside observers. These changes included:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.
- People serving prison sentence merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.
- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.
- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.
- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following: National Education Crisis Committees, South African National Student's Congress, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.
- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.
- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing (F.W. de Klerk 1990).

Of interest in these announced political changes are the noticeable parallels with the demands made by the Harare Declaration a few months prior. The statement began the lengthy process of unconditionally releasing political prisoners who had been detained for being members of the

ANC, PAC, or the South African Communist Party, including most notably, Nelson Mandela, who was released from prison 9 days later (on February 11, 1990), providing a direct indication that the changes called for in this statement were more than just talk. In addition, the statement also sets out parameters for allowing opposition groups (e.g. the ANC, PAC, etc.) to legally function in South African politics again as well as to begin the process of ending the slate of emergency regulations. Also, in de Klerk's statement was a call to suspend all political executions and to heavily limit the number of overall executions to only the most extreme cases. This statement, as a clear attempt to prime the international community for the behavioral changes that followed, represents a critical moment in which the process of ending Apartheid rule began, despite de Klerk's stated interest in trying to only reform rather than eliminate Apartheid altogether (Mungazi 1998, 198-99).

Although behavioral changes detailed in de Klerk's statement were not all carried out quickly due to internal squabbling about the feasibility and necessity of such changes within the National Party and difficulty associated with negotiating with the ANC, behavioral changes did inevitably follow along the lines that de Klerk had laid out in early 1990 throughout the course of 1991-1993. The first report on the status of political change in South Africa made by Secretary General Javier Pèrez de Cuèllar in June 1990 indicated movement in a positive direction on many fronts, including the lifting of a the ban on political parties and movements that had been fully implemented as well as major progress made towards other measures, such as the release of political prisoners, the cessation of emergency regulations, the removal of troops from townships, etc. (United Nations 1994, 93). In 1990-1991, the South African government moved further towards ending Apartheid by repealing key Apartheid laws through the passage of the Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Act as well as the direct repeal

of the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1966, and the Black Communities Development Act of 1984 as well as inviting the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHCR) to assist with the return and relocation of refuges and the International Red Cross to help in freeing thousands of political prisoners. Finally, in 1992, the government repealed the Internal Security Act, which was one of the central demands of the Haare Declaration as well as of the ANC and the UN. During much of this process, countless acts of violence carried out by individuals and groups on both sides of the divided served to frequently stall and challenge the negotiation process, however, in every case, given time and appropriate responses from both sides to end political violence against the other as well as the invitation of UN observers through UNOMSA to function as peacekeepers, such challenges were overcome (United Nations 1994).[33]

By 1993, negotiations between the 26 political parties in attendance at the Multiparty Negotiating Council had achieved an agreed upon cessation of political violence as well as adopted by consensus 27 constitutional principles, including a Bill of Rights, a redrawing of South African provinces, and a complete reworking of executive and legislative institutions, which would be included in the South African Constitution (both interim and final versions). In addition, they set the date for non-racial, democratic elections to take place on April 27, 1994, preparation of which would be overseen by the newly created Transitional Executive Council (TEC). Upon the establishment of a firm date for democratic elections to be held, Nelson Mandela, supported by the OAU, asked the international community to lift economic sanctions placed on South Africa in recognition of these major steps taken towards ending Apartheid. This call was met in the latter part of 1993, when the UN General Assembly, through resolution

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[33] For an extremely detailed, often first-hand account of the events surrounding the end of Apartheid, see Boutros Boutros-Ghali's words in *The United Nations and Apartheid (1948-1994)* (pp. 3-131).

A/RES/48/1 of October 8, 1993, called on member-states to end all economic embargoes against South Africa immediately and for the UN-directed oil embargo against the nation to end by the end of 1993. Between December 1993 and April 1994, the TEC, with direct support of UNOMSA observers, began the process of preparing the nation for its first non-racial, democratic elections (United Nations 1994). According to Boutros Boutros-Ghali (United Nations 2004, 118-19), the UNOMSA observers as well as other observers played a central role in ensuring that the April 1994 national elections were free and fair at every stage.

The South African government's efforts between 1989-1994 to alter its domestic behavior to be more in line with international expectations and norms regarding human rights concerns played a significant role in ultimately improving the state's reputation in the international community. An analysis of data on human rights standards in South Africa between 1980 and 1996 indicates substantial, positive changes in behavior towards human rights across several key indicators that served to signal to the international community that South Africa had undertaken dramatic and costly behavioral changes to help improve its national image. These indicators (as displayed in Figure 4.2) include the CIRI data project's Physical Integrity Rights Index, which is an all-encompassing index of several indicators of human rights standards in a country that includes the use of torture, extrajudicial killings, political imprisonment, and disappearance that ranges from 0 (no government respect for these four rights) to 8 (full government respect for these four rights), an independent measure of those incarcerated for their speech or other non-violent actions as part of an opposition movement (referred to as Political Imprisonment) in the country, ranging from 0 (many individuals incarcerated for their non-violent speech or actions) to 2 (no persons imprisoned for such actions), and finally, a measure of Electoral Self-Determination, which the extent to which all

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citizens of the country enjoy freedom of political choice and the legal right to vote to change officials in government through free and fair elections, ranging from 0 (no right to self-determination exists) to 2 (political participation was very free and self-determination existed in full) (Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay 2013).

Figure 4.2: Indicators of Human Rights Standards in South Africa (1980-1996)[34]
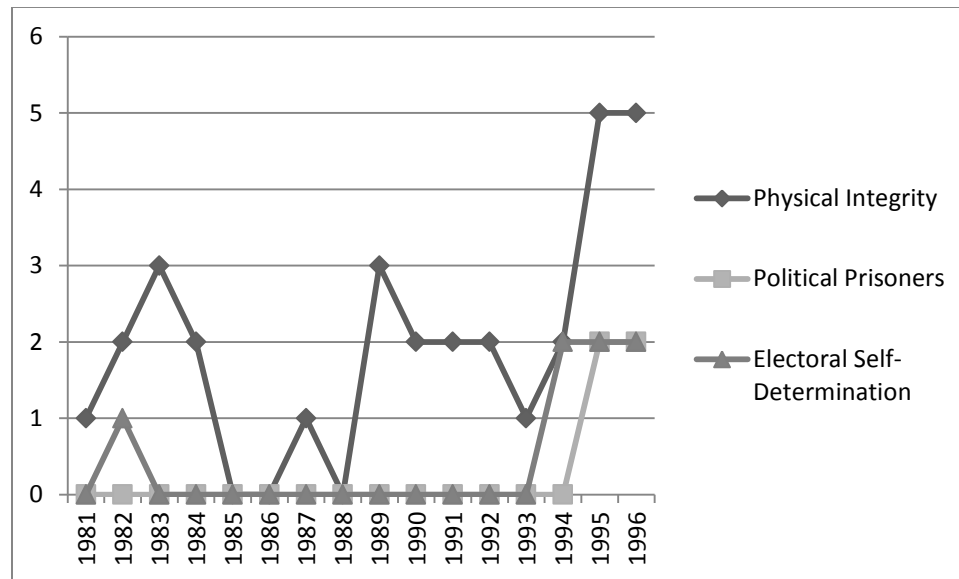
Looking at the data presented in Figure 4.2, there is as notable improvement in all three indicators of human rights standards from 1993-1994, with the number of political prisoners and indicators of electoral self-determination moving from 0 (many political prisoners and no self-determination) to 2 (no political prisoners and full self-determination) as well as a substantial improvement in indications of the protection of physical integrity, moving from a 1 (very low) in 1993 to a 5 (moderate) in 1995.

In addition to improvements in the various indicators of human rights treatment in South Africa, there were also major increases made in nearly every behavioral indicator between 1989 and 1996. These include significant and costly changes (as displayed in Table 4.6) made to the

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[34] Data obtained from Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay (2013).

quality of domestic elections (together with the aforementioned measures on the right to electoral self-determination, political prisoners, and on the CIRI Physical Integrity Index) as well as regarding South Africa's involvement in external conflicts and its recognition of and ascension to major global norms. Such dramatic changes in domestic behavior are most likely attributable to the political transition from National Party control to the rule of Nelson Mandela and the ANC in 1994, however, the very fact that the long-ruling National Party had been willing to risk losing power and control over the South African government, when combined with other actions taken between 1989-1994 such as the granting of Namibian Independence, the dismantling of its nuclear weapons program, and the abolishment of Apartheid policy, indicates that they desired to end the nation's political isolation and improve its overall national reputation among members of the international community.

Table 4.6: Assessment of Changes in Behavioral Indicators between 1989 and 1996

Behavioral Indicator	Change	Assessment
Quality of Elections	Improvement of electoral quality from no external monitoring, no universal suffrage, and a lack of electoral self-determination in 1989 to the presence of all three in 1994	An improvement of all indicators of overall quality of elections between 1989 and 1994 indicate a <u>costly</u> behavioral change
Right to Electoral Self-Determination	Improvement of Electoral Self-Determination Indicator from 0 (1989) to 2 (1994)	An improvement of +2 during the timeframe indicates a <u>costly</u> behavioral change
Presence of Electoral Observers	No electoral observers present in elections prior to 1994-- thousands of external observers from several organizations present in 1994	The presence of electoral observers during the 1994 elections was an extremely costly change and signaled that elections completely free and fair.
CIRI Physical Integrity Index	Improvement from measures of 1-3 (1989-1993) to 5 (1995)	An improvement of +2 to +4 in this category & an overall rating of more than 4 out of 8 indicates a <u>costly</u> change.

Political Prisoners	Improvement of Indicators of the # of Political Prisoners of 0 (many prisoners) in 1993 to 2 (no prisoners) in 1994-1996	The release of all political prisoners by 1994 (denoted by a +2 improvement in indicator score indicates a <u>costly</u> behavioral change.
Involvement in External Conflicts	Cessation of direct military involvement in Angola and Namibia in 1989	The end of all direct military involvement in the Angolan Civil War and the Namibian War for Independence indicates a <u>costly</u> change
Recognition of/Ascension to Major Global Norms	<u>Joined</u>: NPT (1991); FAO (1993); OAU (1994); Non-Aligned Movement (1994); Southern African Development Community (1994), WTO (1995) <u>Readmitted to</u>: UN (1994); ILO (1994); WHO (1994); and the Commonwealth of Nations (1994).	With the ascension and readmission of South Africa to several major international organizations and treaties between 1989 and 1996, it is clear that South Africa had committed to <u>costly</u> behavioral changes.

The implication of these substantial, positive costly changes in several key behavioral indicators is that the implementation of far-reaching reforms in all aspects of its overall behavior should resonate in the perceptions of the international community, ultimately resulting in a reassessment and eventual improvement of the nation's general reputation. Indicators of inter-subjective changes in the perceptions of the international community during the same period (displayed in Table 4.7) include changes in economic sanctions levied against the nation, the number of diplomatic exchanges between South Africa and others, especially those with major powers such as the United States or Russia, and changes in the flow of foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA) into the nation.

Table 4.7: Assessment of Perceptual Indicators from International Community (1989-1996)

Perceptual Indicator	Change	Assessment
Presence of Sanctions	Most bilateral/multilateral economic sanctions and UN oil embargo came to an end in 1993	The end of nearly all sanctions against South Africa indicates a <u>positive</u> perceptual change.

Diplomatic Exchanges (Number of Embassies)	21/166 [12.7%] (1989); 39/188 [20.7%] (1993); 67/190 [35.3%] (1994)	Between 1989 and 1994, the # of diplomatic exchanges increased by 46 new states (22.6% of all states) Such a margin indicates a positive perceptual change.
Diplomatic Exchange with Great Powers (US, UK, France, Russia, China)[35]	1989: Britain (yes; strained[36]); United States (yes; strained); France (yes; strained) Russia (no); China (no) 1994: Britain (yes); United States (yes); France (yes); Russia (yes); China (no)	Relations between Britain, the US, and France became less strained in 1994 and relations opened with Russia in 1992. Relations with China would follow in 1998. These changes indicate a positive perceptual change.
Change in FDI and/or ODA to pariah state[37]	FDI (net inflows, BoP, current $US): 1989: $-201 million 1994: $374 million 1995: $1.284 billion. ODA & official aid (net, current $US): 1989: no data 1994: $293 million 1995: $386 million	FDI (net inflows) into South Africa increased by over $1.4 billion between 1989 and 1995, while net ODA increased by $116 million from 1993 to 1995, both indicating a positive perceptual change.
State Sponsorship of Terrorism	South Africa was never labeled a state sponsor of terrorism by the US State Department.	State sponsorship for terrorism was not one of South Africa's key norm violations.

Through an analysis of the data presented in Tables 4.6 and 4.7, it becomes clear that the costly rhetorical and behavioral changes made by South Africa starting in 1989 resulted in a significant improvement in the inter-subjective perceptions among members of the international community. By using these perceptual improvements as a proxy measure for national reputation, it can be argued that priming rhetoric (e.g. de Klerk's February 2, 1990 speech) when combined with far-reaching and costly behavioral changes as framed by statements made at the conclusion of the process (e.g. Mandela's May, 10, 1994 inauguration speech) led to the removal of South Africa's pariah status (see Figure 4.3)

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[35] Data obtained from Christopher (1994).

[36] Although South Africa maintained relations with Britain, the United States, and France during the Apartheid era, relations were strained throughout much of the period as a result of economic sanctions enforced by those states.

[37] Data on FDI (net inflows) and ODA (net) obtained from the World Bank Development Indicators (2013).

Figure 4.3: South Africa's 1989-1994 Rebranding Attempt

De Klerk's Speech to Parliament **+** Costly Behavioral Changes **+** Mandela's Inauguration Speech **=** Significant Change in Reputation (Pariah Status End)
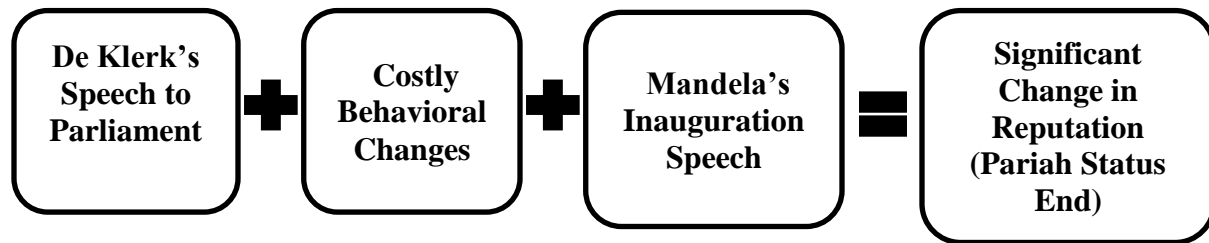
CHAPTER 5: LIBYA (1973-2003)

Libya deserves to be treated as a pariah in the world community.
-President Ronald Reagan, 1986

Suffice it to say that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has pledged itself not only to cooperate in the international fight against terrorism but also to take practical measures to ensure that such cooperation is effective.
-Letter to the UNSC (S/2003/818) from Ahmed A. Own, Libyan Ambassador to UN, 2003

5.1 Introduction

Libya is yet another classic example of a state suffering from the stigma of pariah status throughout much of last sixty years that was able to successfully convince members of the international community that it was deserving of a better reputation. Libya's deviant behavior began almost as soon as the regime directed by Muammar al Gaddafi came to power in 1969, with Gaddafi beginning his decades-long search for nuclear weapons and later other weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) around 1970 and tensions growing between Libya and the United States, Britain, and France a few years later. By 1973, the United States instituted the first series of sanctions on the nation by imposing an embargo on the sale of most military armaments and vehicles in response to an oil embargo against the United States and several other Western states carried out by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), but organized by the Gaddafi regime, in response to the West's support for Israel during the Arab-Israeli conflict a few years prior. As time progressed, Libyan behavior became progressively aggressive and in violation of several global norms, including the support and involvement of global terrorism, the continued pursuit for materials and technology related to the production of WMDs, as well as intervention into the external affairs of its neighbors, including Chad, Egypt, Sudan, and the

Central African Republic. The most notable deviant behavior that produced the most severe aspects of Libya's pariah status was its involvement in several terror attacks throughout the 1980s, including the bombing of airports in Vienna and Rome in 1985, of a West Berlin nightclub in 1986, of a French airliner over Niger in 1989, and most significantly, the involvement of Libyan agents in the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988.

This behavior resulted in an equally aggressive response from members of the international community, including imposition of unilateral sanctions by the United States and Britain as well as multilateral sanctions by the United Nations and European Community (EC) as well as military interventions directed by the United States against Libya on several instances during the 1980s. Although Libya attempted to improve its reputational situation several times, including attempts in 1980, 1990, 1994, 1999, and 2003, only the last one in 2003 was able to produce the removal of Libya's pariah status. As a result of several years of intense negotiations, Libya formally renounced its support for terrorism and its pursuit for WMDs as well as claiming responsibility for its involvement in the terror attacks mentioned above, signaling to members of the international community that it had meaningfully changed its behavior in such a manner that it was deserving of a reassessment of its national reputation. Most interesting in Libya's case, however, is the fact that Libya's reputational improvement during the early 2000s was successful in the absence of any political transition or regime change, as was the case with South Africa. The following chapter will detail Libya's journey from being considered a pariah in the early 1970s to its re-socialization in 2003, paying attention to the behavioral and perceptual changes that produced both the pariah status and its eventual removal.

5.2 Pre-Pariah Status

Prior to the ascension of Colonel Gaddafi to power in 1969 and his lengthy tenure as leader, Libya was seen as a successful example of decolonization and a respected member of the Arab, African, and international communities, having become a member of the League of Arab States in 1953, a founding member of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1963, and developing close relationships with Britain, the United States, France, Greece, Turkey, and its former colonial ruler, Italy. Following the dissolution of the Italian empire, Libya declared its independence in 1951 and became a constitutional and hereditary monarchy under the rule of King Idris I. During this period, Libya played a limited role in international politics due primarily to weak federal control and influence over the various provinces of the country, which caused a great deal of tension and disagreement between the federal and provincial governments, as well as its lack of economic development and its heavy dependence on foreign aid (St John 2002). Despite its narrow role in international affairs, the nation enjoyed close relations with all of its neighbors as well as with Britain, France, and the United States. In 1953 and 1954, Libya established formal agreements with both Britain and the United States in which Libya received financial aid and military assistance in exchange for the placement of military bases by both nations. During the same period, Libya maintained full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, but declined to accept financial aid from the nation and chose to remain neutral in the Arab-Israeli dispute as well as in other tenuous inter-Arab political issues. With the arrival of foreign aid, the nation began to slowly develop economically, however, with the discovering of oil resources in 1959, a huge influx of funds flooded the nation and helped make Libya a critically important energy development and transport hub due primarily to its proximity to Europe and the quantity and quality of its crude oil resources (Metz 2003, 77).

In the mid-1960s, the Arab nationalist movement began by Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser started to influence Libyan politics and foreign policy, particularly among the young, causing some anti-Western demonstrations that forced the pro-Western government to ask Britain and the United States to begin the process of removing all military personnel from the country short of the previously agreed upon dates in the treaties between the nations. The anti-Western tensions only worsened following the Six-Day, Arab-Israeli War in 1967, during which massive student and worker demonstrations directed at the American and British embassies, Western oil facilities, and the small Jewish community in Libya became violent. In response, the Libyan government restored order and tried to maintain its general support for both Arab and Western interests, as denoted by its offer of financial assistance to Egypt, Syria, and Jordan who had just lost the war against Israel and the maintenance of its close economic and political ties to Europe and the United States. This delicate balancing act, however, was not enough to assuage increasing demands from internal resistance groups calling for Libya to move away from the West in support of nonalignment (Metz 2003). In addition, the King had become detached from the general needs of the populace, due to his declining health, the inability of the Libyan government to distribute the wealth obtained from oil sales to the bulk of the populace, and the lack of overall Libyan nationalism that would help bridge substantial divides among the different regions of the nation (Metz 2003). On September 1, 1969, a group of seventy young army officers, known as the Free Officers Movement and supported by the remaining Libyan armed forces, took over the Libyan government (as the King was in Greece and Turkey for medical treatment) in a non-violent coup d'état that was generally well-received among most citizens of the nation, especially the younger people in urban areas, and brought to an end the Libyan monarchy and the establishment of the Libyan Arab Republic. The non-violent and popular

nature of the revolution made it fairly easy for the new government, made up of a 12-member directorate called the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), to achieve control over the entire state and to gain formal diplomatic recognition from many countries around the world in only a matter of days, including the United States on September 6 (St John 2002). In the first few days of the new government, Muammar al Gaddafi, a member of the 12-person RCC and Captain in the Libyan armed forces, was promoted to Colonel and appointed the commander and chief of the Libyan armed forces as well as made head of the RCC and the de-facto head of state. Days later, the government proclaimed is neutrality in the Cold War competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, its opposition to all forms of colonialism and imperialism, its support for the Palestinian and Arab movement against Israel, and declared its support for and affiliation with the 'Arab Nation' (Metz 2003). In addition, the RCC made Islam the official religion of the nation, continued the ban on political parties, abolished the Libyan Parliament, giving all legislative authority to the RCC, and rejected all ideologies, including communism, in support of "an Arab interpretation of socialism that integrated Islamic principles with social, economic, and political reform" that "shifted [Libya], virtually overnight, from the camp of conservative Arab traditionalist states to that of the radical nationalist states (Metz 2003, 80).

This radical nature was advanced as Gaddafi and a few key members of the RCC began to consolidate power by purging various groups, including the RCC, across the nation of any potential challenges to their continued rule as well as holding trials for over 200 members of the previous regime, often in absentia. In addition, the RCC began to attack key tribal and regional differences for preventing Arab unity within the nation, causing them to dismiss various tribal and regional leaders and reorganize the administrative boundaries of the state across tribal identities. The RCC also established a broad-based and essentially unopposed political party

called the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in 1971 that was created to increase the "political consciousness" of the Libyan people and to facilitate the formulation of public policy through open forums and the cooptation of trade unions, the banning of strikes, and the total censorship of the Libyan press that was now considered "an agent of the revolution" (Metz 2003, 82). Although the United States and other Western nations formally recognized the new government in 1969, relations between Libya and the West steadily deteriorated as Gaddafi and the RCC began to forge closer ties with the Soviet Union, procuring access to Soviet-built armored vehicles and missiles, all while maintaining its commitment to nonalignment and opposing the spread of communism in the Arab world. In addition, demands from the RCC for Western-owned and controlled oil producers to increase the price of oil in return for an increase in output led to an three-fold increase in petroleum prices, which only encouraged the Libyan government to nationalize foreign oil holdings, staring with the British in 1971 and those of other nations in 1973, resulting in the government controlling as much as 70% of all oil resources in the nation by 1974. This control provided the government substantial influence over the nation's output of oil resources as well as on the global price of oil, which became important in 1973 when Libya, later joined by other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), issued an oil embargo against the United States and other Western supporters of Israel that continued for about 5 months for every Arab nation except Libya, which continued its embargo indefinitely. With relations between Libya and the United States, which had withdrawn its ambassador to Libya in 1972, and other Western states growing increasingly antagonistic as a result of the 1973 oil embargo, its defiantly anti-Israel stance and support for 'radical' Palestinian groups, its support of resistance (and terrorist) movements such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and the improving of relations with the Soviet Union, Libya found

itself increasingly isolated diplomatically. The following section will discuss the development and progression of Libya's pariah status in more detail.

5.3 Development of Pariah Status

As early as 1973, Libya began to experience many of the consequences associated with its deviant behavior, including diplomatic and economic isolation, some of which was self-imposed, however, it did remain relatively engaged in regional and international politics until later in the 1970s when it began to aggressively support policies, including the state-sponsorship of terrorism, bent on challenging Israel, the United States, and any nations that supported them. It is important to note that while Libya garnered and maintained the general designation of a pariah state between 1973 and 2003, there were many periods during which relations with the West and the rest of the international community were better than others. Many of these periods represent a sort of false-start attempt at improving the nation's reputation, which are of particular interest because they represent potential attempts for reputational improvement that can be assessed independently to better understand why those attempts failed to ultimately remove Libya's pariah status and why its attempt in 2002-03 produced an end to its period of diplomatic and economic isolation and punishment. The following section will detail each of these periods of fluctuating foreign relations between 1973 and 2003 in an effort to set up a more intensive analysis of why some attempts at reputational improvement were more effective than others.

