

INADEQUATE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES

Mihail ORZEAȚĂ¹

¹Prof. PhD, Apollonia University of Iași, Romania
Corresponding author: Mihail Orzeată; e-mail: morzeata@yahoo.com

Abstract

The domestic and international crises of recent times seem to have stimulated some leading political actors to use personal attack and launch “warning arrows” at their counterparts in the nations with which they are in conflict and beyond. The undiplomatic or even bellicose attitudes of some leaders and diplomats were and are usually caused by an exacerbated ego, by the desire for notoriety and also by their moral and professional strongness. Tensions and even international conflicts were and will continue to be provoked by decisions taken under the influence of emotions, by leaders insufficiently trained in the art of leadership and diplomacy. An inadequate language and the undiplomatic behaviour of community leaders generated and can continue to generate states of tension that can evolve into political, diplomatic, economic, financial and other sanctions, or even to armed confrontations.

Keywords: *undiplomatic communication, undiplomatic language, insults, threats, pressures, power relations.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is usually associated with tact, civility, restraint and behaviour according to legal and moral norms (Simunjak & Caliandro, 2019): “Diplomatic language should be courteous, marked by respect for and considerations of others. In effect, there is no space for insult, uncivil words, naming and shaming”. Diplomacy is also considered a “peaceful alternative to conflict” (Van Rythoven, 2022). However, there are situations in which diplomacy generated, generates and could continue to generate future tensions and conflicts between individuals and even between states and groups of states. Because of this, and not only, some authors write about the decline of diplomacy by “using impoliteness as a weapon against political opponents” (Brasset et al, 2020).

In the period following the end of the Cold War, as well as in the present, we are witness a

real escalation of undiplomatic communication and behaviour, especially of a language sprinkled with insults, adopted by some political leaders when addressing their counterparts. This trend in diplomatic communication led Joseph Korbel to state that we are currently in a real era of vulgarity diplomacy (Korbel, 1962, “Wilson’s principle of “open covenants openly arrived at” [....] has been replaced by open vulgarity”) and van Rythoven believes that we are witnessing “a growing interest in International Relations (IR) in humour, insults and the vulnerability of officials “public image” or “face in international politics” (Van Rythoven, 2022).

The literature dedicated to undiplomatic communication is quite rich and addresses both the relations between ordinary individuals and those between state representatives, state groups and international governmental organizations.

Through the content of this article, I intend to bring to your attention the inadequate (undiplomatic) communication practiced by some representatives of the various international communities.

2. HOW INADEQUATE (UNPLOMATIC) DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION IS DEFINED AND UNDERSTOOD

Normally, diplomatic communication aims to achieve and maintain a climate of peace, security, cooperation and collaboration between the subjects of international law. If tensions and conflicts arise between states and groups of states, diplomatic communication has the mission to settle disputes by negotiated means (Berridge et al, 2001; Sharp, 1998).

Unlike diplomatic communication, its antithesis – undiplomatic (inadequate) communication – aims to highlight power relations between the subjects of international law (Sharp, 1998: “‘power’ is the first aim” [of diplomacy a.n.]) and to obtain political, economic, financial advantages or means of influencing and subordinating the dialogue partners. This part of truth applies to powerful states and the states considered to be weak can choose, in these situations, to accept subordination (complying with the demands of the powerful states) or to resist pressures and escalate tensions (Van Rythoven, 2022).

From a legal point of view, undiplomatic (inappropriate) language and behaviour means the violation of the norms established and accepted by the vast majority of the world's states through the Vienna Conventions of 1961, 1963 and 1969.

3. CAUSES OF INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION

The causes of inadequate (undiplomatic) communication are quite many, but the most important and frequent are the following: the conflict of interest (Grant & Keohane, 2005: “World politics is characterized by sharp conflicts of interest”), the character traits of leaders and diplomats, the status of states in the international arena (Sharp, 1998: “Politically incorrect though the language of representation might be, with its emphasis on symbols of power, wealth, and the grandeur of the state, it will not go away.”) and the moral and professional stature of the leaders (diplomats) (Funnell, 2018).

3.1. INAPPROPRIATE COMMUNICATION GENERATED BY INTEREST

Referring to people's behaviour Max Weber wrote “Not ideas but material and ideal interests directly govern men's conduct” (Hooligan, 2022).

As it is known, diplomacy is the way in which states and other subjects of international law promote their policies and interests in relation to other subjects of international law. In this context the diplomat “is just another instrument in the arsenal of power and influence” (Sharp, 1998).

These policies and interests are communicated to the international public opinion through specialized strategies (security, defense, energy, culture, etc.). In addition to publicly stated policies and interests, there may also be confidential interests which, as a rule, are supported by methods and means known only to a part of the state leadership. That is why there is secret diplomacy (Bjola, 2013) or diplomacy behind closed doors or behind-the-scenes diplomacy.

Officially and normally the state representatives (presidents, monarchs, prime ministers, ambassadors and other high officials) must, in their relations with their counterparts from other states (groups of states, international governmental organizations) support the policies and interests of the entities they represent (Berridge et al, 2001). Oftentimes, however, these representatives also promote their own political, diplomatic, economic and financial interests and especially their interests concerning their own image.

The policies and interests of states, promoted through inadequate diplomatic communication (undiplomatic), refer, most of the times, to territorial issues (Johnson Olaosebikan, 2006; Mulindwa, 2020), obtaining political, economic advantages (Bareis, 2018), financial and dominating. As a rule, these policies and interests are promoted through coercive diplomacy (threat of force and use of force; political, economic and financial, cultural, technological and other sanctions; prohibition of access or suspension or even exclusion from international governmental organizations, etc.); red line diplomacy; ultimatums, propaganda and psychological influence (Cull, 2009).

The examples of inadequate (undiplomatic) diplomatic communication through which stated and/or hidden interests are supported are numerous. Some of the best known have as protagonists the former Egyptian presidents, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Iraqi Saddam Hussein and Iranian Mahmud Ahmadinejad.

The actions of the three are characterized by several common aspects: the support of the Palestinian cause in the confrontation with the Israelis, the interest in being recognized as leaders of the Arab world (Nasser and Saddam) respectively Muslim (Ahmadinejad) and the increase of their awareness in the international

arena. (Avi, 1996: "Nasser's actions during the crisis of May-June 1967 were shaped much more by a desire to bolster his personal prestige at home and in the Arab world than they were by a desire to challenge Israel to a duel.")

Egyptian President Nasser was the first to raise the banner of the anti-Israeli struggle by coalescing several Arab states in the summer of 1967, with the declared intention of "throwing Israelis into the sea" (Sharnoff, 2012). Too confident in their military capability and underestimating the opponent, the Arab military forces were defeated in a confrontation that went down in history as the "6-Day War" (June 5-11, 1967) (Bowen, 2017). A new attempt by the Arab states to defeat Israel was consummated in October 1973 also under the leadership of Egypt, whose president was Anwar Sadat. And this armed confrontation, known as the Yom Kippur War, was won by Israel.

In the following period, the banner of the anti-Israeli struggle was taken over by Iraqi President Saddam Husein, who threatened the state of Israel with destruction (Salinger and Laurent, 1991, p. 20, L.A. Times Archives, 1990). To this end and to increase the credibility of his self-assumed role as leader of the Arab nation, Saddam Hussein started a program to obtain the nuclear weapon (Cohen & Miller, 1990) and its target-carrying means – the SCUD surface-to-ground missile – developed from the Soviet R-300 missile. Saddam Husein's intentions were first halted by Israel, which destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Osirak on June 7, 1981 (Correll, 2012). Subsequently, in 2003, Saddam's ambitions were permanently shattered by the US-led "Coalition of Wills," which defeated the Iraqi army and overthrew him from power (Schifferes, 2003).

After the disappearance of Saddam Husein, the Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad self-directed himself into a representative of the Muslim world and bearer of the flag of the anti-Israel struggle. Ahmadinejad's aggressive anti-Israeli rhetoric was inspired by the conception of the Iranian ayatollahs, most convincingly illustrated by the threat that they would "wipe Israel off the world map" (Keinon & Paraszczuk, 2012). To this end, Iran has embarked on a nuclear weapons program that is still being continued today with all the opposition of the international

community that has imposed on it, under the aegis of the UN Security Council, several rounds of sanctions, plus those imposed unilaterally by the US (SIPRI, 2012a). Iran's threats prompted the Israeli leadership to call on the international community for determined measures to get Tehran to abandon its military nuclear program, threatening to otherwise act unilaterally to achieve this goal. (Katz, 2012)

Another important target of the Iranian leadership's rhetoric was the US, which they called "The Great Satan" (Erdbrink, 2015). In response, US President George Bush Jr. included Iran in "The Axis of Evil," in the content of the speech in which he presented The State of the Union of 2002 (Frum, 2022). In relations with the US, Iranian President Ahmadinejad called himself the defender not only of all Muslims but also of all the oppressed peoples of the world (Moghaddam & Harre, 2010).