1969-1973: Period of Shifting Relations with the West

Following the 1969 revolution that brought the RCC and Gaddafi to power, Libya enjoyed a relatively comfortable international position that allowed the new government to both

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challenge and cooperate with key Western powers, with the RCC simultaneously demanding a removal of all British and American military forces in 1970 and nationalizing up to 70% of foreign oil holdings in the state and maintaining a relatively stable and congenial relationship with the United States and most European states. So long as the RCC and Gaddafi remained suspicious and relatively hostile towards the Soviet Union and the spread of communism in the Arab world as well as promoted strong economic development in growth domestically, the United States and Britain would be willing to overlook the regime's otherwise negative behavior (Niblock 2001, 20). Between 1992 and 1993, relations with the West, especially with the United States, as well as with its neighbors such as Egypt began to deteriorate fairly substantially. Gaddafi's extreme support for the Palestinian cause against Israel, including offers to train any Arab wishing to volunteer to fight for Palestinian armed groups as well as promising financial support for further attacks against Israel, caused the United States to withdraw its ambassador from Libya in 1972 as well as to cease all sales of military armaments starting in 1973 (Davis 1990, St John 2002). During this same period, Libya began its support for national resistance movements often considered terrorist groups by the nations they exist in, providing financial support as well as training and weapons to many, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, the Basque Separatist movement in Spain, and other movements (See Table 5.1 for a detailed account of Libya's support for global terrorism).

In addition, as was discussed earlier, the 1973 OPEC oil embargo against the United States and other supporters of Israel, which had been organized and led by Libya, substantially damaged relations with the United States and much of Europe. The aggressive actions taken by the RCC and Gaddafi painted Libya as a threat to international stability in the eyes of the West, causing many to consider it a pariah and begin to isolate the nation diplomatically and

economically. This was only made worse by the growing division between Gaddafi and his once close-ally, Egypt, which had experienced a more 'West-friendly', democratic turn with the accession of Anwar Sadat to power in 1970. With the loss of one of its key regional allies, Libya had become almost totally isolated, with only Gaddafi's pan-Arabism movement (and its limited effectiveness) and its budding relationship with the Soviet bloc to keep the nation from becoming completely alone on the world stage. By the end of 1973, Libya found itself considered by many as a threat to international and regional stability that served to cause irreparable harm to the nation's reputation that would be difficult to reverse in the coming years.

1973-1976: Libya as a Threat to International & Regional Stability

The period between 1973 and 1976 represents a period of heightened tensions between Libya and most other members of the international community and the beginning of Libya's pariah status. In 1973, in addition to the OPEC oil embargo, Libya ramped up its verbal and direct military support for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland that had begun as early as 1971, attempting to provide it with Soviet-built arms that included rocket-propelled grenades, flamethrowers, surface-to-air missiles, and Semtex explosives (O'Brien 1995). In 1976, Gaddafi publically announced his support for a series of terrorist attacks carried out by the IRA, saying that "the bombs which are convulsing Britain and breaking its spirit are bombs of Libyan people. We have sent them to the Irish revolutionaries so that the British will pay the price for their past deeds" (Davis 1990, 182). In addition to the regime's increasing support for terrorism, which would become a much larger concern in the late-1970s and 1980s, Gaddafi began to grow increasingly paranoid about what he perceived to be 'imperialistic' and 'Zionist' elements challenging the spread of the revolutionary pan-Arab movement as well as Islam in

general (Metz 2003). He worried about the warming of relations between Egypt and the West following the October 1973 War and believed that the Arab cause was being "sold out" by Sadat and other "reactionary Arab regimes to the imperial masters" and began a campaign to advance 'progressive' Arab regimes to confront this "imperial-Zionist, reactionary" threat as well as to move diplomatically closer to the Soviet bloc primarily due its lack of support for Israel and not for ideological reasons (Gebril 1988, 66).

Of note during this period is Libya's ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1975, after it had been signed by King Ibris in 1968. Although ratification indicated a serious commitment to a developing norm against nuclear proliferation, it was suspected by many at the time that Gaddafi, likely influenced by the dramatic defeat of the Arab nations in the Six-Day, Arab-Israeli War in 1967, desired to develop a nuclear weapons program as early as 1970 when it is now known that Libya propositioned several states to sell it nuclear weapon, including China (1970), India (1978), and Pakistan (late 1970s), and was widely known to have offered $1 million in gold to anyone able to provide him a functional weapon (Rohlfing 2013, Cirincione et al 2002, Timmerman 1992, Micallef 1981). In addition, while Libya did ratify the NPT in 1975, they did not reach an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to for on-site inspections of the nation's nuclear sites until 1980. There exist several potential explanations for Libya's ratification of the NPT during this period despite its obvious desire to obtain nuclear weapons. Matthew Fuhrmann (2012, 92-93) provides a potential explanation for Libya's contradictory behavior, which is that the Soviet Union pressured Libya to ratify the treaty to constrain its ongoing pursuit of nuclear technology from otherwise 'reckless' providers and likely made ratification a condition for the conclusion of any agreement resulting in the transfer of nuclear technology or equipment to the nation. This only seems to be

confirmed by the fact that only four days after Libya's ratification of NPT, the Soviet Union agreed to begin sending nuclear technology to Libya.

Fuhrmann (2012) and Potter (1985) suggest that the Soviet Union desired both an image as a responsible supplier of nuclear technology, primarily through the implementation of sufficient safeguards and careful screening of those it supplied to, and most relevant in Libya's case, who was not necessarily a trustworthy partner in terms of non-proliferation, the Soviet Union greatly desired a strategic ally in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region after losing Egypt, its previous ally in the region, in 1972. In this sense, the Soviet Union was likely willing to overlook Libya's riskiness as a trade partner in exchange for strategic considerations and the installation of key safeguards to decrease the risk to some degree. This was most directly achieved through demands for Libya to ratify the NPT before any agreement would be formalized. In addition to pressure from the Soviet Union to ratify, it is likely that Gaddafi wished to formally signal to the international community that it intended to abide by global norms on nuclear non-proliferation even if the actual commitment was but a 'hollow' one (Potter 1985, Micallef 1981, Duffy 1979) It is likely that Gaddafi calculated that his pursuit of nuclear weapons would remain 'under the radar' of nuclear watchdogs such as the IAEA and he would be able to successfully acquire a functional nuclear weapon before anyone would notice. In any case, it was clear to most at the time that Libya's ratification of the NPT was not a meaningful or serious commitment to non-proliferation rather a product of Soviet strategic interests as well as Libya's perception that NPT ratification was but a stepping stone to better nuclear cooperation that may help it realize its nuclear destiny.

Beyond the pursuit of nuclear weapons and technology, Libya also became involved in several military conflicts that would continue well into the 1980s and would produce a great deal

of stigma for the nation from many of its neighbors across Africa and the Middle East. As early as 1969, Libya had begun to experience heavy tensions with its neighbor, Chad, over the border between the two nations, including the Aouzou Strip (a major source of uranium deposits) which Gaddafi had claimed for his own but was controlled by Chad (Metz 2003). In 1971, Libya supported a failed coup attempt against Chad's President, François Tombalbaya, causing him to break off diplomatic relations. In 1972, following a warming of relations between the two nations, Libya took control (with no opposition from Chad) over Aouzou Strip and maintained control until 1993 when the ICJ ruled against Libyan control. Tombalbaye was replaced by General Felix Malloum in a coup in 1975, who openly opposed the previous leader's appeasement of Libya. Libya proceeded to escalate its support of anti-government rebels that it had been supporting since 1970 and later became directly involved in the conflict when its military forces invaded Chad in 1980 producing a lengthy conflict that ended in 1987 (Pollack 2004). In addition to its involvement in Chad, Libya also became heavily involved with trying to radicalize one of its other neighbors, Sudan, by using mercenaries that it had developed as part of the Libyan-created, Islamic Legion in 1972, members of which went on later to become part of the Janjaweed who were accused of carrying out genocide in Darfur in the early 2000s (Prunier 2005). The conflict with Sudan would continue into the 1980s.

Along with the shifting foreign relations during this period, major domestic changes were occurring as well. In 1973, Gaddafi began writing and theorizing about the reorganization of Libyan society in his now famous *Green Book*, starting what he deemed a cultural and popular revolution that was "designed to combat bureaucratic inefficiency, lack of public interest and participation in the subnational government system, and problems of national political coordination" as well as to encourage large numbers of the Libyan populace to challenge

traditional authority and take over and run government institutions themselves through 'People's Committees' and a new system of direct democracy called the General People's Congress (GPC), which was designed to replace the RCC (Metz 2003, 82-83). The reorganization of Libyan society and its political system was completed in 1977 upon the establishment of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, with Gaddafi being selected as the General Secretary of the party and former members of the RCC selected as members of the new General Secretariat of the GPC.

The new system was based on a complex system of People's Committees and Revolutionary Committees that, while not official government institutions, were given authority and responsibilities that often overlapped with each other with Gaddafi and his inner circle guiding the process from above (Metz 2003). These groups became significant players in the domestic politics of the nation, providing young and zealous supporters of the social and economic reforms the opportunity to advance in Libyan politics while also creating excessively strict and sometimes violent groups of 'minders' and enforcers who independently continued the reforms of the revolution through often aggressive forms of repression, including torture, public executions, excessive surveillance, posting bounties on ex-patriots accused of 'treason,' and kidnapping and forced disappearances (Vandewalle 2006). During much of the late 1970s and 1980s, the Revolutionary Committees actively repressed much of the Libyan populace, sometimes with the approval and other times with criticism and disapproval of Gaddafi and other members of the General Secretariat. By 1988, Gaddafi began to reign in the groups for becoming too hostile and threatening to the stability of the regime.

Rebranding Attempt #1: Attempted Relaxation of Tensions with the West and Arab World

Throughout much of the period between 1976 and 1978, Libya seemed to reverse course regarding its relationship with the international community and in particular, with the United States. While maintaining the nation's emphatic disapproval of American support for Israel and its continued support for the Palestinian cause, Libya signaled to the United States that it desired to improve relations between the two nations. On September 27, 1976, Libya's press minister, Mohammed Zwai, publically stated that "Libya would like to establish normal relations with the U.S. but the U.S. is deliberately opposed to any improvement in relations," ultimately calling for the establishment of a new discourse between the two nations, which was later reaffirmed by Gaddafi in a statement made to *Jeune Afrique* in October that he wanted relations with the U.S. to be as good as those with the Soviet Union (Gebril 1988, 66). The desire for improved relations with the United States reached their apex upon the election of Jimmy Carter as President of the United States in November. Gaddafi had hoped that with the arrival of Carter would produce a shift in the American position regarding the Palestinian issue in the Middle East. Such a shift, however, never came, only serving to frustrate Gaddafi even more.

The problem for Libya was that the ideological differences over Arab nationalism and more importantly, over the issue of Palestine, were too great to bridge, only serving to further frustrate Gaddafi and to push him to alternative strategies such as state-sponsored terrorism. By the middle of 1977, American foreign policy towards Libya had become increasingly antagonistic, with the Carter administration accusing Libya of sponsoring terrorism and blocking the sale of Italian aircrafts and equipment as well as taking the side of Egypt in the short-lived conflict between Egypt and Libya (called the Libyan-Egyptian War) (St John 2002). The Western perception of Libya as a state sponsor of terror was affirmed upon the discovery of a

failed Libyan plot to assassinate the American ambassador to Egypt, Herman Frederick Eilts in late 1977, as well as Libya's continued support for the IRA and other extremist groups around the globe, thus damaging the fleeting attempt by the Gaddafi regime to improve its reputational position vis-à-vis the United States and the rest of the West. In an effort to counter and denounce these claims, Libya ratified two United Nations conventions regarding terrorism and diplomatic relations between 1977 and 1978, including the Hague Hijacking Convention (1970) and the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961). While ratification of these conventions represented an honest attempt to change others, particularly the United States', perception of Libya regarding its support for terrorism, it was the lack of any meaningful changes in Libya's rhetoric and financial support for various terrorist groups, such as the IRA, as well as what was a firmly established belief that Libya itself was preparing to carry out terrorist attacks itself that prevented any meaningful change in the nation's reputation (St John 2002, 110). Had the ratification of the conventions been preceded by rhetoric and behavior reflecting a shift in Libyan intentions regarding its support of national resistance movements and terrorism around the world as well as a direct and honest assessment of its views on the terrorism question, it is possible that such actions would have been taken more seriously in the following years (El Warfally 1988, 107).

The Libyan actions may have resulted in a slight warming in the American position, with the approval by the US State Department of the sale of two Boeing aircraft to Libyan Arab Airlines in November 1978 and the sale of four hundred heavy trucks to Libya by the Oshkosh Truck Corporation in an apparent attempt to use an improvement in commercial relations to encourage a more constructive dialogue (St John 2002). When Gaddafi responded with more hostile rhetoric directed at Egypt and the United States continued support of Israel, referring to it

as a 'war against Tripoli,' as well as dispatching 2,500 Libyan troops to aid the Idi Amin regime in Uganda in preventing its overthrow during the Uganda-Tanzania War, any momentum that might have been developed was quashed. To make matters worse, Gaddafi spoke publically in support of the taking of American hostages following the Iranian Revolution, only serving to further aggravate the Carter Administration. Instead, the lack of any lasting change in American perceptions towards Libya pushed Gaddafi to become more antagonistic towards the United States among others in Europe. By the end of 1978, relations between the U.S. and Libya had begun to quickly deteriorate, with Western perceptions of Libya as a threat to international and regional stability becoming more firmly entrenched, producing a decade-long period of confrontation that would see Libya become even further isolated and punished for what was perceived as its continued deviant behavior.

1979-1989—The Dark Years of Confrontation and Deepening of Pariah Status

1979 represents a turning point in Libya's foreign relations with the much of the outside world, with the nation turning progressively antagonistic and aggressive towards the international system and for what it perceived as continued disrespect and mistreatment of Libya as well as of the Palestinian issue that remained ongoing throughout the period. Relations with the U.S. moved to near armed confrontation as early as 1980 due to a dramatic increase in tensions that started as a result of a series of events that began near the end of 1979. On December 2, 1979, as part of the global reaction to the attack on the Grand Mosque at Mecca, Islam's holiest site, on November 20 that resulted in the burning of the U.S. embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, a group of about 2,000 Libyan demonstrators stormed and burned the U.S. embassy in Tripoli. The protestors stormed the US embassy because they believed that the

United States and Israel had orchestrated the attack, which had been suggested by Ayatollah Khomeini on Iranian radio in the aftermath of the attack (El Warfally 1988, 110). The situation grew worse the next month when the United States and France, who had both sent military forces to assist the ruling regime in Tunisia in a guerilla war that had broken out, accused Libya of providing direct support and training of Tunisia guerillas that surprise attacked the Tunisia town of Gafsa on January 27 (St John 2002, 114). This resulted in both France and the United States dispatching its armed forces off the coast of Tunisia and Libya as a warning directed at Libya to cease the attacks. On February 4, Libyan officials failed to stop a group of protestors from storming and burning the French embassy in Tripoli, causing the United States to withdraw its Charge d'affaires from Libya. Soon after, the United States recalled its last two embassy staffers from Libya and closed the embassy. By the end of 1980, Libyan fighter jets began intercepting American planes over the Mediterranean Sea as a challenge to the growing American presence in the region, including the establishment of alliances in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and Oman (El Warfally 1988). These 'interceptions,' while short of any direct confrontation, represented a new low-point for Libya-U.S. relations that nearly brought the two nations to war. While military confrontation was avoided at the time (although it would occur only months later), Libya maintained its aggressive tone towards the United States and others that produced an American response to politically, economically, and militarily isolate the nation as much as possible in the coming years. In a move designed to recognize and punish Libya's connection to global terrorism, the U.S. State Department designated Libya as an official 'State Sponsor of Terrorism' in 1979.

With the election of Ronald Regan in late 1980, the United States began to perceive Libya as more of an enemy rather than just another 'difficult' state. One of the first acts taken by

the Reagan administration was to request its European allies in the North Atlanta Treaty Organization (NATO) to reject all state visits by Gaddafi and to expand all existing embargos on the sale of military equipment and arms as well as on oil exploration and development in Libya (St John 2002, 125). Later in 1981, American armed forces began to challenge Libyan forces off the Gulf of Sirte (Sidra) and shot down two Libyan fighters in August. In addition, the United States began a wide-ranging misinformation and propaganda campaign through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as well as official government statements that were directed at Libya in an attempt to enhance Gaddafi's paranoia about an American invasion of Libya and to isolate the nation further by spreading disinformation about Libya's ties to terrorism, Libya's close, ideological connections to the Soviet Union, essentially calling it a puppet of the USSR, and attempts to discredit Gaddafi by making him appear unstable and potentially insane (St John 2002, 125). This was followed up with the establishment of a near total American embargo on oil resources from Libya in 1982 that was made a total ban in 1986 and later with the implementation of some of the strictest diplomatic sanctions ever placed on a nation that restricted the movement of Libyan diplomats to the United Nations. These punishments were a direct result of Libya's violation of key global norms against state involvement in terrorism and against terrorism more generally, against the intervention into the internal affairs of other countries, and against the proliferation or development of weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear or chemical weapons. The following sections will detail Libya's support for and involvement in global terrorism, its intervention into the internal affairs of other states, as well as its pursuit of chemical and nuclear weapons between 1979 and 1989.

Support for and Involvement in Global Terrorism

Throughout much of this period, Libya ramped up its support of global terrorism beyond the provision of training, weapons, and financial support to groups like the IRA and PLO and began promoting and carrying out state-directed terrorist attacks intended to advance the Arab revolutionary cause and to challenge the West's continued support for Israel. Between 1984 and 1989, terror groups directly supported by Libya or Libyan agents themselves carried out a series of progressively serious terrorist attacks, including a shooting of a British policewomen in 1984, the bombings of a café in Rome and at the airports of Vienna and Rome in 1985, the bombing of a West Berlin night-club in 1985 that killed three, including two American soldiers in 1986, and most significantly, the bombing of two passenger-jets, a French one over Niger that killed all aboard in 1989, and Libya's most notorious attack, the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland that resulted in the murder of all 270 aboard (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Timeline of Libya's Support for and Involvement in Terrorism (1971-1990)[38]

Date of Event	Event Details
1971-1973	Libya begins its supply of arms to the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which continued throughout much of the 1980s and offered a haven to suspected terrorist groups such as the PLO group that attacked Israeli athletes during the Munich Olympics in 1972.
November 1976	Libya agrees to secretly arm, finance, and train various national resistance/terrorist groups, including the Basques in Spain, the Britons and Corsicans in France, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, M19 and FARC in Colombia, and others in Japan, Turkey, and Thailand.
April 1984	Libyan diplomats open fire on Libyan refugees protesting in London, killing a British policewoman, causing Britain to break off relations.
July 1985	Terrorist with ties to Libya bombed offices of Northwest Orient Airlines in Copenhagen.
September 1985	A PLO group tied to Libya bomb a café next to U.S. embassy in Rome.
December 27, 1985	Terrorists associated with the PLO attacked the Vienna and Rome airports, killing 20 and injuring 110. Reports indicate that Libyan intelligence supplied the weapons for the attack.

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[38] Information on Libyan support for terrorism obtained from the Peterson Institute for International Economics (2012).

April 5, 1986	Bombing of a West Berlin discotheque frequented by American soldiers, killing three, including two American soldiers, and injuring 150.
December 21, 1988	Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland by Libyan intelligence agent Abdul Basset al-Megrahi, killing all 270 people on board. In response, Gaddafi cuts funding for several 'rebel' groups receiving training in Libya, asking them to leave and claiming that continued support would be counterproductive to the Arab cause.
September 19, 1989	Bombing of a UTA Flight 772, a French airliner, over Niger, killing all persons aboard; a French court convicted six Libyans for their roles in the attack
June 1990	A heavily armed Palestinian terrorist group, trained in Libya and transported by Libyan ships, captured off coast of Israel. Gaddafi expels group for being too radical a few months later.

The bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, also referred to as the Lockerbie bombing, was one of the most visible and aggressive actions directed by the Libyan government during the period and remains one of the worst terror attacks in world history. The investigation into the cause of the crash and into who was responsible for the attack lasted well into 1990. By 1991, evidence arose that implicated Libyan agents, most notably a Libyan intelligence agent named Abdul Basset al-Megrahi, as having carried out the bombing of the plane by detonating a cassette player laced with Semtex explosives that were not detectable by x-ray machines (Niblock 2001, 35). In response to the discovery of Libyan involvement in the bombing, the United States and European Community (EC) enhanced the economic, political, and military sanctions regime that had slowly developed throughout the 1980s in response to Libya's progressively aggressive behavior (see Table 5.2). In addition, these nations, through the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in Resolution 731, made demands for the Libyan government to acknowledge its responsibility in the Lockerbie bombing and to extradite the two intelligence agents who had been accused of carrying out the attack. When Gaddafi refused to allow the extradition of the suspects to Britain for trial, claiming that Libya would try the suspects in its courts as per the conditions of the Montreal Convention, which was one of several laws regulating air travel that addressed

liabilities for the death or injury of passengers aboard an aircraft, the UNSC implemented multilateral political and economic sanctions against Libya through Resolutions 748 and 883 that imposed a ban on all flights in and out of Libya (including all air travel by the top Libyan leadership), an embargo against the sale of all arms to Libya, severe reductions in the number of diplomatic personnel that Libya would be permitted at the United Nations, and a ban on the import of oil-transporting equipment (Niblock 2001) (see Table 5.3).

Intervention into the Affairs of Neighbors

In addition to Libya's support for and involvement in terrorism, Libya also became involved in a number of other issues, including the direct military intervention into several conflicts, including several with the United States, and the invasion of some of its neighbors. As was discussed earlier in the chapter, throughout much of the 1970s and 1980s, Libya was engaged in a military conflict with its neighbor, Chad, that saw Libya dispatch its own military forces into the nation on three different occasions (1980, 1983, and 1986) as well as financially and military support the troops of the rebel group called the Front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT), in an effort to control vast areas of territory and resources as well as to influence and ultimately force Chad to move within Libya's sphere of influence in Northern Africa (Metz 2004). While the government was under the control of President Goukouni Oueddei, an ally of Qaddafi and member of FROLINAT, as early as 1980, there were major anti-government elements, most notably those of French-backed Hissein Habré, who were trying to gain control of the country and were successful at taking control of the capital in 1982 following an end to the first period of open hostilities between Libya and Habré's forces (Pollack 2002).

In 1983, Libya intervened again from its foothold in the Aouzou Strip that it had annexed in 1973 in support of rebels loyal to Goukouni, but was ultimately repelled by Habré's forces that had been supplied with French and American weapons and backed by a small contingent of military forces from Zaire as well as 3,000 French troops and forced to agree to a division of the nation at the Sixteenth parallel. By 1986, Goukouni had turned on Libya because he believed they had not done enough to support his return to power and began to fight alongside Habré's troops. The combined force captured a key air base in the North of Chad, resulting in the death of over 3,000 Libyan soldiers, as well as helped to solidify Habré's control of nearly all of Chad (Pollack 2002). Although hostilities calmed in September 1986 upon the negotiation of a ceasefire, they escalated again later that year during the Toyota War, which was the name given to the last phase of the Chadian-Libyan conflict and named for the wide-usage of Toyota trucks in most of the fighting. The conflict ultimately resulted in heavy losses and Libya's defeat, with some sources claiming Libya had lost one tenth of its army, or about 7,500 men, as well as costing the nation about US$1.5 billion in lost or destroyed equipment (Simons 2004). Although Libya maintained control over the Aouzou Strip following the end of the conflict, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that the territory formally belonged to Chad in 1994.

Beyond the conflict with Chad, Libya also became involved in the internal affairs of several of its other neighbors, often by using volunteer guerilla fighters from the Islamic Legion to attempt and often successfully assassinate key leaders in countries like Sudan, Niger, Senegal, and the Gamibia that contested Libya's influence in Northern Africa, especially regarding its involvement in Chad (Cooley 1981, Joffe 2005). Libya also frequently intervened either indirectly (through funding or training of anti-government forces) or directly (through military incursions) into internal conflicts, especially in nearby Sudan where Libya helped anti-

government forces to take control in the mid-1980s, ultimately resulting in Omar al-Bashir, who was convicted of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crime for his actions in Darfur during the late 1990s and early 2000s, coming to power in 1989. In addition to its hostile interactions with many of its neighbors, Libya also became embroiled in several military clashes with the United States during the period that served to heighten tensions between the two nations. As was discussed earlier, American aircraft first interacted with Libyan fighters over the Gulf of Sirte (Sidra) in 1981. The incident represented a notable escalation of tensions between the two nations that only continued throughout the decade.

In response to Libya's increasing involvement in support of global terrorism, including the bombing of the Rome and Vienna airports in 1985 and 1986 bombing of the West Berlin nightclub, the United States dispatched the United Sixth Fleet, consisting of three aircraft carriers (the USS America, USS Coral Sea, and USS Saratoga), to the Gulf of Sirte (Sidra) off the coast of Libya. In March 1986, American ships and aircraft crossed into an area of the Gulf claimed by Libya that prompted Libya to dispatch various ships and missiles in response. The incident ended as quickly as it started, but resulted in 35 Libyan sailors and several ships and missile sites being destroyed (St John 2002). The next month, the United States launched air strikes against Libya in retaliation for the bombing of the West Berlin nightclub that targeted locations in Tripoli and Benghazi where the United States claimed there were terrorist training centers. Gaddafi's home compound was also targeted, with bombs missing the leader by only minutes as he was able to escape. The bombings resulted in 60 Libyan casualties and the destruction of several high-value targets as well as the loss of two US airmen when their aircraft was shot down, but was mostly a symbolic move to punish the Gaddafi regime for its continued support of terrorism (St John 2002, 136). Davis (1990) indicates that the incident was treated as a 'victory' by Gaddafi, with

him changing the official name of the nation to the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, but realistically brought the regime to its weakest point. In 1989, another occurrence similar to the first Gulf of Sirte (Sidra) incident in 1981 transpired that resulted in the shooting down of 2 Libyan MIG aircraft by American F-14 Tomcat fighter jets and the death of both Libyan pilots who were able to eject from the plane but were not recovered by Libyan forces.

Libya's Pursuit of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons

The final deviant behavior that helped strengthen Libya's pariah status during the 1980s and that lasted well into the early 2000s, was its near constant pursuit of nuclear and chemical weapons. Gadhafi's interest in nuclear weapons began almost as soon as he rose to power in 1969, with him trying to purchase nuclear weapons or the technology required to make them from China, Pakistan, India, among others throughout much of the 1970s. As we noted previously, Libya ratified the NPT in 1975 and opened the nation's nuclear power facilities to IAEA inspections in 1980, but Gadhafi's pursuit of the weapons as well as general support for the proliferation of nuclear resources (such as the sale of uranium ore to Pakistan) persisted throughout the period primarily due his belief that Israel already possessed nuclear weapons. Between 1978 and 1981, Libya completed a deal with the Soviet Union to construct a 10 megawatt nuclear research reactor in the nation and began purchasing more than 2,000 tons of lightly processed uranium from Niger as well as gaining access to uranium ore deposits in the Aouzou Strip that it annexed from Chad in 1973 (Fuhrmann 2012, 89-94). In addition, despite numerous setbacks in its pursuit of enrichment facilities, a 2004 IAEA report on the development of Libya's nuclear weapons program noted that it had acquired some enrichment equipment between 1984 to 1988 from a 'mystery' supplier that some speculate was most likely either the

Soviet Union or China (IAEA Board of Governors 2004, Fiorill 2004). Following those advances, Libya gained access to a 'foreign expert' that was a former employee of a German firm that provided technical expertise that advanced the Libyan nuclear program, but fell short of ever producing a full-functional centrifuge that could produce highly-enriched uranium (Timmerman 1992, IAEA Board of Governors 2004). The program more or less came to halt in the early 1990s when the expert left.

By the mid-1990s, Libya had ramped up its attempts to acquire nuclear technology by unsuccessfully propositioning nuclear scientists from the now dissolved Soviet Union and in 1997, by beginning to work with Dr. A.Q. Khan and his now notorious proliferation network that helped supply Pakistan, North Korea, Libya, and Iran with many of the materials required to successful complete nuclear weapons. During this period, Libya 'grudgingly' kept up its public support for nuclear non-proliferation regime by eventually supporting the treaty's extension in 1995 and signing on to the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Pelindaba), but rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996 because it did not provide a deadline for nuclear disarmament (Cirincione et al 2002). Such support, however, was only a façade designed to mask the nation's pursuit of nuclear materials. Between 1997 and 2002, Libya received several shipments of centrifuges that were progressively more advanced and moved the nation closer to its goal of producing enough enriched uranium for a bomb. By 2002, Libya had acquired the blueprints for a fission bomb that could be delivered via airplane or large ballistic missile and much of the know-how for how to enrich uranium to weapons-grade levels from A.Q. Khan, but was dramatically slowed by the lack of engineers to analyze the information as well as American intelligence efforts to disrupt shipments to the nation (IAEA Board of Governors 2004). In addition, it is now reported that Libya had made overtures to the United

States and Britain as early as 1999 to discuss the its support for terrorism and pursuit for WMDs, which were heightened following the terror attacks of September 11th, which were publically denounced by Gadhafi, as well as the build up to the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Slavin 2004, Robbins 2004). Between 2003 and 2004, following close negotiations with the United States and Britain, Libya agreed to formally renounce all claims to WMDs and information used to produce them as well as to make other concessions related to its involvement in global terrorism.

In addition to his pursuit of nuclear weapons, Gadhafi also sought access to chemical or biological weapons. In terms of biological weapons, Libya was never able to get a fully functional development program off the ground despite numerous attempts to do so. Likely for similar reasons to its ratification of the NPT in 1975, Libya acceded to the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) in 1982. Throughout most of the 1990s, however, the international community considered Libya a likely violator of the BWC and assessed that it likely possessed an extremely limited program that did not allow it to develop any biological agents, primarily due to the lack foreign cooperation and scientific capabilities at the time (Adams 1995). It was later confirmed in 2003 when Libya formally renounced all weapons of mass destruction that "no evidence of a small scale Libyan biological weapons program [had] been uncovered" (Report of the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction 2005). Although the nation had been unable to develop biological weapons, it was far more successful in its pursuit of chemical weapons.

Starting in the early 1980s, Libya began its offensive chemical weapons program under the pretext that it was part of a regional buildup of chemical weapons by Egypt, Iraq, and Syria as well as being heavily influenced by the nation's desire to provide a realistic threat to Israel's

nuclear weapons capability that was widely believed to exist. Between 1985 and 2003, Libya successfully developed a limited chemical weapons program that produced a large amount (more than 1,300 metric tons worth) of blister and nerve agents (or the precursors to their production) as well as sulfur mustard gas (Timmerman 1992). In addition, Gadhafi had displayed a general willingness to use chemical weapons during Libya's involvement in its conflict with Chad, which many feared would be disastrous given the nation's support for and involvement in global terrorism (Terrill 1994). In May 1990, the United States acted on this concern and planned to launch a strike on one of the main chemical production facilities at Rabta. The attack was called off at the last minute due to what was believed to be a fire at the plant that turned out to be a literal smokescreen carried out by the Libyans (Timmerman 1992). In terms of international instruments on the topic of chemical weapons, when the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) opened for ratification in 1993, Libya, along with many of its neighbors announced that they would not ratify the treaty in protest of Israel's alleged nuclear weapons as well as that chemical disarmament could only occur in a regional context (Tucker 2007). As was the case with its nuclear weapons program, Libya publically renounced all WMDs and agreed to abide by all international agreements against the proliferation of WMDs (including the CWC) in 2003 and opened up all of its chemical weapons facilities to inspections carried out by American and British officials as part of a negotiated plan to help resocalize Libya into the international community. As part of the deal, Libya agreed to destroy its entire stockpile of chemical weapons by 2005, which was later extended to 2011 and not fully completed until February 2014 following the Libyan Civil War and removal of Gadhafi from power in 2011.

Rebranding Attempt #2: Attempts to Ease Tensions with West

Much like Gadhafi's attempt to improve relations with the United States and the West when Jimmy Carter became the American president in 1976, Libya made a limited attempt to warm its relationship with the United States upon the election of George H.W. Bush as president and with the Cold War quickly coming to an end. In early 1989, Qaddafi invited the incoming Bush administration to "conduct talks aimed at resolving the issues that had dogged American-Libyan relations for many years," which included an offer of Libyan disarmament so long as the United States and Israel likewise opened their weapons facilities to inspection (St John 2002, 154). In addition, the Libyan government returned the body of an American soldier killed in a raid in April 1986 as well as offered to help secure the release of American hostages being held in Lebanon and declared that Libya desired normal relations with the United States so long as no conditions were placed on Libya in the process (St. John 2002). In addition, Libya ended its involvement in conflicts with both Chad and Sudan in 1989. While such actions can best be explained using strategic or political factors, the fact that they occur in the midst of other behavioral changes could indicate some minor changes in Libya's disposition towards its neighbors and others nations in North Africa. Finally, likely as a gesture to signal its commitment to human rights, Libya either adopted or accessed to four major human rights conventions in 1989, including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Convention against Torture, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Despite this attempt at improved rhetoric combined with predominantly cosmetic behavioral changes, the United States continued to regard Libya as a deviant state that was a supporter of terrorism and pursuer of weapons of mass destruction and only added to the

already firm punishments levied against the nation by expanding American unilateral sanctions and helping to negotiate multilateral sanctions through the United Nations Security Council in 1992 (See Table 5.2 for a timeline of UN actions regarding Libya during the period).

Table 5.2: United Nations Actions Regarding Libya (1991-2003)

Year	United Nations' Action	Description
1991	UN Documents 23306, 23307 23317, 23221, 23226, 23396	All represents official letters and communiqués sent to the United Nations from the United States, France, Britain, among others, to demand that Libya aid the investigation into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.
1992	UN Security Council Res. 731	Demanded the immediate extradition of suspected bombers of Pan Am 103 and contribute to the elimination of terrorism under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
1992	International Court of Justice (*Libya v. United States*)	Libya asserted its right to refuse extradition under the Montreal Convention and that the UN Security Council and the United States had breached its legal obligations to Libya under the Montreal Convention. On vote of 11-5 the court ruled that obligations under the UN Charter (chapter VII) take precedence over treaty obligations (Montreal Convention).[39]
1992	UN Security Council Res. 748	Imposed an aviation ban on all flights to and from Libya, an arms embargo the reduction of Libyan diplomatic personnel permitted at the UN, and a travel ban abroad for most Libyan officials, including Gaddafi.
1993	UN Security Council Res. 883	Expanded sanctions from Res. 748 by freezing all foreign assets of Libyan government, banning imports of oil-transporting equipment, and a further reduction of diplomatic personnel.
1994	UN Security Council 915	Established the UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG) (first discussed in SC Res. 910) to supervise the withdrawal of Libyan forces from the Aouzou Strip, later terminated by SC Res. 926.
1998	UN Security Council Res. 1192	Offered a suspension of sanctions upon the delivery of Pan Am 103 bombing suspects to The Hague for trial. Sanctions officially suspended in April 1999 upon the start of the trial.

[39] Libya v. United States (1992) represents an important case in ICJ history because it was the first that asked the ICJ to rule over the legality of measures taken by the Security Council in Resolution 733 directed against Libya, setting the precedent for judicial review for the court. The case ultimately went undecided as to legality of UN demands made against Libya when in 2003, the parties settled out of court.

2003	UN Document 818	Letter from Libya's Permanent Representative to UN to Security Council stating it would abide by all demands of previous UNSC resolutions.
2003	UN Security Council Res. 1506	Sanctions enacted in Res. 748 and Res. 883 lifted after acceptance of UN Document 818.

With the Soviet Union, along with the West's primary adversary for the previous half a century, the Bush Administration announced a new doctrine that would come to guide American foreign policy, as well as the policies of much of the Western world. In an address at the Aspen Institution on August 2, 1990, President Bush, in coordination with then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell, and Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney, proclaimed the Rogue Doctrine, which was initially designed to justify maintenance of defense spending levels following the end of the Cold War and later becoming the "defining paradigm for American security policy for the remainder of the decade" and beyond (St John 2002, 157). The Rogue Doctrine was directed at identifying states with the potential to challenge regional or global stability as well as identifying potential adversaries for the United States to challenge in the post-Cold War era.

These states, referred to in policy as 'Rogue States,' included Iraq under the rule of Saddam Hussein, which had just invaded Kuwait requiring a multilateral military force (led by the United States) to repeal him, North Korea, Iran, and Libya, among several others as the decade progressed. Rogue states, according to this policy, were typically accused of four major wrongdoings that warranted their pariah status. These included: 1) the development of weapons of mass destruction, 2) the support for global terrorism, 3) domestic human rights violations, and 4) an "overt animosity" toward the United States, which "proved a near perfect fit for Libyan foreign policy throughout most of the decade" (St John 2002, 159). Provided the increase in aggressive policy directed at Libya during the period, it is quite clear that Gadhafi's overtures of

improving relations between 1989 and 1990 had fallen on deaf ears. Having been substantially

rebuffed, Gadhafi continued his public hostility towards the Western world as well as his general

pursuit for WMDs and support for global terrorism, while the West enacted stricter unilateral and

multilateral sanctions (primarily through the European Community (EC)) against the nation by

the start of 1990 and later through the United Nations in the early 1990s.

The 1990s—Continued Hostilities, Sanctions, and several False Starts at Improving Relations

When Libyan intelligence agents were implicated in the bombings of Pan Am Flight 103

and UTA Flight 772 by British investigators in mid-1991, the international community ramped

up its pressure on the nation by adding a substantial embargo (on air travel, arms, the amount of

Libyan diplomatic personnel permitted abroad, and a ban on the sale of oil transportation

equipment and a freeze on all non-oil related assets of Libya worldwide) against Libya through

UN Security Council Resolution 748 in 1992 and 883 in 1993 (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Timeline of Unilateral and Multilateral Sanctions against Libya (1979-2006)

Year	Type of Sanctions	Description
1973	Military; Unilateral	The US places strict limits on the types of weapons and military transport equipment that can be sold to Libya.
1979	Political; Unilateral	The US State Dept. places Libya on the State Sponsors of Terrorism list.
1981	Political; Unilateral	US bans travel of American citizens to Libya
1982	Economic; Unilateral	US bans the import of Libyan oil and other Libyan goods.
1984	Military; Multilateral	European Community (EC) initiates an arms embargo against Libya.
1986	Economic, Political; Unilateral	US bans *all* direct trade, commercial contracts, and travel to Libya
1986	Economic, Political; Multilateral	In response to the suspected Libyan bombing of a West Berlin night club, the EC enacted limited economic and diplomatic sanctions against Libya.
1992	Political, Economic; Multilateral	UN Security Council Res. 748 unanimously imposes air and arms embargo and strict limitations on the number of Libyan diplomatic personnel permitted abroad and a ban on all travel by top leaders.

1993	Political, Economic, Military; Multilateral	UN Security Council Res. 883 bans the sale of petroleum transportation equipment, freezes all non-petroleum related assets abroad, and further limits diplomatic personnel permitted abroad.
1996	Economic; Unilateral	The US passes the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), which would place sanctions on any company that invests more than $40 million in oil/gas development in Libya or that exports any weapons-related goods to Libya. EU threatens to retaliate.
1998	Political, Economic, Military; Multilateral	UN Security Council offers to suspend UN sanctions if Libya allows Pan Am 103 bombers to be tried in the Hague. If not, sanctions would be expanded. Qaddafi agrees to deal in March.
1999	Political, Economic, Military; Multilateral & Unilateral	Both Pan Am 103 bombing suspects extradited to the Netherlands to be held for trial. Security Council Res. 1192 suspends sanctions on Libya and announces they will be lifted in 90 days. Unilateral American sanctions remain in place until 'additional concerns' are addressed.
1999	Political, Economic, Military; Multilateral & Unilateral	In first official meeting between US and Libya in since 1981, the US ambassador to the UN tells Libya that the US will not support the total lifting of UN sanctions against the nation until it stops supporting international terrorism and meets all conditions set out by UN resolutions, including the compensation of the families of victims of Pan Am 103.
2001	Economic; Unilateral	Iran-Libya Sanctions Act amended to allow US president to punish non-US firms investing more than $20 million annually in Libya's energy sector.
2003	Political, Economic, Military; Multilateral	Upon receipt of assurances in UN Doc 818 from Libya, Security Council Res. 1506 lifts all sanctions enacted by Res. 748 and Res. 883.
2004	Political, Economic, Military; Unilateral & Multilateral	US lifted many economic sanctions and opens a liaison office in Tripoli following Libya's surrender of all WMDs and materials; The European Union (EU) ends its arms embargo against Libya.
2006	Political; Unilateral	US removed Libya from State Sponsors of Terrorism List and upgraded its liaison office in Tripoli to a full embassy.

Rebranding Attempt #3: Initial Response to Lockerbie Bombing Investigation

In response to the amplification of unilateral and multilateral sanctions against the nation, Libya made several attempts to take actions that would help improve its situation relative to economic and political sanctions. The first attempts in 1994 revolved around the nation's response to accusations by British investigators that two Libyan intelligence agents were responsible for the Lockerbie bombing a few years prior. These attempts primarily consisted of offers to extradite

the two bombing suspects to destinations other than Scotland and Scottish jurisdiction, including

Switzerland and the Hague (but not a tribunal of Scottish judges), which all fell well short of

demands laid out in resolutions passed by the UN Security Council and made by American and

British diplomats during the period. In essence, it was the lack of any costly shift in behavior or

intentions (e.g. the lack of a formal renouncement of support for terrorism and more importantly,

the lack of any offer to take responsibility for the attacks and to pay compensation to victim's

families) that resulted in these attempts failing. Table 5.4 details the progression of actions taken

by Libya and the international community related to Libyan involvement in the various terror

attacks throughout the mid-to-late 1980s and shows how various Libyan efforts to assuaged

international demands to acknowledge and cooperate with investigations into the various terror

attacks initially failed to improve its reputational situation, but were ultimately effective by the

middle of 2003.

Table 5.4: Timeline of Responses to Libyan-Directed Terror Attacks (1990-2006)[40]

November-December 1991	Upon uncovering evidence implicating them, American and European nations call on Libya to surrender those charged for the Lockerbie bombing and threaten sanctions if it does not. The two men are arrested in Libya, but extradition is refused.
January-March 1992	Gaddafi offers to surrender the 2 suspects in the Lockerbie bombing to an International Tribunal and not to British authorities. The Security Council refuses and enacts sanctions via Resolution 748.
May 14, 1992	In a statement made at a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Libyan Foreign Minister claims Libya is willing to abandon terrorism, but refuses to release suspects in the Lockerbie bombing.
November 11, 1993	Libya offers to extradite the two suspects to Switzerland (as opposed to Britain) following the enactment of UN sanctions.
April 1995	US State Dept. claims Libya continues to support global terrorism through attacks against Libyan exiles abroad.
May 1996	US passes the Anti-Terrorism Act, which allows relatives of victims of the Pan Am 103 bombing to sue the government of Libya
April 12, 1998	Libya agrees to let Germany question Libyan agents about the West Berlin bombing in 1986.

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[40] Information on Libyan support for terrorism obtained from the Peterson Institute for International Economics (2012).

August-March 1998	American and British officials propose plan for two suspects in Pan Am 103 bombing to be tried under Scottish law in the Netherlands—if convicted, the suspects would serve prison sentence in Britain. The UN, Arab League, Egypt, Sudan, and South Africa support plan.
March 10, 1999	French courts convict six Libyans in absentia for their involvement in the 1989 bombing of the French airliner over Niger.
April 5, 1999	Two Pan Am 103 bombing suspects extradited to the Netherlands. UN suspends sanctions and announces they will be lifted in 90 days.
July 17, 1999	Libya pays $31 million to France to compensate the families of those killed in the bombing of the French airliner in 1989, acknowledging its responsibility for the attack.
September 2001	Gaddafi condemns terror attacks on New York and Washington DC and offers US intelligence assistance on Osama Bin Laden and al-Qaeda.
November 2001	German court finds four guilty in West Berlin bombing in 1986 and concludes Libyan government was ultimately responsible.
August 15, 2003	Libya claims responsibility for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 and agrees to compensate the family of the victims $2.7 billion and officially renounces all forms of terrorism.
June 2006	Libya officially removed from the US Dept. of State's 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' list.

Rebranding Attempt #4: Setting the Groundwork for 2003 Attempt

Another attempt was made in 1999 as Libya responded positively to an offer from British and American diplomats to have the bombers extradited to the Hague to be tried by a Scottish tribunal, under Scottish law, and that would see any prison sentence be served in Britain. It is important to note that during the period, Libya had been experiencing growing rates of inflation and internal problems directly attributable to the economic sanctions imposed by the UN, with estimates of the costs caused by the economic sanction around $24 billion (Economist Intelligence Unit 1998, Niblock 2001). As a product of interviews with three prominent Libyan officials in the early 2000s, MacLeod (2006) notes that as "American and international sanctions were taking their toll and the stagnation was slowly killing Gadfhafi's regime, he offered a major gesture, turning Libyan intelligence agents over for trial in the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland." Libya's initial response came in the form of a statement from Abuzed

Omar Dorda, Libya's Permanent Representative to the United Nations at the time, at a meeting of the UN Security Council on August 27, 1998. In his statement, Dorda announced that Libya accepted the American and British proposal and that Libya:

> reaffirms its seriousness and eagerness to close this file and open a new page in its relations with the United States and the United Kingdom, based on mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, and dialogue and mutual benefit, instead of embargo" (United Nations Document S/PV.3920 1998, 5).

In response, the UN Security Council suspended most UN sanctions against Libya, although falling short of eliminating the sanctions altogether, while the United States maintained its unilateral sanctions claiming that Libya would have to make more costly changes to its behavior in order to produce the withdrawal of all sanction. These demands included a renunciation of Libyan support for global terrorism, a formal acknowledgement of Libya's responsibility in all attacks it played a role in, as well as compensation to be paid to victim's families. Along these lines, Libya began the process of slowly meeting these demands, most notably by surrendering the Lockerbie suspects to trial in the Hague and paying $31 million in compensation to the families of French victims of the bombing of UTA Flight 772. However, the 1999 attempt, while meaningful and producing some positive movement on UN sanctions and relations with Britain and France as well as an official visit from Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema (the first Western leader to visit Libya since 1991), failed to result in the complete removal of all UN and US sanctions levied against the nation, suggesting that while somewhat successful at improving the nation's reputation, the 1999 attempt was ultimately a failure since it did not result in the removal of its pariah status.

The significance of the 1999 attempt, however, is two-fold. Firstly, it provides support to hypothesis H_3 which predicts that Libya's reputation would minimally or moderately improve if it executed perceptually cheap behavioral changes (e.g. extradition of Lockerbie bombers to The

Hague and giving into some, but not all British and American demands regarding the payment of compensation and acknowledgement of Libya's culpability in the many terror attacks it took part in) when combined with priming and framing rhetoric (e.g. Dorda's speech before the UN Security Council). This outcome can be seen in Figure 5.1 below. The second point of importance is that the 1999 attempt, while not successful at ending Libya's pariah status helped begin the process of re-socialization (e.g. suspension of UN sanctions, normalization of relations with Britain) that, as it will discussed later in this chapter, would be completed in 2003.