3.2. INADEQUATE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION GENERATED BY THE CHARACTER TRAITS OF LEADERS AND DIPLOMATS

Harold Nicholson, a reputed British career diplomat and a reference name in the literature dedicated to diplomacy, wrote that "foreign policy should never be influenced by such emotions as prestige, party prejudice or the sentiment of adventure" (Berridge et al p. 165) and he also believed that an ideal career diplomat should be characterized by qualities such as "truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty, loyalty ... intelligence, knowledge, prudence, discernment, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and tact" (Berridge et al., 2001).

An opinion partially different from Nicholson's belonged to Niccolo Machiavelli who considered that a diplomat must know how to gain influence in foreign courts (besides which he is accredited n.a.) because "men could be bribed, intimidated or deceived" (Berridge et al., 2001). Machiavelli also advised his prince (ruler) that he "cannot and should not keep his word when keeping it is to his disadvantage..." (Berridge et al p. 12) because "the end justifies the means."

The decisions of the people, thus implicitly of the leaders and diplomats, are influenced by their character traits, especially by the level of

self-control, by tact, prudence, intelligence and courage. Out-of-control emotions can be the generator of erroneous decisions, because on such occasions, leaders under the empire of fear, anger and disgust can become impulsive and irrational. (Jervis, 2017).

Hermann Margaret said that "aggressive leaders are high in need for power, low in conceptual complexity, distrustful of others, nationalistic, and likely to believe that they have some control over the events in which they are involved." (Hermann, 1980)

Collin Gray wrote that Napoleon Bonaparte lacked temperance and did not know how to secure the cooperation of the losers, which is why they believed that he did not keep any promises and did not keep any treaties. (Gray, 2006)

Hitler was a megalomaniac who could not bear to be contradicted. He became angry when someone contradicted him or opposed his ideas. For example, when he asked The Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg to accept Austria's accession to the German Reich, he lost his temper and burst out angrily at the Austrian's refusal: "I, an Austrian, was chosen by providence to build the German Grand Reich! And you want to stand in my way? I'm going to crush you" (Eberle & Uhl, 2005). In general, "Hitler was a master at intimidating his opponents by presenting facts and lies that seemed true, supported by clamour in a high tone" (De Launay, 1985).

Stalin was described by Lenin as brutal and capricious, a characterization confirmed by Solzhenitsyn who gave him several suggestive nicknames: "The Supreme Assassin," "The Ogre" and "The Great Scelerat" (Solzhenitsyn, 1997). Unlike Lenin, Hitler considered Stalin "a brilliant guy who must be respected, [...] a calculated, cold-blooded man [...] who knows how to appreciate the effects of a popular movement" (Eberle and Uhl, 2005).

Nikita Khrushchev was described by the CIA as a man who was easily annoyed, was irritated when he was not given the attention he deserves, and was amused by trivial humour. (Nehring, 2017).

Helmuth Schmith, the former chancellor of the R.F. Germany, considered himself a rational politician with good self-control. However, at

the 1980 Venice Summit, dedicated to economy, he had a controversy with U.S. President Jimmy Carter, a dispute that risked degenerating into physical confrontations. That is why President Carter described him in his memoirs as a "paranoid child" (Nehring, 2017).

Former US President Donald Trump has a negotiating style characterized by abruptness, lack of predictability and sometimes even strange, inexplicable (Karthia, 2018: "On the whole, the summit (G7 summit a.n) brought out Trump's negotiation style: brusque, erratic and sometimes downright surreal"). He called Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau "weak" and "very dishonest" after the G-7 meeting on June 8, 2018 in Canada. (Funnel, 2018) At the September 2017 U.N. General Assembly Session, President Trump called North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un "rocket man ... on a suicide mission" and if it has to defend the U.S. and its allies against North Korea, it will have no choice but to destroy it entirely (Arshad & Michelle, 2017; Japan Times, 2017: "it would have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea"). At NATO's high-level summit in 2019, President Trump found that the allied leaders made jokes about him and that is why he left the summit earlier and labelled Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau as being "two-faced" (Bremmer, 2019).

3.3. INADEQUATE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION GENERATED BY THE MORAL AND PROFESSIONAL STATURE OF LEADERS AND DIPLOMATS, RESPECTIVELY BY THE STATUS OF THE ENTITIES THEY REPRESENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Many of the moments when some community leaders and some diplomats behaved undiplomatically are a result of moral hardship and incomplete preparation or even lack of preparation in order to fulfil their responsibilities as representatives of some states. Added to some of the leaders who have committed blunders in diplomatic relations is the feeling that being represented by important states they can behave outside international norms and regulations.