Figure 5.1: Libya's 1999 Rebranding Attempt

Costly Behavioral Changes (Extradition and Some Compensation) **+** **Dorda's Speech to UN Security Council** **=** **Small to Moderate Change in Reputation (Pariah Status Remains**

5.4 Opportunities for Reputational Improvement

The proceeding section will provide an assessment of the 'windows of opportunity' that existing during Libya's pariah period and that allowed for the possibility of shifting preferences and reputational improvement.

Political Transitions

Considering that Libya was classified as a military dictatorship between 1969 and 2011, any discussion of how Libya was able to use political transitions as an opportunity for reputational improvement would be unproductive at best[41]. The lack of any political transitions, however, is quite significant due primarily to the fact that Libya was able to successfully re-

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[41] Libya's score on the Polity IV scale rated Libya as a -7 (on a -10 to +10 scale) during the entire period between 1951 and 2010, showing that there was no shift in regime-type or polity during the period under investigation (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2011).

socialize into the international community by eliminating its pariah status between 2003 and 2006 in the absence of a regime-change or political transition. One of the most direct ways for a state to signal to the international community that it is deserving of a reassessment of its national reputation is for there to be a major political transition or a complete change in regime. For a regime to risk its very survival by implementing costly free and fair elections that might produce its removal from power is to display the costliest of behavioral changes to others. In Libya's case, the absence of a meaningful political transition or change in regime required any other costly changes in behavior to display to others that the existing regime was worthy of reputational reassessment. Although such a feature makes it substantially more difficult to convince others to alter their perceptions (primarily due to the desire-based nature of reputation that Mercer (1996) discusses), Libya's transformation between 2003 and 2006 is evidence that such a change is possible.

End of Involvement in External Conflicts

Although Libya's reputational transition had nothing to do with a political transition, the cessation of its involvement in external conflicts and the internal affairs of other states likely did offer several opportunities for reputational improvement, particularly among its neighbors and others from the Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA) region. As has been previously discussed, Libya was heavily involved both directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of numerous states across Africa and the Middle East, including Chad, Sudan, Egypt, among several others, which was in violation of global norms regarding state sovereignty and the non-intervention into the internal affairs of other states. Libya's military intervention into conflicts against Chad and Sudan both ended in 1989, potentially presenting an opportunity for Libya to

signal a change in its behavior. Along these lines, the occurrence of an attempt at reputational improvement that occurred between 1989 and 1990 during which Libya attempted to ease tensions with the West, particularly with the United States, through several fairly minor behavioral and rhetorical changes can be observed. As was noted earlier, these changes included the offer for Libyan disarmament in exchange for enhanced inspections for Israel and the United States, something that neither state would be willing to concede, the return of the body of an American soldier that had been killed in a raid in 1986, and the ratification or accession to four human rights conventions. These efforts, even paired with the end to interventions in Chad and Sudan, failed to produce any improvement in other's perceptions of Libya primarily because they failed to acknowledge or address Libya's support for global terrorism, which in light of the Libyan-sponsored and directed bombings of Pan Am Flight 103 in late-1988 and UTA Flight 772 in mid-1989 was a major concern of the international community. In addition, it is unlikely that Libya's end to hostilities with Chad and Sudan were directed towards improving the nation's reputation considering there was no attempt to 'sell' them as such to the international community during the period and because the end to hostilities with Sudan were only produced by the rise to power of Omar al-Bashir, an ally of Gadhafi, and in Chad were produced by significant military and financial losses during the Toyota War portion of the Libyan-Chad conflict. Simply put, there were no reputational gains to be had in ending Libyan involvement in either case due primarily to the manner in which each conflict ended.

Development of New Global Norms

As it has been noted in previous sections, Libya has a complicated history with its response to the introduction of new global norms that produced skepticism towards its ratification or accession to many treaties or conventions between 1973 and 2003. An example of

this skepticism includes its ratification of the NPT in 1975 and BWC in 1982 in the midst of its two-decade long pursuit of weapons of mass destruction during. Most members were either highly suspicious or directly aware that Libya was attempting to acquire such weapons and perceived its membership and support for such treaties as a façade (Fuhrmann 2012). In addition, Libya's ratification of several conventions on terrorism, including the Hague Convention against the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft and the Montreal Convention against the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, which Libya ratified in 1978 and 1974 respectively, despite its well found support for and involvement in global terrorism only added to international skepticism towards its commitments towards various global norms. This is most likely why its ratification of four major human rights conventions in 1989 went more or less ignored in terms of any improvement in the nation's reputation.

The important lesson from this realization is that the reputational effect that the joining of key international agreements and organizations might have on a state can be easily lost or reversed if the state joins such agreements with no intention of ever abiding by their rules and regulations. For Libya, its past behavior of joining and then immediately violating key international agreements made it nearly impossible for the nation to draw any reputational benefit from joining onto new agreements or organizations. The one exception to this is the period following Libya's public renunciation of weapons of mass destruction and its support for global terrorism in 2003 during which the accession to major treaties and organizations provided it an opportunity to signal that, in combination with a multitude of other costly behaviors that will be detailed later in this chapter, that it had truly reversed course in terms of its behavior regarding global norms on human rights, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, among others. This is evidenced by Libya's ratification or accession to IAEA safeguards and inspections

through the NPT, the CWC, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and the UN

Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2004 as well as the obtainment of

observer status and the start of the process of joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in

2004. See Table 5.5 for more details of Libya's accession or ratification of major global norms.

Table 5.5: Dates of Libyan Accession to or Ratification of Major Global Norms

Law or Organization	Date Established	Date of Libyan Accession/Ratification
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	16 Dec 1966	Accession 15 May 1970
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)	1 Jul 1968	Signed 18 Jul 1968 Ratified 26 May 1975
Biological Weapons Convention	10 Apr 1972	Signed 10 Apr 1972 Ratified 19 Jan 1982
Additional Protocols to Geneva Conventions Relating to the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflict	8 Jun 1977	Ratified 7 Jun 1978
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	18 Dec 1979	Accession 16 May 1989
Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons	10 Oct 1980	Not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	10 Dec 1984	Accession 16 May 1989
Convention on the Rights of the Child	20 Nov 1989	Accession 15 Apr 1993
Chemical Weapons Convention	3 Sep 1992	Accession 5 Feb 2004
World Trade Organization	1 Jan 1995	Observer status as of 10 Jun 2004
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)	10 Sept 1996	Signed 13 Nov 2001 Ratified 6 Jan 2004
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	17 July 1998	Not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	15 Dec 2000	Signed 13 Nov 2001 Ratified 18 Jun 2004
Arms Trade Treaty	2 Apr 2013	Signed 9 Jul 2013

Major Changes in External Environment

The next set of opportunities for Libya to improve its reputational status occurred with the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s as well as following the September 11th terror attacks. In the case of the end of the Cold War, it has already been firmly established that Libya's attempt at reputational improvement between 1989 and 1990 failed for a variety of reasons, most likely of which was its lack of any behavioral changes regarding its support and involvement in global terrorism. With the Cold War coming to an end, the United States as well as other nations in the West were in search of new adversaries and priorities for the 'New World Order.' One of the major priorities for this new era was to identify and combat deviant behavior through the use of the Rogue Doctrine, which saw Libya included for its pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and its decade-long support and involvement in global terrorism. In this sense, the end of the Cold War actually saw Libya become even further stigmatized because of the enhanced focus given to two of its primary norm violations, something that would only progress as the international community's attention would be further focused on the problem of global terrorism following the terror attacks on September 11th, 2001.

Internal Challenges Produced by Pariah Status

One of the most direct challenges to Libya during the period came as a result of economic, social, and political costs associates with unilateral and multilateral sanctions levied against the nation. In 1998, when Libya began to ease its stance towards the West and to negotiate over how to eventually re-socialize the nation into the international community, a report prepared by the Libyan secretariat for foreign liaison put the cost of the economic sanctions regime placed on the nation at $24 billion, which confirmed by an external report

conducted by the Arab League, which placed the number at $23.5 billion (Economist Intelligence Unit 1998, Niblock 2001). Although the actual economic losses to the Libyan economy were quite great, the government was in a fair position in consideration of its reliance on profit from the nation's oil industry, which in general, went unscathed during the period (Peterson Institute for International Economics 2012). This was the case because UN sanctions fell short of a total embargo on the import of Libyan oil, rather instituting a ban on oil production and transportation equipment.

With this in mind, the greatest impact was not necessarily on government resources, but rather on the average standard of living in Libya, since the government was able to rely not only on oil profits gained during the period (although profits did shrink due to the decreasing price of oil), but also access financial assets of about $3 billion that it had placed in safe havens in 1993 (Niblock 2001, 65). In addition, the government continued to stash away financial assets abroad in an effort to shelter itself from enhanced sanctions should they occur. With less government investment and poor management of the economy, combined with rising inflation in Libya during the period[42], there was a notable increase in social inequality, economic dependence on government subsidies and provisions, and a decrease in public health and education, which helped to produce some social and political tensions in the country (Niblock 2001). These tensions helped to produce a fairly influential opposition movement made up of Islamists who led several attacks against the government as well as at least two coup attempts against Gaddafi in the late 1990s and later became part of the opposition movement against Gaddafi during Arab Spring period in 2011. Although seemingly strong opposition to Gaddafi's rule was able to develop, the regime was ultimately able to weather the storm primarily because it was so easy to

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[42] The average price of staple goods increased substantially during the period primarily due to the dependence on the black market for access to such goods as well as fairly regular shortages of key goods that would drive up prices (Niblock 2001).

blame the economic hardships experienced by Libyan citizens on the sanctions regime and not because of actions taken by the regime itself.

5.5 Reputational Recovery

Libya's road to re-socialization into the international community began as early as the late 1990s with the agreement over the trial for the Pan Am Flight 103 bomber, however, major elements of the nation's pariah status, such as the continued pursuit of WMDs, the refusal to acknowledge responsibility or pay reparations for its involvement in several terror attacks, as well as little indication that the nation would not turn back to using terrorist tactics to promote its interests remained. Despite the suspension (but not complete elimination) of UN sanctions in 1999, these factors had to be dealt with in order for the pariah status to be completely removed. As part of the conditions laid out in UN Security Council Resolutions 748 and 883, Libyan reputational improvement was contingent upon the implementation of several behavioral changes. These conditions, according to Martin Indyk, the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States before a hearing of Congress, included:

- Co-operate with the investigation and trial
- End and renounce all forms of terrorism
- Pay appropriate compensation to relatives victims of Lockerbie bombing
- Acknowledge responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials (BBC 1999).

In addition, Indyk made it clear in 1999 that the United States would veto any Security Council resolution formally lifting the multilateral sanctions against Libya until the United States was "satisfied with the Libyan actions," but that the United States "would like to see Libya genuinely comply and return to full participation in the family of nations" (BBC 1999). Therefore, while negotiations between officials from Britain and the United States and from Libya had begun as early as 1999, it would take some specific and costly actions for Libya to be fully removed from

the list of global pariahs. What was significant about the 1999 attempt, however, was an indication that Libya desired an improvement in its reputational situation, in particular, desired an end to United Nations and American sanctions. As was noted previously, these sanctions had heavily impacted the Libyan government's ability to import new oil transportation and production equipment, which had begun to take a toll on the nation's oil industry, adding to the "deepening economic crisis produced by disastrous economic policies and mismanagement of its oil revenues" (Indyk 2004). This interest pushed Libya to make amends with the British over the attack against a British policewomen in 1984 in an attempt to normalize relations with the nation and to start negotiations over final removal of sanctions against it. While the improvement of relations with the British failed to net immediate results, they did lead to a breakthrough several years later following the terror attacks of September 11th.

Motivations for Reputational Recovery

While it is critical to note that Libya's negotiations with Britain and eventually the United States began as early as 1999, the events of September 11th and the global response to them provided Libya with the opportunity and perhaps impetus to make costly changes to its behavior. Gaddafi was actually one of the first foreign leaders to denounce the attacks against the United States and publically offered assistance and intelligence to help combat Al Qaeda in Northern Africa and Osama Bin Laden (Slavin 2004, Robbins 2004). While this does not imply that Gaddafi suddenly realized that he wanted to be a 'better' and well-respected leader, rather that he was able to recognize the coming shift in the fight against global terrorism and wanted to begin to distance himself from Libya's involvement in terrorism in the 1980s. When combined with the failed 1999 attempt that saw Libya agree to extradite the Lockerbie suspects to the Hague, these

efforts indicate a fairly substantial shift in Libyan preferences regarding its support for terrorism as a useful strategy. In addition to its changing position towards terrorism, Libya also begin to shift preferences towards its pursuit of WMDs in the early 2000s as a result of increasing international pressures against its nuclear and chemical weapons programs and out of a necessity to redirect valuable and scarce resources, as the product of extensive sanctions, towards fighting internal and regional extremists (MacLeod 2006). In late 2001, the Libyan envoy to the United Nations, Abdurrahman Mohamed Shalghem announced that Libya was "a party to most international agreements in the field of disarmament, and is in the process of acceding to the rest, including the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Nuclear Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," directly indicating that the nation might indeed be willing to budge in terms of its pursuit of WMDs (Peterson Institute for Economics 2012).

By late 2002, Libyan officials had entered into private negotiations with British and American officials, including officials from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and British MI6, to formalize details of an agreement that would end all sanctions (both unilateral and UN) against Libya in return of the nation meeting the demands mentioned above as well as renouncing the pursuit of WMDs (MacLeod 2006). During the course of the negotiations, German and Italian authorities, a part of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), intercepted a German-owned ship en route to Libya that contained thousands of parts of uranium-enrichment equipment on October 4, 2003, which has nearly universally been cited as the primary influence upon Gaddafi's decision to renounce the pursuit of WMDs and to cooperate with IAEA inspectors as part of the December 2003 deal (Tenet 2004, Schmitt and Kawahima 2014). As former CIA Director, George Tenet (2004) noted in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee:

> [T]he leverage was intelligence. Our picture of Libya's WMD programs allowed CIA officers and their British colleagues to press the Libyans on the right questions, to expose inconsistencies, and to convince them that holding back was counterproductive. We repeatedly surprised them with the depth of our knowledge.

In addition to pressures mounting from the costs associated with economic sanctions, from internal dissent and challenges from Islamic extremists, and from mounting international pressures from international efforts to isolate the nation and prevent its pursuit of WMDs, the final motivation upon Gaddafi during the period was a byproduct of the American invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

It is almost impossible to discuss Libya's decision to dismantle its WMDs program in December 2003 without some discussion of the influence that the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003 may have had on Gaddafi's calculations. While many sources, including the Bush Administration, numerous think-tanks, a numerous foreign media sources, attributed Gaddafi's December 2003 renouncement primarily to the invasion of Iraq, it is not abundantly clear that the invasion was the sole or even primary influence upon Libyan calculations (Indyk 2004, Pike 2003). Martin Indyk (2004), the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States under the Clinton Administration, prominently noted that Libya's intentions to eventually forgo its WMD program likely began as early as 1999 when Libyan officials were prepared "to put everything on the table" during secret negotiations with the United States, saying that "Mr. Gadaffi had realised that was not the path to pursue and that Libya and the US faced a common threat from Islamic fundamentalism." While the offer to reverse course in 1999 does not present sufficient evidence to dismiss the influence that the invasion of Iraq likely played, it does raise doubts as to the invasion being the sole or primary motivation for Gaddafi's behavioral shift in 2003. As Indyk (2004) puts it:

> The fact that Mr. Gadaffi was willing to give up his WMD programmes and open facilities to inspection four years ago does not detract from the Bush administration's achievement in security Libya's nuclear disarmament. However, in doing so, Mr. Bush completed a diplomatic game plan initiated by Mr. Clinton. The issue here is not the credit. Rather, it is whether Mr. Gaddafi gave up his WMD programmes because Mr. Hussein was toppled, as Mr. Bush now claims. As the record shows. Libyan disarmament did not require a war in Iraq.

Looking at the evidence and timeline presented, it becomes clear that the truth likely lies somewhere in the middle of obvious political positioning between elements of the Clinton and Bush administrations to take credit for Libya's disarmament. While the invasion of Iraq likely factored into Gaddafi's calculations and ultimately was a partial influence upon his decision to disarm in December 2003, it is telling that he did not determine to disarm until 9 months after the invasion and only after he was caught red-handed with uranium enrichment equipment in October 2003. It is far more likely that the efforts of international intelligence agencies, notably the CIA and MI6, and the PSI, as well as the rising costs of economic sanctions and growing challenges from internal extremists played a greater influence upon Gaddafi's decision to dismantle his WMD programs. Ultimately, the precise reasoning behind the 2003 deal is not necessary to discuss the effectiveness of its rebranding attempt. The 'why' behind the attempt is not as important as the 'how.' No matter the reason behind Libya's dramatic shift in preferences in late 2003, the fact is that the nation did change its preferences in a significant manner in an apparent attempt to rebrand itself as a non-pariah. Fundamentally, Gaddafi likely did not want to be considered the next 'Saddam Hussein' in terms of being deposed by American intervention *and* did not want to suffer the punishment and isolation of its pariah status any longer.

Rebranding Attempt #5: The 2003 Deal and the End of Libya's Pariah Status

In August 2003, Libya announced that it would formally renounce its support for global terrorism in an official report to the UN Security Council, which was later confirmed in a letter to that body (S/2003/818) from Ahmed A. Own, the Libyan Ambassador to the United Nations, that formally renounced Libya's support and involvement in global terrorism and to acknowledge the nation's culpability in the various attacks its agents conducted and to provide compensation to the families of the victims of those attacks. With that pronouncement, Libya had answered the demands laid out by the UN and the United States regarding its support for terrorism, which resulted in the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1506 that immediately revoked all previous resolutions as well as all UN sanctions against Libya. A bigger breakthrough occurred a few months later on December 19, 2003, when American President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair announced that Libya had agreed to dismantle its WMD programs, accede to the CWC, destroy all missiles with a range of more than 180 miles, and allow IAEA and OPCW inspectors to verify compliance. (Peterson Institute for Economics 2012).

With the deal firmly in place and an end to Libya's violation of norms on terrorism and WMDs proliferation, the only remaining step required for a complete improvement of Libya's reputation was for its commitments to be monitored and verified by international inspectors. In late 2003, IAEA Director Mohamed El Baradei and a team of inspectors arrived in Libya to identify and catalogue the nation's previously undeclared nuclear facilities. By the end of January 2004, American and British weapons experts had begun transporting a great deal of nuclear-related equipment to the United States and later in February, Libya ratified the CWC and in March, the OPCW is allowed in to assist in dismantling the nation's chemical weapons program. In March 2004, Tony Blair made an official visit to Libya and announced a $200 million deal

between British-owned Shell and Libya to explore oil and natural gas in Libya, while a month

later, President Bush concluded enforcement of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) regarding

Libya. Finally, in June 2004, the US normalized relations with Libya with the opening up of a

liaison office in Tripoli, which is later upgraded to an embassy in 2006 with the removal of

Libya from the State Sponsors of Terrorism List. On May 15, 2006, Secretary of State,

Condoleezza Rice noted that:

> Today's announcements are tangible results that flow from the historic decisions taken by Libya's leadership in 2003 to renounce terrorism and to abandon its weapons of mass destruction programs. As a direct result of those decisions we have witnessed the beginning of that country's re-emergence into the mainstream of the international community (Rice 2006).

These comments represent a culmination of Libya's rebranding attempt to improve its reputation

which indicated the nation's complete re-socialization into the international community.

An assessment of all changes in behavioral indicators between 2001 and 2006 can be

seen in Table 5.6, which shows that not only did Libya enact costly behavioral changes regarding

its support for terrorism and its pursuit of WMDs (e.g. accession to the CWC and CTBT), but

also in some indicators of human rights such as a slight increase in its CIRI Physical Integrity

score as well as the release of a moderate amount of political prisoners in 2006.

Table 5.6: Assessment of Changes in Behavioral Indicators between 2001 and 2006

Behavioral Indicator	Change	Assessment
Quality of Elections	N/A--no direct elections held.	N/A
Right to Electoral Self-Determination	No change—Libya earned a zero (no self-determination) ranking for every year between 1980-2008	Libya's lack of self-determination although significant, was never a direct influence to its pariah status.
CIRI Physical Integrity Index	Prior to 1998, the PHYINT rating averaged around a 2, but by the early 2000s, the average rating was 3-4, providing an increase of 1-2 points on the scale.	A 1-2 point increase on the PHYINT rating represents a positive, moderately costly improvement in human rights conditions, which is significant given that human rights were

		never a primary source of Libya's pariah status.
Political Prisoners	Libya's rating on the # of political prisoners went unchanged during the period, remaining a zero (a large # of political prisoners). However, 130 political prisoners were released in March 2006 following the abolishment of the People's Court in 2005 (BBC 2006).	While its CIRI rating on the # of political prisoners went unchanged during the period, the public release of so many political prisoners in 2006 was a positive, moderately costly move by the regime, as many of those released were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, a major opposition group to Gaddafi.
Involvement in External Conflicts	Libya dispatches and removes troops to help prevent a coup attempt against President Ange-Felix Patasse of the Central African Republic in May 2001.	Libya's involvement in CAR was minimal, which was its general behavior regarding involvement in external conflicts during the period (minimal to non-existent).
Recognition of/Ascension to Major Global Norms	**Terrorism:** Conventions on Financing of Terrorism and on the Use of Plastic Explosives (2002) **WMDs:** CWC (2004); CTBT (2004), Additional Protocols of IAEA Safeguards to NPT (2004); IAEA and OPCW[43] inspections **Human Rights:** Chairman of UN Human Rights Council (2004); Optional Protocol to Convention against Discrimination of Women, on the Rights of the Child, and on the Rights of Migrant Workers (2004). **Other**: Convention against Transnational Crime (2004); observer-status at WTO (2004)	It is quite clear that Libya made use of several key international agreements and organizations, especially the IAEA, between 2003 and 2006 to signal that it would be bound to the costly behavioral changes it had made during the period.

In addition to substantial changes in behavioral indicators, there were also several changes in perceptual indicators directed at Libya, which can be seen in Table 5.7. These included the end to all sanctions levied against Libya between 2003 and 2006, the normalization of relations with Britain and the United States in 1999 and 2004/06 respectively, as well as a substantial increase in foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA) into the nation

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[43] OPCW stands for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, which is the verification agency for the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

between 1999 and 2008, with both increasing 2,700% and 1,400% respectively. These changes

in overall perception towards Libya between 1999 and 2006 indicates a significant improvement

in the nation's reputation as a direct result of behavioral changes it made during the period.

Table 5.7: Assessment of Perceptual Indicators from International Community (1999-2008)

| Perceptual Indicator	Change	Assessment
Presence of Sanctions	UN sanctions end in 2003; EU sanctions end in 2004; US sanctions end between 2004-2006.	Within one year of renouncing its support for terrorism and its pursuit of WMDs, nearly all but a few unilateral sanctions are lifted.
Diplomatic Exchanges (Number of Embassies)	Only a few nations completely broke relations/established relations with Libya between 1985 and 2003, meaning little change overall.	The only meaningful change in terms of diplomatic exchanges with Libya involved the US and Britain (who broke off relations) and with the European Union.
Diplomatic Exchange with Great Powers (US, UK, France, Russia, China)	**Diplomatic Ties Broken**: Britain (1985); United States (1985); France (never broken); Russia (never broken); China (never broken after 1980) **Relations Restored**: Britain (1999); United States (2006)	Although France, Russia, and China (after 1980) maintained embassies in Libya throughout the period, both the US and Britain closed their embassies in 1985 (having reduced relations prior to that) and only restored them once Libya claimed responsibility and renounced support for terrorism.
Change in FDI and/or ODA to pariah state[44]	FDI (net inflows, BoP in current $US): 1999: $-128 million 2002: $145 million 2004: $357 million 2006: $2.0 billion 2008: $4.1 billion	Net inflows of FDI went from negative amounts in 1999 and around $145 million in 2002 to more than $4 billion/year in 2008, indicating a 2700%+ increase in FDI in the nation during the period.
	ODA & official aid (net, current $US): 1999: $4.7 million 2002: $6.8 million 2004: $12.4 million 2006: $37.5 million 2008: $74.2 million	Net inflows of ODA and official aid increased from under $5 million in 1999 to over $74 million in 2008, indicating a 1,400%+ increase in ODA and official aid during the period.
State Sponsorship of Terrorism[45]	Libya was officially listed as a state sponsor of terrorism in 1979, but was removed in 2006	Libya's renouncement and official removal in 2006 is a significant indication that it was no longer

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[44] Data on FDI (net inflows) and ODA (net) obtained from the World Bank Development Indicators (2013).

[45] Data on state sponsors of terrorism obtained from the annual U.S. Department of State's 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' List (US Department of State 2014).

following confirmation of its renouncement of support for global terrorism	perceived as being in violation of key terrorism norms.

Through an analysis of the data presented in Tables 5.6 and 5.7, it becomes clear that the substantial and costly behavioral changes made by Libya from 2003 and 2006 produced a significant improvement in the perceptions among members of the international community. By using these perceptual improvements as a proxy measure for national reputation, it can be argued that priming rhetoric (e.g. Gaddafi's public condemnation of September 11th terror attack and Shalghem's speech to UN in 2002) when combined with far-reaching and costly behavioral changes as framed by statements made at the conclusion of the process (e.g. Ahmed Own's letter to the UN Security Council in 2003) led to a significant improvement in the reputational position of Libya that led to a clear end to the nation's pariah status (see Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.2: Libya's 2003 Rebranding Attempt
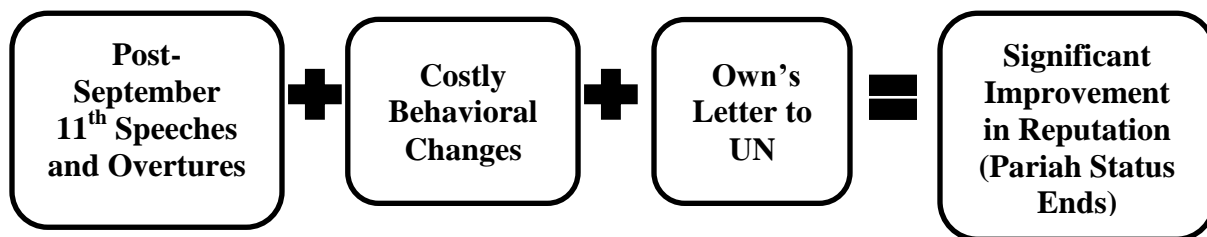
CHAPTER 6: NORTH KOREA (1948-ONGOING)

There is a different future that is available to North Korea, if they choose differently.
-Mitchell Reiss, Former Director of Policy Planning at the US State Department

I would not suggest the U.S. should sit down with the North Koreans bilaterally immediately after they've fired missiles--because the appearance is that you reward bad behavior. But if North Korea behaves for some period of time, I would pretty much favor direct talks.
-Richard Armitage, Former Deputy Secretary of State

6.1 Introduction

For the duration of its existence as a formal state, North Korea has been characterized and treated as an outsider and general threat to the stability and order of the international system by a great many in the international system. The nation's violations of major global norms began almost as soon as the state was founded in 1948 with the outbreak of the Korean War and were intensified throughout much of the 1980s and early 1990s as the nation's behavior began to violate other major norms, such as those against the support and involvement in terrorism, the violation of the basic human rights of its citizenry, the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), most notably that of nuclear weapons, the acquisition, stockpiling, and sale of illegal arms, and the frequent export of violence or threats of violence towards the nation's neighbors in East Asia, including South Korea and Japan, as well as those further away such as the United States.

6.2 Pre-Pariah Status

North Korea's pre-pariah status was an extremely short period of time between the end of Japan's occupation of the Korean Peninsula as a result of its defeat in World War II and the onset of tensions at the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. During this brief period, North Korea

went from being occupied and controlled by Japanese military forces to those of the Soviet Union as part of an agreement between the United States and Soviet Union that saw the Southern part of the peninsula go under the administration of the United States and the Northern part of the peninsula to the Soviet Union. By 1946, the Soviet Union had helped to establish the North Korean Communist Party, known as the Korean Worker's Party (KWP), which was to be led by the eventual first leader of North Korea, Kim Il-Sung, and had begun the process of creating an independent North Korea. In 1948, Kim Il-Sung proclaimed the inauguration of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), thus ending the Soviet administration and occupation of the territory, but not the direct financial and political support that would play a critical role in the conduct of the new regime in the coming years and place the state squarely within the Soviet sphere of influence. This support helped bolster the Kim Il-Sung regime and provided them with the confidence to begin proclaiming that the entire Korean Peninsula would be under the direct rule of the communist regime in the North.

When South Korea, with the support of the United States, announced that it would declare its independence from the administration of the North in 1950, Kim Il-Sung determined that the nation would use force to prevent the splitting of the peninsula into two states and dispatched North Korean military forces into South Korea, thus starting the Korean War. As a result, American and South Korean military forces, under the auspices of the United Nations, became embroiled in three years of conflict that would only come to an end as a result of a cease fire that remains in place even today. In addition, the United Nations imposed a voluntary arms embargo of arms, ammunition, nuclear materials, petroleum, and strategic transportation materials, against both North Korea and China for their involvement and declared role as aggressors in the conflict. At the same time, the United States enacted a complete embargo on

the sale and transfer of arms to the North under the Trading with the Enemy Act that would remain in place for the next half a century. Despite the support of the Soviet Union, and to a lesser degree from China, over the following years, North Korea became "a nation that was far more isolated in every way than even other communist states" in order to keep "the Stalinist government of Kim Il-Sung 'pure,'" allowing him to "completely dominate all aspects of government and society in North Korea" (Bechtol Jr. 2010, 46). This isolation and self-reliance, embodied in the juche ideology that has governed the nation since its inception, have remained a major influence upon the nation's foreign policy behavior. Therefore, it is important to consider that not only did North Korea never really possess a positive reputation among members of the international community prior to its involvement in the Korean War, but that it has not really desired during too many instances to improve its reputational situation believing that its self-reliance would prevent undesired influence from dominant states in its region and would ultimately be the source of the nation's success. The implications of this point are pretty significant since it is quite possible that in most instances during the Cold War period, North Korea had no intention to improve its reputation and thus it would not make too many changes to its rhetoric or behavior that would constitute an attempt at rebranding the nation as a non-pariah.

6. 3 Development of Pariah Status

As a direct result of North Korea's perceived aggression and exportation of violence to South Korea during the Korean War as well as its self-prescribed political and economic isolation (at least beyond the financial support provided from the Soviet Union and China) throughout much of the 1960s-1980s, the nation began to be labeled and treated as a pariah state by a large amount of the international community. This status, however, only materialized as primarily unilateral punishments from the United States and other Western states as well as some

diplomatic isolation, most of which was self-induced by North Korea, during much of the period. Despite the limited punishments implemented, North Korea was thought of as a threat to stability in the East Asian region for much of the Cold War due to its constant military threats and actions taken against South Korea as well as a general threat to global stability as the nation played a role in training and directly supporting guerilla and terrorist movements both inside and outside its border. That support later developed into active involvement in several terrorist attacks against primarily South Korean targets throughout much of the 1980s that saw North Korea become listed as an official 'State Sponsor of Terrorism' in 1988. In addition to its involvement with terrorism, North Korea also has an extensive history of exporting violence towards many of its neighbors including Japan and the United States, but most notably towards South Korea, which has been the target of countless skirmishes, attacks, threats, assassination attempts, and abductions from North Korea ever since the end of the Korean War in the 1950s. Although the external threats to regional and global stability have drawn the ire of many members of the international community, the nation's internal behavior has been a frequent source of stigma and punishment for the nation as well. This behavior includes extensive and severe violations of human rights as per the nation's commitments to most major human rights treaties and conventions as well as the nation's pursuit and proliferation of nuclear materials and technology throughout much of the last two decades. While the nation's development and testing of nuclear weapons over the last decade have drawn the most international attention and warranted to most punishment and stigma, the many other norm violations of the nation throughout much of the last sixty years, many of which remain firmly in place even today, represent one of most extensive collections of norm violations by any state in modern history. The following sections will detail each of North Korea's major norm violations separately, but it is important to note that such

violations do not occur in total separation, rather that they become layered and intertwined overtime, serving to continuous project and reinforce the nation's image as a pariah state. As it will be shown, improvement in only one or two categories of violations often only nets minor improvements in the state's reputational situation, which only serves to frustrate the North Korean leadership as well as those among the international community actively petitioning for the state to improve its behavior across all categories of deviant behavior.

Support and Involvement in Terrorism

North Korea has a long history of support and involvement in global terrorism. The nation has been complicit in numerous terror attacks, assassination attempts, and abductions carried out by its agents as well as providing direct training, financing, and armament of numerous guerilla or terrorist organizations across the globe. This support and involvement began as early as the 1960s when the nation began to engage with and support various Marxist guerilla movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Bruce Bechtol Jr. (2010), a former U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency analyst, details North Korea's extensive involvement such efforts throughout much of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s in places such as Angola, where North Korean troops, advisors, funds, and equipment were dispatched in support of Cuban and Angolan forces during the Angolan Civil War as well as to help train members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in their fight against Apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, as well as other locales including support for extremist members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Palestine, Basque Separatists (ETA) in Spain, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, the Italian Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army, as well as other terrorist organizations that were backed

by Syrian and Libyan efforts elsewhere. In addition, North Korea operated at least 30 training camps within its own borders between 1968 and 1988 that were designed to train agents from over 25 different nations in guerilla and terrorist tactics (Plunk 1988; Bechtol Jr. 2010). A prime example of North Korea's support for global terrorism occurred at the Lod Airport in Tel Aviv, Israel on May 30, 1972 when three members of the Japanese Red Army, recruited by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-External Operations (PFLP-EO) and supported financially and armed by North Korea, opened fire against passengers in the airport terminal killing 24 and injury 88, including several American and Israeli citizens. The incident is now referred to as the Lod Airport Massacre.

In addition to its support for terrorist and guerilla groups across the globe, agents of North Korea, at the direction of the regime's leadership, carried out frequent forced abductions of the citizens of several of its neighbors and assassination attempts of various South Korean leaders as well as carrying out several terrorist attacks against primarily South Korean targets during much of the 1980s. One of the most contentious strategies carried out by the North Korean regime against its neighbors has been the forced abduction, disappearance, or murder of countless citizens of other states as well as North Korean citizens living abroad both during and after the Korean War. A 2014 UN Report on human rights conditions in North Korea detailed the nation's involvement in the systematic abduction and denial of repatriation to well over 200,000 persons, including children, from numerous other countries in direct violation of those nation's sovereignty and the international principle of non-intervention into the internal affairs of other states. These abductions began at the conclusion of the Korean War as the North Korean government captured and/or abducted hundreds of South Korean soldiers and citizens, effectively separating them from their families and lives back in South Korea and forcing them

to either stay as citizens of North Korea or imprisoning them in one of the nation's many prison camps. While there have been several attempts to reunite the various groups of people separated as a result of the Korean War and of the North Korean government's abduction activities, there still remain a large number of South Korean citizens that either remain in North Korea as captives, are missing, or are presumed dead but with little to no information from the North Korean government about whether such deaths have taken place. In addition to the numerous captives taken at the end of the Korean War, the North Korean regime has been actively engaged in the abduction and imprisonment of many foreign nationals, many of whom were of ethnic Korean descent, between the 1960s and the 1990s. Many of the captives taken by North Korean agents were South Korean fisherman taken near the border with North Korea, Japanese citizens captured between 1977 and 1983 mostly on Japanese soil, a situation that remains a major point of contention between the governments of Japan and North Korea today, as well as the abduction of several Chinese and Korean nationals from Chinese soil as recently as the 1990s (Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 2014; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2012). One specific instance of abduction occurred on December 11, 1969 when two North Korean agents hijacked Korean Airlines NAMC YS-11 that was flying within South Korea and kidnapped all 47 of the plane's passengers and crew, forcing them to land in North Korea. While 39 of the passengers were returned two months later following negotiations, several members of the crew and seven other passengers remained in North Korea, presumably under duress, and forced to work on behalf of the state. North Korea's involvement in the forced abduction of the citizens of other nations is only a small part of its overall participation in attacks against its neighbors.

During much of the same period between the 1960s and 1980s, North Korean agents attempted to or successfully carried out attacks against targets in South Korea, including bombings of airplanes and assassination attempts against South Korean leaders and personnel. The first of these attacks included the Blue House Raid, which was an unsuccessful assassination attempt against then South Korean president Park Chung-hee at the President's residence which is called the Blue House on January 21, 1968. The attack was carried out by 31 members of an elite unit within the Korean People's Army (KPA) whose primary objective was to storm the President's residence to kill the leader, but they were thwarted near the gates of the building forcing several commandos to retreat, ultimately resulting in the death of 26 South Korean military or police personnel, 4 American soldiers, 26 South Korean civilians, and all but two of the North Korean team (one was captured and one returned was able to return to North Korea). In addition to the Blue House Raid, North Korean agents also attempted to assassinate the South Korean President on yet another occasion on October 9, 1983 when Chun Doo-hwan was on an official state visit to Rangoon, Burma. Three North Korean soldiers planted bombs at the Martyrs' Mausoleum in downtown Rangoon that were set to go off as Chun visited. The bombs exploded, killing 21 and injuring 46, including three senior South Korean politicians, the Foreign Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, and the Minister for Commerce and Industry. Chun was spared because his car had been stuck in traffic and arrived to the site later than expected. While these assassination attempts against the South Korean President were major violations of South Korean sovereignty and evoked strong denunciations from the international community (e.g. Burma broke off relations with North Korea as a result of the Rangoon bombings), it was not until the North Korea executed a more aggressive attack against Korean civilians in the late 1980s in an attempt to frighten other nations from attending the 1988 Summer Olympics to be

held in Seoul that produced the nation's placement on the State Sponsors of Terrorism list a year later.

This attack took place on November 29, 1987 and involved the bombing and destruction of Korean Air Flight 858 in mid-air between Baghdad, Iraq and Seoul, South Korea. The bomb, consisting of a radio with C-4 explosive and a bottle of explosive material had been planted inside the plane's overhead storage bin by two North Korean agents, one of whom (Kim Hyon-Hui) was later captured and testified before the United Nations Security Council regarding her involvement in the attack, who had been trained in North Korea and instructed to carry out the attack by Kim Jong-Il, the son of the Kim Il-Sung and eventual Supreme Leader of the nation (United Nations 1988). The bombing resulted in all 115 passengers and crew aboard the flight being killed, 113 of which were South Korean nationals, and initiated the first set of stern international responses to North Korean aggressive behavior, including the placement of the nation on the State Sponsors of Terrorism list in 1988, the ramping up of unilateral sanctions by the United States, as well as severely straining relations between South and North Korea. While the attack remains a sore spot in relations between the two Koreas, North Korea was removed as a State Sponsor of Terrorism in 2008 as a result of concessions made over the nation's nuclear weapons program.

Although North Korea was removed from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism and was declared as recently as 2012 as not having sponsored any terrorist acts in the 2012 Country Report on Terrorism through the U.S. Department of State, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that while its participation in terrorism has declined relative to the Cold War period, the nation still maintains some at least indirect support for terrorism. This support includes evidence of North Korean agents offering technical assistance and training to Hezbollah in Lebanon and

Syria in the mid-2000s, including the construction of military bases, armories, bunkers, and communications networks, as well as an extensive network of underground tunnels that all assisted the group in its conflict with Israel between 2006 and 2007, as well as support to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka as recently as in 2007 and the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps as recently as 2008 (Bechtol Jr. 2010), all of which likely continue even today according to Bechtol Jr. in a May 2013 seminar at the Heritage Foundation (Halpin 2013). In addition, North Korea was seen as offering technical assistance to Syrian scientists in the pursuit of their own nuclear weapons in 2007, which if true, would be seen as supportive of terrorism since Syria remained on the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism (Kimball 2008).

Export of Violence and the Intervention into the Affairs of Neighbors

Other than the Korean War, which remains the most obvious and severe exportation of violence to a neighboring state, North Korea has frequently intervened either directly or indirectly into the internal affairs of several of its neighbors. According to a report from South Korea's Defense Ministry, North Korea has violated the armistice agreement reached at the end of the Korean War in 1953 a total of 221 times as of 2011, with 26 of the incidents amounting to actual military attack against South Korea (Shin 2011). The report notes several specific attacks during the period, including the attack and boarding of the *USS Pueblo* in the Sea of Japan and the infamous Axe Murder Incident in August 1976 during which two American soldiers were murdered by North Korean soldiers while trimming trees in the DMZ, that military provocations were highest during the 1990s when North Korea attempted to invade and occupy several islands claimed by South Korea in the area claimed by North Korea as part of its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and began to approach the same levels of heightened tensions as of 2011 following

two major attacks against South Korean targets, including the torpedoing of the South Korean warship *Cheonan* and the shelling of the border island, Yeonpyeong, which is populated and claimed by South Korea. The sinking of the *Cheonan*, which occurred on March 26, 2010 resulted in the death of 46 sailors on board was eventually ruled the direct responsibility of the actions of a North Korean submarine by an international commission composed of experts from South Korea, the United States, Australia, Britain, and Sweden[46]. The attack heightened tensions between the two Koreas and resulted in South Korea cutting all trade with the North beyond the Kaesong Industrial Zone (which accounted for about half of all trade between the two nations), the closing of South Korean waters to North Korean vessels, and to place all South Korean and American military forces on the DMZ on alert to help deter any future provocations (Peterson Institute for International Economics 2014). Importantly, the attack was considered by South Korea and the United States as a formal violation of the Armistice agreement of 1953, but not an act of terrorism which would have required the relisting of North Korea as a sponsor of terrorism. In addition to actions taken by South Korea, the United States government, through Executive Order 135514, froze all assets of people and companies (4 total) involved in selling weaponry and military equipment as well as luxury items to North Korea. The situation was only worsened by North Korea's eventual response when it allegedly[47] ordered the shelling of the South Korean island of Yeonpyeong on the border between the two nations that killed 2 South Korean soldiers and injured a dozen people, including civilians. The shelling of Yeonpyeong resulted in even higher tensions between South and North Korea and aroused strong international

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[46] Despite the findings of the commission, North Korean, Chinese, and Russian officials dispute that the North Korean submarine was the aggressor in the situation and refuse to accept the South Korean account of the incident. With both China and Russia in disagreement as the cause of the sinking, no formal United Nations response is enacted, despite calls from South Korea for it do so.
[47] North Korean officials denied that they attacked first and were provoked to respond by attacks carried out by South Korean soldiers.

condemnation from the international community (minus China), with the United Nations and former American Ambassador to the UN, Bill Richardson, calling it the "most serious crisis on the Korean Peninsula since the 1953 armistice which ended the Korean War" (CNN 2010). The crisis only seemed to wane following the death of Kim Jong-il a year later.

In addition to the numerous border incidents and attacks between South and North Korea, North Korea has also intervened both directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of other states in East Asia and beyond. These include several missile tests over the Sea of Japan that often were considered acts of coercion or threat to various neighbors, including Japan, South Korea, and the United States as well to influence negotiations taking place during various iterations of the Six-Party Talks over the nation's nuclear weapons and missile programs. These missile launches, which are too numerous to list in their entirety, included the test of several short range missiles into the Sea of Japan in 1993, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2013, and 2014 as well as longer-range missiles, called Taepodong-2 and Unha-2 missiles with an estimated range of 4,000+ kilometers, in 2006, 2009, and 2013, both of which were in violation of UN Resolutions 1718 (2006) and 1874 (2009), with the 2013 launch producing UNSC Resolution 2087 which strengthened the sanctions program against the nation for its continued violation of previous resolutions. The 2009 launch was particularly important because the test took part of the missile over Japanese airspace and territory, provoking a strong condemnation from Japan and the international community, producing a tightening of sanctions in UNSC Resolution 1874. In addition, another long-distance missile launched in 2012 traveled close to the borders of South Korean and Philippines as well as over the Ryukyu Islands claimed by Japan and China in the Philippine Sea.

Nuclear Weapons Program

The impetus behind North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons began as early as during the Korean War when it determined that a nuclear deterrent may be necessary to protect the nation from a nuclear attack by the United States during and after the conflict. During the 1950s, North Korea laid the groundwork for many of the developments that would follow decades later in the establish of key nuclear research centers and signing cooperative nuclear agreements with the Soviet Union in 1956 and 1959 that would produce much of the nation's nuclear energy capacity and of note, the nuclear reactor and research complex at Yongbyon (Karouv 2000). Despite assistance from the Soviet Union and to a lesser degree from China, whom refused to share its nuclear technology, North Korea was able to develop much of the infrastructure to produce nuclear weapons on its own throughout much of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Plutonium reprocessing began in 1977 and was supplemented by growth in the nation's uranium mining facilities, factories to build fuel rods, and a more advanced nuclear reactor at the Yongbyon site during much of the early to mid-1980s (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). Near the end of 1985, North Korea ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in exchange for continued Soviet assistance to build four light-water reactors, but failed to complete a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IEAE) until 1992, more than five years after the period during which it was required to do so by Article III of the treaty. In addition, North Korea completed a bilateral agreement with South Korea to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula by the end of 1991, following a substantial improvement in relations between the two nations as they both join the United Nations the same year.

Although it seemed as if North Korea was moving in a positive direction regarding its nuclear program by ratifying the NPT and submitting to IAEA inspections between 1992 and

1993, events reversed course in early 1993 when it was discovered that North Korea had reprocessed some plutonium in the late 1980s and may have been hiding more at nuclear waste sites that it declared military sites that were beyond inspection, prompting it to announce its intention to withdraw from the NPT (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). Withdrawal was avoided through intense negotiations with the United States that produced a special agreement that would allow the IAEA to monitor the regime's actions in the present, but not its past behavior. When it was later discovered that spent fuel rods had been removed from the Yongbyon reactor in May 1994 without supervision from the IAEA, the United States announced its intention to ask the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on North Korea, which the nation would consider an act of war (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). As part of the solution to the crisis, Jimmy Carter traveled to North Korea and reached an agreement, referred to as the Agreed Framework, in which North Korea would verifiably freeze its work at its gas-graphite moderated reactors and related facilities, remain a party of the NPT, and takes steps to implement the bilateral denuclearization agreement with South Korea as soon as possible in exchange for the construction of two light-water nuclear reactors and to shipment of 500,000 tons of heavy fuel oil per year until 2003 when the first reactor would be finished (Agreed Framework 1994). The agreement produced a freeze on most of the North's illicit nuclear activities during much of the rest of the decade until 2002 when it was discovered during bilateral talks between North Korea and the United States that North Korea had secretly developed a highly enriched uranium (HEU) program with technical assistance from Pakistan and the proliferation network of Dr. A.Q. Khan (Boucher 2002).