Among the leaders who join the plied of those who committed blunders due to the causes mentioned above, the former Secretary General of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev stands out, who, at the session of the UN General Assembly in 1960, allegedly took off the shoe and hit the table with it in order to express his protest against the accusations of a Filipino diplomat against the USSR of having swallowed Eastern Europe and suppressed human rights (Taubman, 2003).

The former Libyan head of state, Muammar El Gaddafi, although not representing a great power, was elected king of the African kings (BBC News, 2008; Beaumont, 2011). From this position, at the Session of the UN General Assembly in 2009, he gave a one-hour and 36-minute speech during which he accused the organisation of failing to prevent a dozen wars in which mass murders were committed and that their perpetrators should be tried. In the end he declared that he did not recognize the authority of the UN Charter and tore a copy of it in front of the audience who had not left the meeting room in protest at the content and duration of the speech (The Telegraph, 2015; Akwei, 2017).

US President Donald Trump, considered by some authors first a businessman and only then president, (Karth, 2018: "The feeling is that Trump is a businessman first and president second. He'll take a call on those exercises when it suits him") treated his counterparts from the position of the representative of a superpower, that is, he displayed an air of superiority and demanded that his opinions and requests be respected, and when he considered that his requests were not heeded, he displayed some undiplomatic behaviour. For example, at the NATO Summit in Brussels in 2017, he called on allies to deliver on their commitment to increase defence spending to 2% of the GDP and to pay because the US defends them through the bases it has on the territory of some of its member states. The opposition of some of the Allies dissatisfied him and declared that NATO was an "obsolete" organisation and that he was considering withdrawing the US from the Alliance. (Attiah, 2017: "After Trump called NATO obsolete (then proceeded to walk that back), Europe was looking for public support of Article 5, which affirms that NATO members will come to the mutual defense of any member that is under attack.") In another situation, at the

G-7 Summit in Canada (June 2018) he refused to sign the final communiqué and left the meeting earlier, dissatisfied with the attitude of the other members of the G-7 and the content of the communiqué. (Shear & Porter, 2018)

Also in 2018, after meeting with representatives of the European Union over the US-EU trade dispute, President Trump called the EU "a foe" (Gotev, 2018) and Jean-Claude Juncker "a brutal killer" (Reuters staff, 2018).

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, at a meeting with the European High Commissioner for Foreign Policy and Defence, Joseph Borell, in Moscow (February 2021) labelled the European Union as "an unreliable partner" (Goncharenko, 2021).

Current U.S. President Joe Biden is known for the errors he commits on various occasions, which is why he calls himself "a gaffe machine" (Carpenter, 2022). For example, at a meeting with the Democrats in Delaware he said that Pakistan is "one of the most dangerous nations in the world" which has "nuclear weapons without any cohesion" (The Strait Times, 2022). President Biden's latest undiplomatic expressions, used against some of his counterparts, refer to Russian President Vladimir Putin about whom he said that "he cannot remain in power" and whom he labelled with the epithet of "war criminal" (Cathey & Nagle, 2022).

4. EFFECTS OF INADEQUATE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION

Inadequate diplomatic communication (undiplomatic) was and is followed by different effects, depending on the type of affront used by the initiator, the personality of the aggrieved leader(s), the context in which the event took place and the nature of the relations between the communities represented by the leaders (diplomats) engaged in this type of communication.

Kelsey Atherton writes that "states and their agents use insults to disrupt and challenge the existing polite theatre of diplomatic norms" (Atherton, 2022).

Referring to the effects of language and the undiplomatic behaviour of leaders on those they

lead but also on international relations, Diane Chandler compared them to “a perfect storm,” resulting from the combinative effect of rotating winds, temperature, and atmospheric pressure” (Chandler, 2009)

The range of effects generated by the nondiplomatic communication is large and includes: initiating tensions or increasing the existing tensions between communities, calling for the consultations of ambassadors of international law entities, imposing sanctions, breaking diplomatic relations and even armed confrontations.

Nicolae Iorga wrote that the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 would have been initiated by the request of Napoleon III of France, transmitted through his Prime Minister Emile Olivier, to the Kaiser of Germany to renounce, in writing, the candidacy of prince Carol I of Romania's brother, Leopold, to the throne of Spain. Attending that meeting, German Chancellor Bismark allegedly reacted by saying that this request represents a “humiliation that no nation can suffer.” (Iorga, 1991). Iorga's account is also confirmed by Kelsey Atherton (Atherton, 2022: “the 1870 telegram edited by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, used to spark the Franco-Prussian War.”)

Some authors believe that the First World War was initiated by an undiplomatic communication between Austria-Hungary and Serbia following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo. Following this murder, Vienna has asked Belgrade to accept a set of requests, including that Austrian representatives participate in the investigation of the crime. Serbia's refusal to comply with Austria-Hungary's request was followed by the penetration of Austrian troops into Serbia and, subsequently, by a chain of other armed confrontations between the allies of the two sides, namely the First World War (Milza & Bernstein, 1998).