The revelation of the North's illicit nuclear program in 2002 produced a more intense crisis than the one in the early 1990s that remains an active feature of East Asian politics as of

2014. In response, the United States suspended its shipment of heavy oil as part of the Agreed Framework while resulted in North Korea lifting the freeze on its nuclear facilities, the expulsion of IAEA inspectors, and the announcement that the nation would withdraw from the NPT by mid-2003 (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). By the end of 2003, North Korea had withdrawn from the NPT and had announced that it had enough enriched plutonium for between four to six nuclear weapons, which was confirmed by a delegation of American nuclear experts in 2004. Throughout the period between 2003 and 2006, diplomats from North Korea, the United States, South Korea, Japan, Russia, and China held Six Party Talks on several occasions to attempt to resolve the nuclear crisis. A deal was reached in 2005 that would produce cease all of the North's nuclear activities and have it rejoin the NPT and submit to IAEA inspections, but the deal ultimately fell apart over details about inspections and verification of North Korean actions. On October 9, 2006, North Korea conducted its first underground nuclear test, with estimates of the detonation being on the low end around less than 1 kiloton (Kimball and Davenport 2014). The UN Security responded by imposing sanctions on North Korea through Resolution 1718. In 2007, another deal was reached between the members of the Six Party Talks that produced some positive movement on the nuclear issue, resulting in North Korea actually freezing and submitting to inspection much of its nuclear work at the Yongbyon reactor as well as other locations across the nation and formal declaration of all of its past and present nuclear activities in return for an easing of unilateral and multilateral sanctions and the removal of North Korea from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism. By 2008, the tenets of the deal had been executed, with North Korea submitting to IAEA inspections and providing a formal declaration of its nuclear program, however, as was the case with previous agreements, the sticking point for the

longevity and effectiveness of any deal was the inclusion of specific details of how any agreement would be verified in terms of inspections.

By mid-2009, the deal had essentially fallen apart, with North Korea launching long-range missiles as well as kicking out IAEA inspectors and starting efforts to rebuild the reactor at Yongbyon for the sole purpose of reprocessing spent fuel in March and later conducting its second underground nuclear on May 25, 2009 with an estimated yield around 4 kilotons (indicating a much more successful test than in 2006). The test produced another series of UN sanctions to be executed via Resolution 1874, which in turn resulted in North Korea withdrawing from the Six Party Talks and restarting its uranium enrichment activities. Tensions only increased further in 2010 and 2011 as North Korea launched the attacks against the *Cheonan* and *Yeonpyeong* and continued to ignore international demands for it to cease its nuclear program. Following the death of Kim Jong-il in December 2011, a series of bilateral negotiations between the United States and North Korea produced a temporary moratorium on testing, uranium enrichment, and long-range missile tests in exchange for food aid (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). When the United States withdrew its offer of food aid, North Korea rejected the moratorium a tested two long-range Unha-2 rockets in April 2012 and December 2012 that was in violation of UN Resolutions 1718 and 1874, producing UN Resolution 2087. A few months later in February 2013, the North conducted its third nuclear test of a "lighter miniaturized atomic bomb" (Nuclear Threat Initiative 2014). As of 2014, no progress has been made at resuming the Six Party Talks or freezing North Korean nuclear activities and tensions seem to be as high as they have been during any time during the 11-year nuclear crisis that began in 2003.

Human Rights Abuses

Perhaps the most frequent and constant of all of the nation's deviant behavior is its extremely poor track record in the human rights realm. According to a recent report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (2014), North Korea's human rights situation is perhaps as bad as it has ever been in its history. The report details countless violations of basic human rights, including violations against the freedom of thought, expression, religion, the freedom of movement and residence, the right to food and related aspects of the right to life, as well as state-directed discrimination, the arbitrary detention at countless prison camps across the country that appear more like concentration camps or gulags rather than prisons, state-led torture and public executions of political prisoners, abductions and enforced disappearances of citizens of other countries, as well as general crimes against humanity carried out by the state that:

> entail extermination, murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, forced abortions and other sexual violence, persecution on political, religious, racial and gender grounds, the forcible transfer of populations, the enforced disappearance of persons and the inhumane act of knowingly causing prolonged starvation (14).

The UN Report (14) goes to detail the numerous human rights abuses that the regime has carried out over the last several decades, including crimes against humanity that were committed against many North Korean citizens who either suffered or died from severe starvation as a direct result of failed governmental policies that ignored the fundamental right to food and basic human needs at the expense of promoting and protecting the present political system that most importantly, were made "in full awareness that such decisions would exacerbate starvation and related deaths of much of the population."

Throughout much of its history, North Korea's planned economy and ideology of juche, or self-reliance, has made it difficult to adapt to rapidly changing economic and environmental

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conditions in the nation. The political-economic system was ultimately unable to progress beyond primarily industrial and agricultural production capabilities in the 1970s and perpetuates a great deal of inefficiencies that make it incredible difficult to respond to basic societal needs in time of drought, flood, or other disasters that have led to massive famine and suffering on numerous occasions (Olsen 2005, 115-119; Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea 2014). A 2005 Committee for the Human Rights in North Korea report, entitled *Hunger and Human Rights: The Politics of Famine in North Korea*, detailed the relationship between the massive famines that occurred in the 1990s and the policies of the North Korean government and found that the starvation and suffering was man-made and could have been avoided with policy adjustments such as maintaining and promoting the importation of food and seeking multilateral aid (Haggard and Noland 2005). Instead, the regime refused any humanitarian aid at the time and diverted many of its critical resources towards the military as part of its overall plan to promote the national interest through military strength.

6.4 International Response

As it has been noted across many of North Korea's numerous norm violations above, the international response to the nation's activities have been predominantly hostile, producing a sweeping range of condemnations, one of the strictest unilateral and multilateral sanctions regimes ever executed against a state in human history, and almost total political and economic isolation of the nation, sometimes even from its one remaining ally in China. Table 6.1 details actions taken by the United Nations in response to North Korea's deviant behavior since 1950,

which includes numerous Security Council Resolutions that condemn and punish the nation for

its continued violation of international law.

Table 6.1: United Nations Actions Regarding North Korea (1950-2014)[48]

Year	United Nations' Action	Description
1951	UN General Assembly Resolution 498(V)	Resolution labeled North Korea and China as aggressors in the Korean War.
1951	UN General Assembly Resolution 500(V)	Resolution (passed unanimously) recommended that members states impose an arms embargo against North Korea and China, including arms, ammunition, nuclear materials, petroleum, and strategic transportation materials.
1993	UNSC Resolution 825	Resolution urges North Korea to abide by agreement with South Korea to denuclearize the Korean peninsula in 1991 and to reconsider its declared intention to withdraw from the NPT.
1994	UNSC S/PRST/28	UNSC approves non-binding statement urging North Korea to submit to IAEA inspections; however, their actions remain short of instituting sanctions to pressure the nation due to firm opposition from China and Russia
2006	UNSC Resolution 1695	Resolution condemned North Korean missile tests on July 4, 2006 and banned all member states from selling material or technology that could help assist North Korea in developing nuclear weapons or ballistic missiles. Resolution was product of 11-day deadlock due to Chinese opposition.
2006	UNSC Resolution 8859	Provides a formal warning to not test a nuclear device.
2006	UNSC Resolution 1718	Unanimously adopted to denounce NK's first underground nuclear test on October 9, 2006. The resolution banned the sale of most types of arms, military vehicles, missiles, as well as key luxury items and froze assets of the regime and initiated a travel ban for any persons involved with its nuclear program.
2006	1718 Committee	UN Resolution 1718 also created the 1718 committee, which was designed to oversee implementation of sanctions imposed by the resolution and created a panel of experts who would monitor North Korea and report back to the Security Council regarding the status of the sanctions.
2009	UNSC Resolution 1874	Unanimously adopted to impose further sanctions on arms exports/imports (including small arms) of all UN member states to North Korea for its continued development of nuclear weapons (in direct response to its underground nuclear test on May 25, 2009). Also stipulated that UN member states must

[48] Information about United Nations resolutions and other actions collected from Schmitt (2013) and Petersen Institute for International Economics (2010).

		inspect all North Korean cargo within their territory suspected of being connected with the nation's nuclear program. Finally, the resolution limited all financial transfers for non-humanitarian purposes.
2012	1718 Committee Report	In a May 2012 report to the Security Council, the 1718 Committee noted that North Korea continued to actively defy UN measures and that its efforts had thus far been ineffective at stopping North Korea's nuclear program.
2013	UNSC Resolution 2087	Unanimously adopted to denounce the launch of a North Korean satellite/missile on December 12, 2012, which was in violation of UN Resolutions 1718 and 1874 that prohibited further development of ballistic missile technology.
2013	UNSC Resolution 2094	Unanimously adopted to denounce NK's third nuclear test, which was in direct violation of previous UN resolutions and in flagrant violation of global nuclear testing norms. Resolution bolstered limitations on nation's access to hard currency and technological equipment needed to build more weapons as well as expanded travel bans for several NK officials and the ban on the export of luxury items to NK.

In addition to enactment of numerous multilateral sanctions through the United Nations, an extremely thorough sanctions program, conducted primarily by the United States, has been in place since 1950. The progression of this sanctions regime to 2007 can be seen in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Timeline of Unilateral Sanctions against North Korea (1950-2007)[49]

Year	Type of Sanctions	Description
1950	Economic, Financial, and Military	The US institutes an embargo on all exports to North Korea at the onset of the Korean War under the *Trading with Enemy Act* and froze all North Korean assets held under U.S. jurisdiction, forbidding any financial transactions by/on behalf of NK (including travel) through the *Foreign Assets Control Regulations* (FACR).
1955	Military	United States issues the *International Traffic in Arms Regulations* (ITAR), which denies North Korea any licenses or approval to export or import military armaments for defensive purposes.
1965	Economic	North Korea placed on 'most restricted countries' list for US trade in *Export Administration Regulations* (EARs)
1975	Economic	FACR expanded to prohibit trade of all agricultural products originating in North Korea.
1988	Political	NK added to "State Sponsors of Terrorism" list.

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[49] Information regarding U.S. sanctions against North Korea obtained from National Committee on North Korea (2008).

1989	Economic and Political	EARs amended to allow the trade of goods intended to meet basic human needs and travel to North Korea on a case-by-case basis.
1994	Political and Economic	The United States and North Korea negotiate the *Agreed Framework* which eases diplomatic/trade restrictions between the two nations, resulting in the US shipping 500,000 tons of oil/year in return for North Korea freezing its nuclear program.
1995	Political and Economic	FACR restrictions eased to allow unlimited travel and establishment of news organization offices and to allow the importation of North Korean magnesite/magnesia. In addition, direct telephone and fax links set up between the two nations. However, nearly all sanctions remain in place under the *Trading with the Enemy Act* and US delays the easing of sanctions within the *Agreed Framework*.
1996	Political and Financial	FACR revised to allow humanitarian donations to North Korea to help assist recovery efforts following major floods and famine.
1998	Political and Economic	US Congress cuts funding for *Agreed Framework* due to North Korean medium-range missile test on August 31 as well as the discovery of an underground facility at Yongbyon (potentially used for the production of nuclear materials) not covered by the deal.
1999	Economic, Political, and Financial	Following the self-imposition of a moratorium on missile testing and the allowance of inspections at the Yongbyon site by North Korea, US begins most significant easing of trade and travel restrictions since 1950, such as the revision of EARs and FACRs to allow most travel, trade, and financial transactions by 2000. US supplies 500,000 tons of food through the UN World Food Programme. Restrictions and bans due to North Korea's State Sponsor of Terror designation remain in place.
2002	Economic	KEDO, the organization responsible for enacting the guarantees of the *Agreed Framework* announces that fuel oil shipments to North Korea will be suspended following revelation that the nation had secretly advanced a uranium enrichment program. American and Japanese food donations through the UN World Food Programme dwindle. North Korea nullifies the *Agreed Framework* and threatens to restart the nuclear reactors in violation of IAEA safeguards.
2003	Economic	The United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Australia establish the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) which is designed to stop North Korean vessels from trafficking in illegal goods, drugs, and missiles and to impede trade in WMDs worldwide.
2004	Economic	*North Korean Human Rights Act* passed, which links economic aid to North Korea to progress on human rights. The US calls for the issue of human rights to be added to the Six-Party Talks agenda.
2005	Financial	U.S. freezes the assets of several North Korean companies accused of being involved in proliferation and attempts to prevent North Korean access to the global banking system for money laundering purposes, including the sanctioning of Banco Delta Asia in Macau, which was accused of laundering money for North Korea.

2006	Military and Economic	U.S. passes *North Korean Nonproliferation Act of 2006*, which sanctions any persons transferring material that could be used to produce WMDs
2007	Economic	U.S. imposes strict license requirements on all exports to North Korea except for food and medicines not banned, including a list of luxury items forbidden by UNSC Resolution 1718.
2007	Economic	As part of the fifth round of Six-Party talks, the US agrees to terminate all economic sanctions under the *Trade with the Enemy Act* and remove NK from the 'State Sponsors of Terrorism' list in return for the suspension of activities at Yongbyon and a complete report on NK's nuclear program. The US also allows NK funds at Banco Delta Asia to be unfrozen. However, details about verification and inspections are not worked out, which make it difficult to enact the deal in the future.

The deal reached during the fifth round of the Six Party Talks in February 2007 represents a fairly critical period in the international sanctions regime directed against the North's nuclear program and other deviant behavior, as it was able to produce positive movement by North Korea regarding its nuclear program and resulted in the fairly substantial easing of sanctions against the nation, including the removal of North Korea from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism in 2008. Despite the fact that the deal was short-lived and was ultimately unsuccessful at producing an end the nation's nuclear weapons program, it still represents a period during which the North's efforts were successful at using a combination of rhetorical and behavioral changes to influence the perceptions of members of the international community. In addition, other rebranding attempts can be seen between the early 1970s to 1977/78 when North Korea began a major diplomatic offensive to improve its relationship and economic ties with almost half of the countries of the world at the time, between 1994 and 2002, during which North Korea was effectively able to make sufficient behavioral changes as part of the Agreed Framework to produce some reputational improvement, as well as between 2003 and 2006 when North Korea attempted to negotiate an end to its international punishment prior to its decision to conduct an underground nuclear test in 2006 and between 2007 and 2009 when North Korea

agreed to fairly substantial behavioral changes as part of an agreement reached through the fifth round of the Six Party Talks that produced some improvements in other's perceptions. A final rebranding attempt occurred in 2012 following the succession of Kim Jong-un as Supreme Leader, but ultimately failed to produce any meaningful improvement in reputation. Between 2012 and the present day (2014), North Korea has not executed any meaningful rebranding attempts, rather choosing to conduct tests of its nuclear weapons and missiles in violation of existing UN Resolutions and sanctions regime.

6.5 Opportunities for Reputational Improvement

This next section will provide a brief discussion of the various windows of opportunities for reputational improvement that could be used by North Korea to improve its reputational situation during one of its several rebranding attempts between 1950 and 2014. The first opportunity involves the transition of power from one leader to another, which in North Korea includes only three transfers of power. The first occurred in 1994 when Kim Jong-Il succeeded his father Kim Il-Sung as Supreme Leader and the second occurring in 2011 when Kim Jong-Un succeeded his father Kim Jong-Il to power. Both transitional periods provide North Korea with an opportunity for reputational improvement because the installment of a new leader offers a chance to essentially hit 'restart' on any negotiations or meetings that were occurring at the time. It will be shown that in both instances, the transfer of power helped facilitate rebranding attempts. The next set of opportunities includes the end of the nation's involvement in external conflicts and the cessation of the export of violence. In North Korea's case, neither of these opportunities are ever really fully realized. Instead, North Korea only uses temporary lulls in hostile actions directed towards South Korea, Japan, the United States, or other nations in its

region as an indication of potential changes in its disposition. Since such lulls never seem to last for very long, a few years at most, it is hard to say that any specific opportunities exist for a rebranding attempt to occur.

The next set of opportunities involves the development of new global norms. Throughout much of its history, North Korea has severely underutilized international institutions and agreements to help improve its reputational situation. This is likely the case because it does not wish to be bound by the firm commitments of such organizations, which ironically is exactly the reason why they offer an opportunity for reputational improvement. The very fact that it rarely uses such agreements and organizations to signal a change in resolve and disposition is a confirmation that it may not care about making the necessary costly behavioral changes to ultimately remove its pariah designation. That being the case, there are a couple of examples of North Korea using international agreements as a signal to others that its disposition has changed, including the joining of the WHO, UNESCO, and other UN agencies in the mid-1970s, its ratification of the NPT in 1985, the joining of the United Nations in 1991. None of these commitments served to do more than signal anything more than a cheap change in behavior since North Korea has an extremely spotty record when it comes to abiding by international agreements and organizations. See Table 6.3 for a detailed listing of the dates of North Korean accession or ratification of major international agreements between 1950 and 2014.

Table 6.3: Dates of North Korean Accession to or Ratification of Major Global Norms

Law or Organization	Date Established	Date of North Korean Accession/Ratification
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	16 Dec 1966	Accessed 14 Sep 1981[50]
Nuclear Non-Proliferation	1 Jul 1968	Ratified 12 Dec 1985[51]

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[50] North Korea sought to withdraw from the treaty in August 1997, but the Covenant does not have a withdrawal provision, therefore North Korea would need to formal approval of all member states to withdraw.

Treaty (NPT)		Withdrew 10 Jan 2003 (effective 10 Apr 2003)
Biological Weapons Convention	10 Apr 1972	Accessed 13 Mar 1987
Additional Protocols to Geneva Conventions Relating to the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflict	8 Jun 1977	Accessed 03 Sep 1988
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	18 Dec 1979	Accessed 27 Feb 2001
Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons	10 Oct 1980	Has not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	10 Dec 1984	Has not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
Convention on the Rights of the Child	20 Nov 1989	Signed 23 Aug 1990 Ratified 21 Sep 1990
Chemical Weapons Convention	3 Sep 1992	Has not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
World Trade Organization	1 Jan 1995	Non-member state as of Feb 2014
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)	10 Sept 1996	Has not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014[52]
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	17 July 1998	Not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	15 Dec 2000	Not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014
Arms Trade Treaty	2 Apr 2013	Not signed or ratified as of Feb 2014

The next set of opportunities for reputational improvement include internal challenges as a direct result of economic difficulties related to punishments levied against the nation as well as the occurrence of external shocks in the nation's security or economic environments. In terms of internal challenges, there have existing no meaningful public internal challenges that would have placed pressure on the regime to improve its reputational situation. Although economic and

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[51] Announced intention to withdraw in 1993, however was persuaded not to as part of the negotiations over the Agreed Framework in 1994.

[52] North Korea is an Annex II member of the treaty, meaning that the treaty cannot enter into force until it signs and ratifies the agreement.

political sanctions have taken a severe toll on North Korea over the last 20 years, the highly repressive nature of the North Korean state makes it nearly impossible for the citizenry to protest or resist government actions and any such challenges are met with severe punishment by the state. In regards to external shocks, there are several that are of interest in the case of North Korea. These include the easing of Cold War tensions during the period of detente between the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1970s and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. As will be discussed, such occurrences provide a sufficient window of opportunity for a rebranding attempt to occur.

6.6 Attempts at Reputational Improvement

Between 1970 and 2014, North Korea made five identifiable rebranding attempts in an effort to improve its reputational situation. Of these attempts, the first one between the early-1970s and 1977/78, the second one between 1994 and 2002, and the fourth one between 2007 and 2009 were able to produce minimal to moderate improvement in North Korea's reputational situation (as denoted by improvement across a variety of perceptual indicators during the period), but not the full removal of the nations' pariah image, thus failing to produce a major improvement in the nation's reputation. This explains why North Korea maintains its designation as a pariah state as of March 2014 with no indication of any progress in its reputational situation coming on the horizon.

Rebranding Attempt #1 (1972-1978)

North Korea's first attempt at improving its reputational situation occurred between the early-1970s, during its decade of improving diplomatic relations with a large percentage of states

in the international community, to the 1977/78 when the nation began to experience the reputational costs of its illicit activities, its default on loans from companies and banks from Western Europe and Japan, and the continuation of hostile interactions with South Korean and American military forces on the DMZ. At the heart of the attempt was a recognition by the regime that its political and economic situation could be improved if it improved relations with most of the world of which it had had limited diplomatic contact with, including much of Europe, North and South America, and Asia. Table 6.4 details the development of diplomatic relations of North Korea and shows how for much of the 1950s and 1960s, the nation only formed relationships with a handful of nations, most of which were either Marxist regimes like China, the Soviet Union, or Cuba or newly decolonized nations in Africa and the Middle East such as Zambia, Congo, Iraq, and Egypt that were part of the new Non-Aligned Movement that North Korea loosely associated itself with during the time (Wertz et al. 2012).

Table 6.4: Timeline of Diplomatic Relations of North Korea (1948-2014) [53]

Time Period	# of States with Formal Relations	Notable Additions During Period
1948-1958	12 / 99 **[12.1%]**	Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc; China; Vietnam
1958-1969	34 (+24) / 155 **[21.9%]**	Mostly in Africa (16 of 24); Cuba, Iraq, Syria
1970-1980	93 (+63; -4) / 169 **[55.0%]**	European nations with left-wing parties (Scandinavia, Austria, Portugal); nations that had relations with China (most of the remainder of Africa; Asia; Latin America); Nations that broke relations: Chile (1973), Australia (1975), Argentina (1977), Iraq (1980)
1980-1990	109 (+13; -1) / 171 **[63.7%]**	Mexico, Columbia, Lebanon; Burma (now Myanmar) de-recognized North Korea due to its involvement in an attempted assassination of South Korea's president in Rangoon in 1983.
1990-2000	124 (+33; -18) / 175 **[70.9%]**	Former Soviet Republics (19 of 33 new nations); South Africa, The Caribbean (5 new nations). Due to budget cuts as a result of reductions in funding

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[53] Information on the formal relations of North Korea obtained from Wertz et al. (2012).

		from the USSR, North Korea closed 18 embassies between 1998 and 2001.
2000-2014	163 (+39) / 195 **[83.6%]**	Most of the European Union (in 2000); Canada, Brazil, Myanmar (re-recognized North Korea in 2007).
Notable Nations with no formal relations with North Korea	32 /195 **[16.4%]**	United States, France, Argentina, Chile, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Japan, and South Korea
Diplomatic Ties with Great Powers (US, UK, France, Russia, China)	3 / 5	North Korea formalized relations with Russia (formerly Soviet Union) and China early on; it normalized relations with Britain in 2000 along with much of the EU. France nor the United States have ever established relations with North Korea.

During the 1970s, North Korea began to form relations with a variety of states with different political-economic systems as part of its new diplomatic strategy to expand its foreign ties and improve trade relations with many nations across Europe (nations with leftist governments in Scandinavia and Portugal as well as neutral states such as Switzerland and Austria), Africa, and Asia, which as a result, North Korea had established relations with 63 nations in a very short period of time (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) 2009).

In addition, North Korea joined several international organizations in the mid-1970s, including the Non-Aligned Movement in 1975, the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1973, as well as several other UN bodies, and it became an observer-state at the United Nations with the overall intent to influence discussions over the issue of the Korean Peninsula at the UN. This fundamental change in the nation's approach to its foreign policy was a product of the changing nature of its external security environment in which the tensions of the Cold War eased fairly significantly with the Soviet Union beginning its policy of detente' and China began to re-socialize into the international system following an end to the Cultural Revolution (Armstrong 2009). The opportunities afforded North Korea due to the changing geopolitical landscape caused it to declare 1972 "a year of diplomacy" and to develop a two-part diplomatic strategy

that would have it reach out to developing nations with whom China had already established diplomatic and economic ties with as well as formalizing relations with some countries in Europe in an effort to expand its economic relationships and opportunities (Wertz et al. 2012). Between 1970 and 1975, North Korea signed upwards of $600 million worth of business contracts with companies from Japan and Western Europe it hoped would help provide the necessary capital and technology needed to fulfill its Six-Year Economic Plan launched in 1971, which worked for a couple of years until the global economic recession that occurred as a result of the OPEC oil embargo in 1973 began to place stress upon North Korean economic interests that resulted in the accumulation of fairly severe debt to banks in Japan and Western Europe (Armstrong 2009, 2-15). The economic and financial difficulties produced by the mid-1970s recession would ultimately damage the nation's new-found image as a globalizer as it turned to illicit channels for economic growth, including the involvement of North Korean diplomats stationed in Scandinavian nations in the smuggling of ginseng, liquor, cigarettes, industrial goods, and even illicit drugs to produce much needed capital (Armstrong 2009, 2). The expulsion of the nation's diplomats from several Scandinavian countries in the Fall of 1976 represented a major diplomatic embarrassment for the nation.

In addition to improving diplomatic relations with a large number of nations during the period, North Korea also fundamentally altered its approach towards the United States in the 1970s. In the early 1970s, it ceased its infiltrations along the DMZ and initiated high-level talks with the United States and South Korea about reunification of the two Koreas in response to the withdrawal of a division of American soldiers from South Korea during the period. Although the deal reached would ultimately fail to be realized, there had been a notable shift in North Korea's behavior directed towards the United States and South Korea. Despite this shift, North Korea

continued to carry out hostile actions directed at South Korea (as well as American troops on the DMZ) when in 1974 a North Korean agent attempted to assassinate South Korea's President Park Chung Hee during a public function, missing the President but fatally shooting the first lady as well as infamous Axe Murder Incident in August 1976 (Fischer 2007, 6). Such incidents only served to immediately reverse any positive momentum in inter-Korean or North Korean-American relations during the period. Another somewhat meaningful attempt to 'court' the United States and South Korea occurred following the election of Jimmy Carter as president of the United States in 1976 and his announcement of a plan to gradually remove all American ground forces from South Korea within a few years, which would later be reversed in 1979 when North Korea began rapidly upgrading its military forces in response to joint military exercises carried out by the United States and South Korea in 1978 called Team Spirit (Worden 2008). Therefore, while there was some positive momentum in inter-Korean and North Korean-American relations during the period, every positive development was almost immediately followed by a negative event that immediately reversed progress made, something that will be a common feature of our analysis of North Korean rebranding attempts.

During much of the 1970s, North Korea was able to garner a great deal of reputational improvement as a direct result of its diplomatic offensive of the early-1970s, with the nation becoming more engaged with international politics through the United Nations and other organizations and the addition of more than 60 new diplomatic and trading partners and tensions between itself and South Korea and the United States at least temporarily lessening. In this sense, the rebranding attempt that began in the early 1970s and consisted of a series of numerous diplomatic overtures of a generally meaningful rhetorical nature to over 60 states as well as the

joining of several major international organizations during the period was able to produce a small

to moderate improvement in the nation's reputation, as denoted by Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: North Korea's 1972-1978 Rebranding Attempt

Diplomatic Overtures towards Other States	✚	Accession to International Organizations	✚	Small to Moderate Change in Reputation (Pariah Status Remains)

Despite the modest improvement in reputation throughout much of the 1970s, 1976-1977

brought with it a notable worsening of the nation's reputation as perceptions of that nation as a

trafficker of illicit goods, a poor economic investment, and an aggressive and overly hostile

military state. Armstrong (2009, 10), a scholar of Korean history and North Korea's foreign

relations, suggests that:

> North Korea's moment in the sun was not to last, however; in a little over a year the
> DPRK's image had been badly tarnished, mostly because of its relations with first world
> countries: its default in repayment of its debts to European and Japanese trading
> companies, the ejection of its diplomats from Scandinavia countries on charges of
> smuggling, and the DMZ 'axe-murder incident' in August 1976 which brought US-DPRK
> tensions to one of the highest points since the Korean War.

He (2009, 1) continues by noting that the diplomatic offensive of the 1970s was somewhat

effective at promoting a better image of the nation to the international community, but that the

attempt inevitably hit a wall as the reality of the North's true dispositions and internal

characteristics became apparent and contrasting the outward 'globalized' image that it attempted

to promote during the period, ultimately concluding that:

> [t]he ultimate failure of North's Korea's pursuit of globalization *avant le lettre* was
> perhaps inevitable, reflecting the contradiction between North Korea's stated policy of
> *juche* (independence or self-reliance) and the necessary requirements for active
> engagement in the international system, particularly the global economy. International
> engagement without significant internal reform or opening had some success until about
> the mid-1970s, especially in North Korea's Third-World diplomacy, but this rise in global
> stature would sputter out in the 1980s, before crashing spectacularly in the 1990s.

Rebranding Attempt #2 (1994-2002)

Following the loss of the reputational gains of the 1970s, North Korea turned to more aggressive strategies such as the support and involvement in terrorism during the 1980s that led to its reputation falling even further. After the bombing of Korean Air Flight 858 in 1987, international public opinion had effectively turned against the nation with the enhancement of unilateral sanctions from the United States, Japan, and several European nations. The end of the Cold War, however, provided a brief window for North Korea to produce a rebranding attempt that would provide some relief from the nation's political and economic isolation. In 1991, North Korea formally joined the United Nations alongside South Korea as a direct result of increasing support from most of the international community, including Russia and China who formally recognized South Korea in 1990 and 1992 respectively, for them both to do so. By the end of 1991, the two Koreas completed a bilateral agreement that would denuclearize the Korean Peninsula as a result of improved relations produced by the joining of the United Nations months earlier. In addition, by 1992, North Korea finally completed its nuclear safeguards agreement with the IAEA that would allow for inspections of its nuclear facilities as part of its commitment to the NPT that it ratified in 1985.

By 1993, however, IAEA inspectors discovered that North Korea had reprocessed some plutonium in the late 1980s and may have been hiding more at other sites across the country that they were not allowed to inspect. As a result, North Korea threatened to withdraw from the NPT, leading to intense negotiations between American and North Korean officials that ultimately produced the Agreed Framework in 1994. As part of the agreement, North Korea agreed to freeze most of its illicit nuclear activities, including its work at its gas-graphite moderated reactors, to remain a member-state of the NPT, to continue to submit to IAEA inspections that

would focus on the nation's current nuclear behavior rather than on its past behavior, and to begin to implement to inter-Korean agreement to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula as soon as possible. In exchange for these fairly cheap behavioral changes, it would receive the construction of two light-water reactors and shipments of 500,000 tons of heavy fuel per year until 2003 when the first reactor would come on line as well as a reasonable easing of sanctions placed on the nation by the United States (Agreed Framework 1994).

As a result of the Agreed Framework, tensions over North Korea's nuclear program eased substantially, producing a period of 'lukewarm' relations between North Korea and the U.S., South Korea, and Japan. These efforts were intensified near the end of the decade as South Korea instituted the Sunshine Policy (1998-2008) directed at its relationship with the North, which called for increased political and economic interaction between the two states that included the construction of a railroad and tourist region as well as the Kaesong Industrial Complex near the border between the two states and brought the leaders of the two nations together for the first Inter-Korean Summit in 2000 (Olsen 2005). Although the summit failed to achieve many tangible results, the very fact that the leaders of both nations met was a major improvement in inter-Korean relations. In addition to the Inter-Korean Summit, Kim Jong-il also met with leaders from China and Russia as well as from Madeline Albright, the Secretary of State under the Clinton Administration, and a delegation from the European Union in 2000, signaling a reasonably improved reputational situation for North Korea. Furthermore, North Korea normalized relations with several European nations, including Italy and Britain in 2000 and the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Luxembourg, Greece, and the European Union as a whole in 2001, as well as Canada in 2001, and saw the official visit of Japan's President,

Junichiro Koizumi in 2002 during which Kim Jong-il apologized for the abductions of Japanese citizens during the 1970s and 1980s.

Finally, the period also saw a reasonable easing, but not the complete removal of sanctions and restrictions imposed by the United States, South Korea, and Japan against North Korea. Such changes are reflective of a small to moderate improvement in reputation, but not the total removal of North Korea's pariah status as the nation continued to only minimally meet demands made towards verification of the peaceful uses of its nuclear program as well as any truly costly changes in behavior, such as political or economic reforms, total cooperation with IAEA inspectors and with the NPT regime (e.g. ceasing all proliferation of nuclear materials to nations such as Pakistan, Iran, Libya, or Myanmar), and meaningful negotiations and concessions made to improve inter-Korean relations. All of these factors, including suspicions revolving around the nation's intentions regarding its nuclear program, resulted in George Bush to include the nation as a member of the 'Axis of Evil' in his State of the Union speech in January 2002. In the absence of these more costly behavioral changes, the 1994 rebranding attempt that resulted in the Agreed Framework and the moderate behavioral changes and commitments in terms of freezing of its nuclear program and allowing for enhanced IAEA inspections was only able to produce a small to moderate improvement in reputation, as denoted in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: North Korea's 1994 Rebranding Attempt
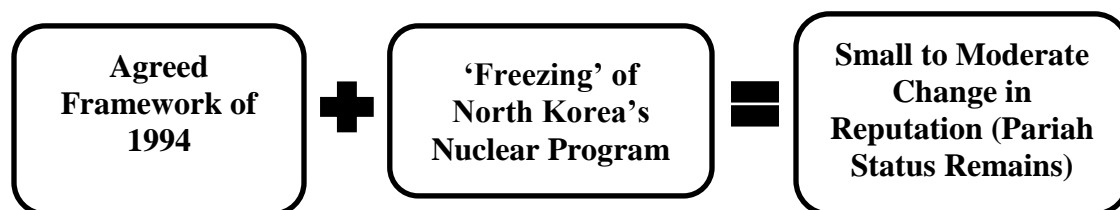
As a result of the nation being listed as a member of the 'Axis of Evil' and the dramatic shift in American foreign policy from one of engagement to confrontation with deviant states like North Korea following the September 11th terror attack, North Korea began acting increasingly uncooperative with the tenets of the Agreed Framework in 2002 and unilaterally withdrew from the NPT in 2003. During an official visit from James Kelly, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs for the United States, on October 3-5, 2002, a North Korean official acknowledged the nation's secret uranium enrichment program that had been active since the late-1990s that would make North Korea in direct violation of its commitments to the Agreed Framework (Kimball and Davenport 2014). The announcement of an illicit enrichment program severely damaged the North's position and ended any reputational improvement that had been gained during the previous decade under the Agreed Framework and produced the cessation of American provision of heavy oil shipments, the construction of the two light-water reactors, and food aid. In response, North Korea, along with the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and South Korea meet for the first round of Six Party Talks during which North Korea behaves as if it had never disclosed its enrichment program and announces that it is willing to negotiate with the United States over its nuclear program so long as the U.S. ends its hostile policies towards North Korea and offers a Non-Aggression Pact towards North Korea, which fails to meet American demands for the complete dismantlement of the North's nuclear program before any specific negotiations or agreements could be discussed (Peterson Institute for International Economics 2014).

Following four more rounds of Six Party Talks, the two sides remain essentially at a standstill as North Korea continues to balk at any deal that would require it to dismantle its

nuclear weapons program in exchange for energy, fuel, and food resources as well as an American written guarantee that it will not attack North Korea (Kimball and Davenport 2014). North Korea continues to demand a formal Non-Aggression Pact, the continuation of shipments of fuel and the construction of nuclear reactors as part of the Agreed Framework, and for others to accept its nuclear program as a permanent fixture that cannot be dismantled and most importantly, during all three rounds of talks, North Korea operates as if it had never revealed its enriched uranium program despite numerous announcements to the contrary (Kimball and Davenport 2014). The rebranding attempt between 2003 and 2006 is generally characterized by empty rhetoric and offers made by North Korea during the first four rounds of the Six Party Talks as well as a continuous denial that the nation even possesses an enriched uranium program despite several announcements and actions that raise doubts as to the credibility of such claims. In the absence of any meaningful behavioral changes or anything more than grandstanding rhetoric, offers of superficial behavioral changes, and the passage of a 'Memorandum of Understanding,' at all five rounds of the Six Party Talks between 2003 and 2006, North Korea saw no improvement in its reputation (as seen in Figure 6.3) and actually saw its situation worsen as the United States and others enhanced their sanctions levied against the nation, including Executive Order 13382 issued by President Bush that froze North Korean assets of numerous North Korean individuals and companies seen as proliferating nuclear or missile materials to nations such as Iran, Syria, Yemen, or Myanmar (which remains in place as of February 2014) as well as the freezing of North Korean assets at the Banco Delta Asia in Macau under the USA PATRIOT Act, which had been accused of helping the regime to launder money obtained through illicit activities as well as to launder fabricated American currency by the regime.

Figure 6.3: North Korea's 2003-2006 Rebranding Attempt
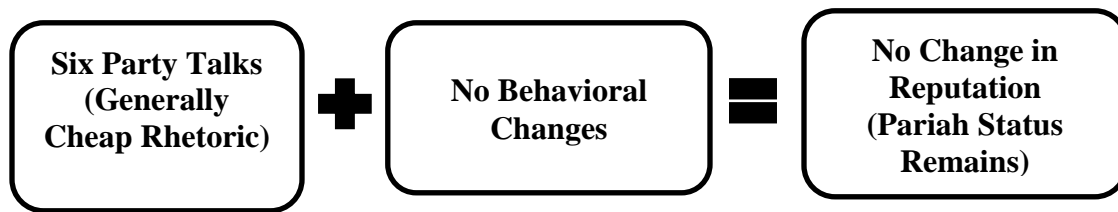
Rebranding Attempt #4 (2007-2009)

The situation revolving around North Korea's nuclear program became increasingly tense in 2006 as North Korea began to demand the unfreezing of its estimated $25 million in assets at Banco Delta Asia and for the immediate restoration of construction of the light-water reactors as part of the Agreed Framework. When those demands went unmet and the construction of the light-water reactors by KEDO, the agency responsible for carrying out the Agreed Framework, were officially ended, North Korea proceeded to test several ballistic missiles, including a long-range Taepo-Dong-2 missile on July 4, 2006 in direct violation of the missile moratorium negotiated as part of the Agreed Framework. The test results in South Korea, Japan, and Australia imposing more sanctions against the nation and the United Nations Security Council passing Resolution 1695 which condemns the test and demands member states prevent the sale or transport of any missile-related materials to North Korea (Kimball and Davenport 2014). The situation is only aggravated further as North Korea conducts an underground nuclear test on October 9, 2006. In response, the UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1718 which imposes even stricter sanctions against the nation. The incident pressures all parties to restart the fifth round of the Six Party talks in December 2006, which concludes on February 13, 2007 with the announcement of a tentative agreement that would help ease tensions over North Korea's nuclear program.

The talks produced the February 13th Action Plan that led to North Korea eventually disabling and ultimately destroying its enrichment facilities at the Yongbyon reactor as well as a formal declaration of the nation's nuclear weapons program and capabilities in return for the removal of the nation from the list of 'State Sponsors of Terrorism,' the termination of long-standing American sanctions carried out through the Trading with the Enemy Act since 1950, and the provision of 50,000 tons of fuel oil or the fiscal equivalent in economic aid (The National Committee on North Korea 2014). In addition, North Korea later added a caveat that it would not adhere to the February 13th Action Plan unless the United States unfroze its funds held in Banco Delta Asia in Macau. At the end of its investigation into the bank, the United States unfroze the funds, opening the door to North Korean adherence to the agreement. Following these developments, IAEA inspectors were able to inspect the dismantling of the Yongbyon reactor and to oversee its eventual destruction and North Korea submitted a declaration of its nuclear program, detailing the nation's 15 nuclear facilities and their role in the production of nuclear weapons (Chanlett-Avery 2011). In the midst of carrying out the agreement, South Korea's new President, Lee Myung-bak demands that any aid to North Korea be linked to improvements in its human rights record and begins the process of ending the Sunshine Policy of his predecessors, adding a new condition to the agreement that North Korea would refuse to meet and showing how the 'layering' of the nations' norm violations would make it increasingly difficult for it to completely remove its pariah image.

On June 26, 2008, President Bush provided a response to North Korean actions as a result of the Six-Party Talks agreement of February 13th that indicated that:

> The six-party talks are based on a principle of "action for action." So in keeping with the existing six-party agreements, the United States is responding to North Korea's actions with two actions of our own:

First, I'm issuing a proclamation that lifts the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act with respect to North Korea. And secondly, I am notifying Congress of my intent to rescind North Korea's designation as a state sponsor of terror in 45 days. The next 45 days will be an important period for North Korea to show its seriousness of its cooperation. We will work through the six-party talks to develop a comprehensive and rigorous verification protocol. And during this period, the United States will carefully observe North Korea's actions -- and act accordingly.
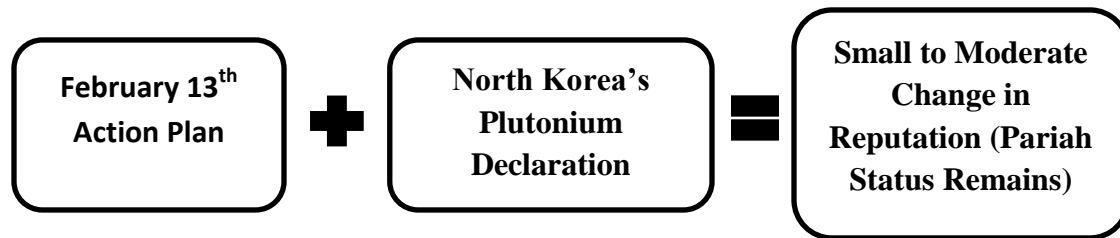
The two actions America is taking will have little impact on North Korea's financial and diplomatic isolation. North Korea will remain one of the most heavily sanctioned nations in the world. The sanctions that North Korea faces for its human rights violations, its nuclear test in 2006, and its weapons proliferation will all stay in effect. And all United Nations Security Council sanctions will stay in effect as well.

The six-party process has shed light on a number of issues of serious concern to the United States and the international community. To end its isolation, North Korea must address these concerns. It must dismantle all of its nuclear facilities, give up its separated plutonium, resolve outstanding questions on its highly enriched uranium and proliferation activities, and end these activities in a way that we can fully verify (Council on Foreign Relations 2008).

Therefore, while it is clear that North Korea met the conditions of the February 13th agreement through the Six-Party Talks, the scope of its pariah status and the corresponding isolation and sanctions was the product of much more than its violation of global norms on nuclear weapons, rather the total re-socialization of the nation into the international community would require substantial behavioral changes across several issues including human rights, nuclear testing, and weapons proliferation. Since North Korea seemed resistant to these behavioral changes at the time, as denoted by the lack of the nation rejoining the NPT or CTBT or allowing IAEA inspectors back into the country to inspect its wide-ranging nuclear program, let alone acceding to any variety of human rights agreements, its rebranding attempt between 2007 and 2008 ultimately failed to produce the end of its pariah status. In terms of reputational improvement, however, it can be argued that North Korea did experience a slight improvement in reputation in return for its cheap behavioral changes and conciliatory rhetoric in terms of having some long-

standing, unilateral sanctions as well as the nation's label as a state sponsor of terrorism removed. These results are displayed in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: North Korea's 2007-2009 Rebranding Attempt

February 13th Action Plan **+** North Korea's Plutonium Declaration **=** Small to Moderate Change in Reputation (Pariah Status Remains)

In a general sense, the agreement was a success as it produced positive results for both sides and say North Korea move closer to coming within global standards for nuclear behavior. More specifically, however, the deal was ultimately a failure because it did not address verification and monitoring of the agreement, saving it for future rounds of the Six Party Talks. North Korea's slight reputational improvement, however, did not last for long as the nation's predominant behavioral patterns returned to their usual denunciations, aggression, and lack of acknowledgement of a variety of norm violations, denoted primarily by the nation's launch of a long-range Unha-2 rocket to place a satellite into orbit on April 5, 2009 that was in direct violation of UN Resolution 1718 and resulted in a formal condemnation from the President of the UN Security Council. In response, North Korea withdraws from the Six Party Talks and announces that it will no longer be bound by any of its agreements, including the February 13th Action Plan. North Korea ejects IAEA and U.S. monitors a few days later. About a month later, North Korea conducts its second underground nuclear test on May 25, 2009, which results in the UN Security Council passing Resolution 1874 that expands UN sanctions against North Korea, including enhanced financial restrictions, a near total embargo on all arms sales and shipments to the nation, and an enhancement of member-state inspection of vessels leaving North Korea. Tensions continue to spiral out of control with the sinking of the South Korean naval vessel, the

Cheonan, on March 26, 2010 and the firing of artillery rounds on the South Korean island of Yeonpyeong on November 23, 2010 by North Korean forces. 2011 sees little progress in the way of ending the crisis over North Korea's nuclear program and ends with the death of Kim Jong-il and succession of his youngest son, Kim Jong-un, as Supreme Leader.

Rebranding Attempt #5: 2012

Following the succession of Kim Jong-un as leader of North Korea, a brief window of opportunity existed for an improvement in the nations reputation. Only two months after the passing of Kim Jong-il, a bilateral meeting between the United States and North Korea between February 23 and 24 was able to produce an agreement that would see North Korea suspend all operations at the Yongbyon uranium enrichment plant, the return of IAEA inspectors to monitor the suspension, and a moratorium on all nuclear and missile testing in exchange for the provision of 240,000 metric tons of food aid from the United States (Kimball and Davenport 2014). While the agreement should have produced a similar improvement in perceptual indicators as the February 13th Action Plan during the fourth rebranding attempt and possibly lead to more negotiations over North Korea's nuclear program, the nation's actions following the agreement made it impossible for such a course of events to occur. Less than a month after the agreement was reached, North Korea announced that it intended to launch another long-range rocket to place a weather satellite to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Kim Il-Sung's birth, despite the fact that such a launch would be in direct violation of UN Resolution 1718 and 1874, not to mention the February 29th deal negotiated only a few weeks earlier. On April 13, 2012, North Korea launched the Unha-3 rocket that failed about 90 seconds after take-off. In response, the United States immediately halted all plans to send food aid to the nation and the UN Security Council

condemned the launch and threatened the further tightening of sanctions. Hence, the fifth and final rebranding attempt ended almost as quickly as it started with only obvious superficial changes in behavior that were contradicted only a few weeks after they were agreed upon and with the ultimate result of no improvement or change in North Korea's reputational situation.

The North only made matters worse as it tested another Unha-3 rocket in December 2012 that successfully placed a satellite into orbit. In response, the UN Security Council passes Resolution 2087 that strengthens and expands sanctions from previous resolutions and freezes more assets of North Korean individuals and companies. By February 12, 2013, the nation conducted another underground nuclear weapons test that produced yet another series of condemnations and only served to further heighten tensions over North Korea's nuclear program, with the UN Security Council passing Resolution 2094 which expands sanctions even further to cover bulk cash transfers and other financial transactions (Kimball and Davenport 2014). As of February 2014, there have no substantial attempts to improve North Korea's reputational situation and it can be argued that its situation is close to are at its worst in the nation's history, with its pariah status firmly entrenched and with little indication of any positive movement in the near future.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROJECT, AND CONCLUDING

REMARKS

At the onset of this project, I set out to explain how states designated as pariahs by the international community such as current-day Myanmar or Iran could advance other's perceptions of their nation to produce an improvement in national reputation to such a degree to bring an end to its pariah status. In a sense, I, much like many policymakers across the globe, want to identify the blueprint, if one exists, for the step-by-step process that a state desiring a reputational improvement must embark on to sufficiently convince others that its preferences and intentions have changed for the better. To accomplish this, I proposed a theory of reputational development that combined elements of existing theories on reputation with others from theories on nation branding to produce a fairly simple, but distinctive framework by which such attempts can not only be identified and analyzed, but also compared from case to case in a manner that should provide some insight into how that process can be used successfully to improve a pariah's reputation.

Following a careful analysis of the reputational improvement process across three distinct cases, South Africa under Apartheid, Libya under the rule of Gaddafi, and North Korea under the rule of the Kim regime, a reasonable amount of empirical support was found for all three hypotheses laid out in Chapter 3 and that can be seen in Table 7.1, indicating that the most effective strategy by which a pariah can successfully remove its pariah designation is using a combination of priming and framing rhetoric with fairly costly behavioral changes that clearly commit the state to a dramatically different course of action than its past behavior and that occurs

during one of several 'windows of opportunity' that occur in each case. These findings, which will be discussed in more detail in a moment, have major implications for the theoretical study of reputation as well as for the use of public diplomacy in the policy-realm. This chapter will provide a discussion and analysis of the project's findings, a discussion of the implications on theoretical and policy perspectives of reputation and public diplomacy, a discussion of the limitations of the project's findings and applications, and finally, a discussion of the future directions for research on the subject of reputation, public diplomacy, and nation branding.

7.1 Analysis of Findings

As a result of the careful tracing of the reputational improvement process through each of the three case studies, I was able to identify and analyze the effectiveness of 11 separate rebranding attempts (1 from South African case, 5 from Libyan case, and 5 from the North Korean case) that ultimately provided support to all three hypotheses developed in Chapter 3 and that can be seen in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Listing of Hypotheses and Expectations

Hypothesis Identification	Expectation
Hypothesis #1	A state's reputation is likely to significantly improve (as denoted by the removal of its pariah status) when it pursues a rebranding attempt, during a window of opportunity, consisting of costly behavioral changes when combined with priming and framing rhetoric.
Hypothesis #2	A state's reputation is unlikely to improve when it pursues a rebranding attempt consisting of rhetoric alone or cheap behavioral changes alone, even in the presence of a 'window of opportunity.'
Hypothesis #3	A state's reputation is likely to minimally or moderately improve (as denoted by some combination of reductions in punishments levied against it and improved treatment by other states) when it pursues a rebranding attempt, during a window of opportunity, consisting of cheap behavioral changes when combined with priming and framing rhetoric.

As we can see in Table 7.2, observations 1 and 6 provide support for hypothesis #1 which posits that costly behavior changes when combined with priming and framing rhetoric during a 'window of opportunity' should produce a significant improvement in the state's reputation, which in the case of a pariah state, should take the form of the removal of its pariah designation following such an attempt. While there are only two examples of pariahs successfully shedding their pariah images, which inherently increases doubts as to the robustness of the findings, the very fact that two cases of pariah states with arguably the worst reputations out of all 71 post-World War II pariah states as identified in Table 2.1 were able to make changes in their behavior that produced an end to their image as pariah states lends some credibility to the findings since such an occurrence is so rare in international politics. Even rarer though is the process that occurred during Libya's 2003 rebranding attempt in that the removal of its pariah status occurred without the corresponding removal of the existing regime that was the original violator of global norms. In comparison, South Africa's one rebranding attempt between 1989 and 1994 was primarily the product of the political transition that saw the National Party's rule come to an end.

While it is not possible to argue that the nation's pariah status would have been removed in 1994 had the National Party won the most votes, it is important to acknowledge the gradual reputational improvement that occurred between 1989 and 1994 prior to the elections as a direct result of the regime's rhetorical and behavioral changes. Therefore, the one commonality between the two cases was that each government made extremely costly behavioral changes across all of their major norm violations combined with priming and framing rhetoric during key 'windows of opportunity,' most notably the occurrence of external shocks at the end of the Cold War and following the September 11th Terror Attacks, that ultimately produced an improvement in the nation's reputation and an end to their pariah status. The combination of the outcome in the

two fairly diverse cases provides reasonable support to hypothesis #1, suggesting that any pariah wishing to end its pariah status need only institute costly behavioral changes across all of its norm violations preceded by priming rhetoric and proceeded by framing rhetoric during one of many 'windows of opportunity' that occur. While the process is certainly not easy to execute and, as we will note in a moment, is far more likely to fail than succeed, it is possible for pariah states to play a role in the removal of their pariah status and of particular importance for most, that it can be accomplished without the removal of the ruling regime.

Hypothesis #2 finds a great deal of support from the Libya and North Korean cases as both nations had several rebranding attempts that consisted primarily of rhetorical or extremely cheap, superficial behavioral changes that were almost always immediately contradicted by some form of deviant behavior. Observations 2, 3, 4, 9, 10 clearly show the relationship that exists between a state's perceptually cheap rebranding attempt and a failure to produce any notable change in other's perceptions of the state. Essentially, without some sort of behavioral change that is significant enough to cause others to reassess their beliefs about that nation, there is very unlikely to be any improvement in reputation. In the absence of some grand gesture that reverses a state's previous deviant behavior regarding one or more global norms in a substantial way, there is simply not likely to be any chance for that state to shed its pariah image. In addition, it is important to note that the failure of most of the rebranding attempts in this category was likely the responsibility of the lack of a 'window of opportunity' being present before or during the actual attempt. An interesting finding was that every successful or moderately successful rebranding attempt (those that support Hypotheses #1 or #3) occurred in the presence of or immediately proceeded a 'window of opportunity,' while most failed rebranding attempts (those in support of Hypothesis #2) occurred in the absence of such windows. This outcome suggests

that the effectiveness of rebranding attempts can be heavily influenced by the presence or absence of a 'window of opportunity.' While it is not possible to say definitively whether such an opportunity is a necessary or sufficient condition for the success of a rebranding attempt, this project's findings indicate a potential relationship between the two that deserves more investigation.

An additional outcome of these observations that was unexpected, but not surprising, was the fact that in some instances of 'cheap' rebranding attempts, the reputational outcome is often opposite of what the pariah desired--in several of the cases, such an attempt actually led to a worsening or at best, reinforcement of the pariah image. Examples of this outcomes occurred in observations 2, 3, 9 and 11. Some potential explanations for such an outcome might be that the observing states determined that the rebranding attempt was not genuine and was an attempt at manipulation and misperception that produced a negative response from the observing states or that the pariah's response to having its rebranding attempt rebuffed by the international community was to lash out with enhanced deviant behavior that would only serve to reinforce or enhance its pariah image. While this project does not speak directly to the explanation of this outcome, its occurrence is something worthy of further analysis in future research.

The final set of observations, which include observations 5, 7, 8, and 10, show support for Hypothesis #3 in that they show a relationship between cheap to moderately costly changes in rhetoric and behavior during 'windows of opportunity' and a small to moderate improvement in that state's reputation. Such attempts were able to produce a noticeable improvement in perceptual indicators that are reflective of changes in reputation such as the substantial easing or suspension of sanctions, the removal of a nation from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism, the increase of official development assistance (ODA) and/or foreign direct investment (FDI), the

formalizing of relations with either great powers such as the United States or Britain or with a significant percentage of states during a particular period of time, among others. It is important to note that all of these perceptual improvements are indicative of a general improvement in reputation, but not the removal of the nation's pariah status that would be indicative of a much more significant improvement in that nation's reputation.

Table 7.2: Analysis of Findings across All Cases

Observation	Case	Description	Support for Hypotheses
1 (1989-1994)	South Africa	Rhetorical and costly behavioral changes during a political transition/external shock	Significant Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #1
2 (1976-1978)	Libya	Rhetorical and cheap behavioral changes with little meaningful change in behavior (no window of opportunity)	No Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #2
3 (1989-1990)	Libya	Rhetorical and cheap behavioral changes with little meaningful change in behavior (no window of opportunity)	No Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #2
4 (1994)	Libya	Rhetorical changes only with little meaningful change in behavior (no window of opportunity)	No Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #2
5 (1999)	Libya	Moderately costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric during internal economic challenges	Small/Moderate Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #3
6 (2003)	Libya	Costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric following an external shock	Significant Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #1
7 (1972-1978)	North Korea	Moderately costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric during an external shock	Small/Moderate Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #3
8 (1994-2002)	North Korea	Moderately costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric during a political transition and following an external shock	Small/Moderate Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #3

9 (2003-2006)	North Korea	Rhetorical changes only with little meaningful change in behavior during internal economic challenges	No Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #2
10 (2007-2009)	North Korea	Moderately costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric during internal economic challenges	Small/Moderate Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #3
11 (2011)	North Korea	Rhetorical changes only with little meaningful change in behavior following a political transition	No Δ in Reputation; Support for Hypothesis #2

7.2 Theoretical Implications

The findings discussed in the previous section provide general support for the theory of reputational improvement developed in Chapter 3 and indicate that states tend to play a fairly significant role in the formation and operation of their national reputations through their active attempts at nation branding through costly behavioral changes combined with priming and framing rhetoric. The significance of evidence that states can and do play a significant role in shaping their national reputations is the implication that neither constructivist or rationalist conceptions of reputation capture the process completely accurately. Reputation is not solely an inter-subjectively developed construct that functions beyond the influence of the actor it regards, nor is it solely an asset or form of property belonging states to do with as they please. Rather, the concept likely falls somewhere in between the two perspectives, where reputation finds its origins in the initial inter-subjective perceptions of external observers of an actor that can often then be influenced and managed by the actor it is assigned to through the process of nation branding and rebranding. Without one or the other, the process simply cannot be identified or understood. Such a result attempts to resolve the notable gap between the two competing perspectives of reputation and to advance both approaches while also advancing our understanding of the reputational process more generally.

In addition, this project lends credibility to the nation branding approach to reputation and image formation and suggests that more attention should be paid to role that brands and image play in the public diplomacy realm as well as how such theories can help advance our understanding of state behavior regarding reputation and other important concepts. In addition, the incorporation of shifting state preferences into the reputational improvement process provides support to the notion that not only are reputations quite malleable, but that they can be reconstructed from preexisting negative images of a state (Tomz 2007). Should a state with a negative reputation, such as that of a pariah, shift its preferences as a result of some internal or external shock (e.g. a window of opportunity), as identified in Table 3.1, then it is possible for it to directly influence other's perceptions of it through some combination of rhetorical and behavioral changes. If done thoroughly and completely enough, such attempts should be successful at helping that state shed such a negative image and re-socialize into the international community. By providing a new framework by which to observe and understand state behavior in terms of reputation, it should be easier to analyze motivations behind a state's actions and more importantly, how scholars of international relations and policy-makers alike identify and analyze such actions in the future.

In terms of existing explanations for reputation formation and operation in international politics, this projects findings suggest that Mercer's Desire-Based Model and Press' Current Calculus Theory are insufficient in their existing forms to explain how the reputational improvement process functions in international politics, most notably in application to states with pariah images. As we have discussed, reputation is more than the construction of an image that is primarily determined by whether the observer has a positive relationship with the actor it is observing. While the 'desirable' nature of another state's behavior is indeed a critical

component to reputational reconstruction, as undesirable or deviant behavior is simply going to continue to reinforce or worsen an existing negative image (e.g. confirmatory rebranding), it cannot be that reputations only change between two states that are alike and find each other reasonably 'desirable.' It is possible, as displayed by the various rebranding attempts analyzed in this project, for a state that is a member of the 'out-group' of the international system (e.g. a pariah) to convince others that they are deserving of a more favorable reputation no matter their relationship with the observer. As Tomz (2007) notes, reputation functions much like a ladder in that states can climb to improve their reputation with some effort, just like states can climb downwards and damage their reputation to the point that they are designated as pariahs.

The pariah image is not designed or intended to be a death sentence for states or the regime's that rule them, rather is intended as a cognitive shortcut for members of the international community to identify with ease those who violate the norms of global society and to notify those in violation of such norms that their deviance has a price. But just like deviance is punished, so too must improved and desirable behavior be rewarded, at least when it comes to reputation. With a new way to better understand how states have and might be able to shed their pariah status in the future, it should be easier to identify those states who genuinely deserve to see a pariah image dissolve and to be rewarded for desirable behavioral changes. This is significant because the fundamental reason why the international community permits the usage of the pariah designation is because its members desire to identify and punish deviance and just as importantly, to encourage and reward desirable, norm-following behavior when it occurs. If those observing cannot discern whether an attempt to shed a pariah image is credible or not, then they are likely to overlook meaningful attempts at reputational improvement that not only should

be recognized, encouraged, and rewarded, but also widely promoted to existing and future pariahs whom the international community wishes to see disappear.

In regards to Press' Current Calculus Theory, the notion that decision-makers only take current conditions into account when formulating policy is only partially accurate it seems. It is true that assessments of current conditions and information are absolutely critical for the formulation and implementation of good foreign policy, however not all information is readily available, especially when it comes to the intentions and interests of other states. One of the most difficult features of international politics is for outside observers to determine the intentions and interests of a state, particularly one that is perceived as a threat to regional or global stability, beyond what it says and does publically. Instead, decision-makers must use as much reliable current information available to them that is the supplemented by information and lessons gained from past experiences and interactions. This mix of the past and present is exactly where calculations of reputation exist as reputation is a measure of how a state's current rhetoric and behavior compares with that of the past. Without any consideration of what happened in the past, there would be no means of comparison or context to provide to that state's current behavior.

If one were to conduct an analysis of South Africa, Libya, or North Korea's rhetoric and behavior only in the moment at which they made a rebranding attempt without any consideration of how they got to that point and how they may have behaved in the past, then it would not be discernable how or why they were successful at garnering some type of improvement in their reputation. For example, it would be nearly impossible to discuss all of the motivations and nuisances behind Libya's successful 2003 rebranding attempt if its past behavior was not first considered and analyzed. To understand why the 2003 attempt was successful and why all previous attempts were not, the origins of Libya's pariah status as well as all failed rebranding

attempts leading up to 2003 must be analyzed to fully observe how each influenced the reputational process. Only in the context of past behavior and past failures can present and future attempts be understood. There simply must be a comparison made between rhetoric and behavior of the present with that of the past to determine whether change has occurred and more importantly, if that change is significant or meaningful.

Other theoretical contributions include the addition of the idea that the violation of global norms become layered over time making it critical for a pariah interested in reforming its behavior and image to address all categories of its deviant behavior almost simultaneously. This phenomenon occurred within all three cases and posed a particularly difficult challenge to all three states at the time of their various rebranding attempts. For South Africa, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, it became clear to National Party officials that their violation of global nuclear norms and the punishments that came with them had become intertwined with those associated with the policies of Apartheid to the point that behavioral improvement in the nuclear realm would likely go unrewarded in terms of the easing of sanctions and other punishments (Stumpt 1995, Pabian 1995, Liberman 2001). Up to that point, the United States and other governments in Europe had resisted international pressures to isolate and sanction South Africa, instead choosing to continue most aspects of cooperation with the nation. This changed when they discovered the nation's nuclear program, forcing them to levy sanctions for its violation of a key norm from the security realm. By the early 1980s, however, the domestic pressures posed by the growing anti-Apartheid movements within the United States and most European nations made it increasingly difficult to separate punishments associated with different norm violations (Pabian 1995).

For North Korea, a similar sequence of events has occurred. On several occasions, negotiations over the nation's illicit nuclear program became stalled due to the inclusion of the nation's other norm violations, such as human rights abuses or the proliferation of missile technology, into discussions. During such instances, it became clear that the nation's norm violations across a wide range of categories had become so intertwined that it was impossible to solve one problem completely without addressing the others. This is best exemplified by North Korea being removed from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism in 2008 as a result of moderately costly behavioral changes regarding its nuclear program. North Korea had made little effort to make amends for its previous involvement in terrorism and more importantly, was likely still involved to some degree in aspects of global terrorism (Bechtol Jr. 2010, Hapin 2013, Kimball 2008). The only reasonable explanation for such a sequence of events is that the nation's norm violations and the punishments associated with each had become so intertwined that any desirable behavioral changes could be rewarded with the easing or removal of any punishment levied against it.

The final theoretical implication involves the difference in the outcome of the South African and Libyan cases. As was noted previously, the removal of the pariah designation in each case was the product of fundamentally different strategies. For both cases, their strategies involved the dismantling of their weapons of mass destruction programs, the end of their involvement in external conflicts and the export of violence to their neighbors, and the careful selection and accession to a series of international agreements and organizations. For South Africa, however, their reputational strategy focused primarily on domestic political reforms that brought an end to the policy of Apartheid and the human rights abuses associated with it. Of significance though is the fact that those reforms, even though they were initially unintended by

De Klerk and other members of the National Party, led to a political transition that brought the National Party's rule to an end. If Libya's case had played out in a similar manner, then it might be easy to suggest that the best and likely only means of shedding a pariah image is to carry out a political transition that brings a new regime to power as a honest broker in regards to the nation's past deviant behavior and associated reputation. This, however, is not how Libya's strategy for reputational improvement played out. Libya instead focused on external behavioral changes such as acknowledging its complicity in several terrorist attacks and plots in the 1980s, paying compensation to the families of the victims of those attacks, and renouncing its support for terrorism and its pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. The significance of this difference is critical to the theoretical value of this project since Libya's experience provides a clear example by which a regime responsible for the development of its state's pariah image was able to stay in power throughout the reputational improvement process. This suggests that there is more to reputational change than the removal of a regime responsible for a state's deviant behavior and more importantly, that for current and future pariah states, there exists a pathway by which a pariah image can be shed without a ruling regime having to step down from power.

7.3 Policy Prescriptions

From a policy standpoint, the implications of this project are also wide-reaching and relevant to many of the foreign policy concerns among members of the international community today. Since pariahs or 'rogues' tend to dominant news-cycles daily for their provocative and deviant behavior and commonly pose a threat to regional and/or global stability, it is absolutely necessary that a framework by which pariah behavior can be better understood as well as the identification of strategies by which such states can become re-socialized into the international

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community. One of the prime aims of this project was to develop a lens by which deviant behavior could be analyzed with the ultimate objective of being able to explain how states labeled as pariahs can shed that image, improve their national reputations, and become more invested into the rules and institutions that guide international politics. With current cases of pariahs, such as Myanmar and Iran, seemingly making efforts to improve their reputations or at least to eliminate the stigma, isolation, and punishment that is often associated with their 'bad' reputations, it becomes increasingly necessary to be able to identify a credible attempt at reputational improvement and most importantly, to determine whether such attempts are worthy of a reassessment of its reputation and of the punishments levied against it as a result of its pariah status.

In the case of Myanmar, it should now be easier to determine whether the substantial changes in its behavior have been enough to effectively convince members of the international community that it has changed for good, or if not, what more might be required from it to do so. For Iran, it should now be easier to assess changes in its rhetoric and the quality of offers made to dismantle its suspected nuclear weapons program. At the current moment, the outcome of the current rebranding attempt is unclear. But by looking at the rhetoric and offers being posited at the moment through the lens of the theory developed in this paper, it is now easier to assess the credibility of the offers being made by Iranian leaders. As was noted in Chapter 3, one of the necessary features of the rebranding process is that there be a unified and cohesive vision of the national image to be projected during an attempt. In Iran's case, their projected image is unclear at the moment because there are mixed messages being made on a daily basis. One day you have President Rouhani announcing that the nation is willing to freeze its nuclear program and allow IAEA inspections to occur and the other you have members of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard

making threats saying that their forefathers have "primed them" for "the final epic battle" and Ayatollah Khamenei saying that the "solution to our economic problems is not looking out and having the sanctions lifted... my advice to our officials, as ever, is to rely on infinite indigenous potentials" (The Guardian 2014, Maclean 2014). With such mixed signals being projected, it will be extremely difficult for this rebranding attempt to be successful at helping Iran end its pariah status. The point of this analysis is not to levy a final judgment on the likely success of Iran's negotiations over its suspected nuclear weapons program, rather to provide a hint of the type of investigation that is made possible through the framework presented in this paper.

In addition to providing a framework by which attempts at reputational reconstruction can be analyzed, this paper provides a blueprint for future pariahs to potentially follow to help them discard their pariah image. By highlighting the process by which both South Africa and Libya were successful at removing their pariah status as well as the remaining attempts that were unsuccessful, policymakers in various pariah states should be able to identify strategies that meet their respective needs and that may ultimately help them improve their reputations. While each case poses a unique set of circumstances that must be accounted for, there is no reason to believe that the rebranding strategies highlighted in this paper could not be followed by current pariahs such as North Korea or Iran or those that arise in the future. Furthermore, the provision of a blueprint for pariah strategies should also be useful to leaders of non-pariah states who must interact with pariahs on a regular basis. By better understanding the sources of a pariah image as well as the process by which it has and can be eliminated, outside observers in places such as the United States and Europe should have a more refined notion of what variables they should watch for to indicate that a pariah has shifted its preferences in a manner deserving of a reassessment of its reputation.

In addition, this paper raises a number of important points to consider regarding how pariah states are treated and negotiated with in a general sense, such as how the international community might adapt its negotiation and engagement strategies to address the reputational concerns and needs of pariahs? If the ultimate goal is to get them to credibly and verifiably improve their behavior (and assuming that most pariahs want to shed the stigma associated with that designation), then how might members of the international community encourage them to do so? One potential answer might be to change the order of issues by which members of the international community negotiate with them. Instead of beginning negotiations with all forms of deviant behavior up for discussion, why not limit discussion to just one issue at a time so that progress made towards one problem might lead to progress towards another. This would be on potential solution to the issue of norm violations become layered and intertwined. It might ultimately be useful to clearly separate out norm violations and the punishments associated with each one so that negotiations do not become bogged down or gridlocked by one particular issue or one particular punishment.

7.4 Limitations and Future Directions

With any project of this nature, it is important to acknowledge potential limitations of the findings and implications identified above. One of the most limiting factors of this project is the number of cases and observations that are provided. This is the case for several reasons. Firstly, the number of pariah states over time, while a known universe of cases, is a fairly small number. Furthermore, the number of pariahs who have multiple norm violations and who have successfully shed their pariah image are even fewer. Secondly, the time and effort required to conduct process tracing through each case is fairly high. Since every project is inherently limited by a particular amount of time and energy available to be expended on it, this point is critical.

Both of these factors inherently limit the number of cases and observations that can reasonably included in one project, however future endeavors could always increase the number of observations by conducting more process tracing across more cases to increase the statistical significance of the findings. In addition, as ongoing examples of pariahs, such as Myanmar, Iran, Egypt, or Venezuela, make attempts to improve their respective reputational situation, new observations may be made available for analysis. That being said, the findings presented above do show support for the theory and hypotheses developed in Chapter 3 and should only encourage further research into the issue of the reconstruction of reputations.

Another significant limitation of the project is that its findings only apply to a small subset of cases in international politics. As was just noted above, it is fairly uncommon for states to be designated as pariahs and even rarer for pariahs to violate five or more global norms during any one period of time. Since this project only speaks to the reputational improvement process in application to pariahs, it has very little to say in terms of the theoretical or policy implications for non-pariah states. It would be interest, and certainly of value, to expand the project to include non-pariah states in the future to see if the reputational improvement process identified is applicable to other states as well. An important question that could be addressed might include one about how states in general improve their reputations. By expanding analysis to non-pariah states, it would increase the number of possible cases and observations and broaden the applicability of any findings and implications of the project. The choice to focus on pariahs alone, however, was one based on the idea that such cases represent some of the most important and relevant concerns in international concerns in terms of their effect on international security, global and regional stability, and on the foreign policies of countless countries. Additionally, if it can be shown that states with the worst of reputations can rebrand themselves in a manner that

produces an improved reputation, then surely other states with better reputations should be able to as well. This is only something that future research could sufficiently answer, but it is important that the starting point begins with pariah states.

To conclude, I would like to address potential avenues for future research. In regards to the cases presented here, there remains several unanswered questions that could be assessed in more detail in future projects. For South Africa, why did the National Party not attempt to improve its reputational position until 1989? After a careful analysis of the period during which it was labeled a pariah, only one rebranding attempt was identified. Why? From the opposite perspective, why did it take Libya five attempts to ultimately be successful at removing its pariah status? Were rebranding failures, most notably the one that occurred in 1999, necessary to precipitate success in 2003? Some other key questions that arose from this project involve some questions that have already been developed in this chapter. Why do some 'weak' (e.g. those with only cheap or superficial behavioral changes) rebranding attempts produce a worsening of that nation's reputation when others only keep it the same? Another question that arose was whether or not windows of opportunity are a necessary condition for a rebranding attempt's success? These are all useful and interesting questions that deserve attention in future research on the topic.

In addition to these specific questions, there exist a set of broader applications that may prove to be of interests. These might include policy-oriented questions such as: how can American foreign policy (or that of other states) better approach and interact with pariah states? Can the manner by which the international community interacts with pariahs be improved to produce better results in the long-term? Finally, the theory of reputational improvement developed in this project could be applied to other subject areas in the study of international

relations, including the study of international organizations or of global norms. Some questions that may be addressed in this area include: how do states use international organizations as a reputational tool, if at all? How might the notion of 'layered' norm violations be applied to the overall study of global norms and their enforcement? Each of these questions represents some variation on the themes and ideas presented in this paper and suggest that a wider application of them may produce interesting and valuable additions to existing theories on reputation, nation branding, public diplomacy, among many others. By doing so, a more refined understanding of how an important concept such as reputation operates in international politics should be developed.

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