Several authors including Collin Gray, Pierre Milza and Serge Bernstein believe that the Second World War was triggered because of the undiplomatic attitude of the representatives of the victorious powers not to invite Germany to the work of the Peace Conference and to impose excessive reparative conditions on it, considered

by the Berlin leadership and the population as “diktat” (Milza and Bernstein, 2005; Gray, 2010).

The invasion of Kuwait in 1990 by Iraq and, subsequently, the first Gulf War (1991) would have had as a trigger the Emir of Kuwait's affront to Saddam Husein not to grant him a 10 billion USD grant, to wipe out, along with the other rich Gulf states, \$30 billion of Iraq's debt, and not to attend the planned meeting in Riyadh, in 1990. (Salinger & Laurent, 1991). After the invasion of Kuwait, on the night of August 1 to 2, 1990, Iraq was subjected to international sanctions dictated by the UN Security Council (SIPRI, 2012b). To prevent the war from starting, several international political figures, including the UN secretary-general, went to Baghdad to persuade Saddam to withdraw troops from Kuwait (Halliday, 1994: “Dozens of mediators - Arab and non-Arab, ending up with the Secretary General of the UN - went to see Saddam”). His constant refusal to comply with the request led the UN to decide on the armed intervention on Iraq, executed by a US-led Multinational Coalition (O'Connell, 1991: “In response to Iraq, the weakness in enforcement has been overcome, and the U.N. has acted dramatically. It has adopted sweeping, comprehensive enforcement measures - culminating in Desert Storm”).

In 2007, Israel instituted the blockade of the Gaza Strip to ban terrorist attacks by Hamas on Israeli territory. Turkey decided to send a convoy of ships with humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip. On May 31, 2010, the convoy's Mavi Marmara ship was attacked by an Israeli commando who killed 9 Turkish citizens. The event prompted Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to demand Israel apologise and pay compensation to the families of those killed. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu refused to comply with Turkey's request, saying the Israeli commando's actions were self-defense (Keddie, 2016). Israel's refusal prompted the leadership in Ankara to expel the ambassador of the Jewish state, to cut off military cooperation with Israel and to call on the International Court in The Hague to resolve the dispute (Aliriza et al., 2010; Eisenstadt et al., 2010; Migdalovitz, 2010; Özel Volfová, 2014).

The dialogue between Palestinian and Israeli leaders, often conducted through the media, is sprinkled with inappropriate expressions (Steel, 2014: "Israel is the cancer, the malignant wound, in the body of Arabism, for which there is no cure but eradication,") that contribute to maintaining and amplifying the state of tension that reaches, from time to time at critical dimensions and explode in the direct armed confrontations of different scales. (Smootha, 2010: "In the eyes of the Jewish majority and the Jewish state, [Palestinians a.n.] are potentially hostile because they are part of the Arab world and the Palestinian people who remain inimical to Israel ... [that's why a.n.] Israel practices discriminatory policies toward the Arab minority." Heller, 2016: "about half of the Jewish want to expel the Arabs from Israel").

Sometimes the undiplomatic behaviour of community leaders is sanctioned by some of their countrymen who believe that undiplomatic language does not help solve existing problems because diplomacy requires tact, time and patience to produce the expected effects. It is the case of former Iraqi President Ahmadinejad (Esfandiari, 2010), former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Boris Johnson (Daily Nation, 2018) and the Turkish government that decided to expel the Israeli ambassador in 2010 for the incident in the Mediterranean Sea with the ship Mavi Marmara. (Eisenstat et al., 2010: "the ultraconservative Fethullah Gulen Movement was able to break away from the ruling party's rhetoric in the aftermath of the flotilla incident, arguing that the vessels should not have been sent from Turkish ports without first obtaining Israel's permission") and former US President Donald Trump (Attiah, 2017: "Trump's behaviour at NATO is a national embarrassment").

5. CONCLUSIONS

Diplomatic communication requires tact, calmness, patience, respect for the dialogue partner and responsibility for the community represented. Also, self-control and mastery of the emotions of leaders and diplomats during international negotiations play a special role in successfully achieving the assumed objectives.

Despite these guiding ideas for leaders and diplomats, in recent years we have witnessed a trend of using inadequate (undiplomatic) diplomatic communication by more and more state leaders and diplomats. Trivial expressions and those that express negative emotions such as anger, dissatisfaction, frustration, etc. are increasingly present in dialogues between state leaders and even some diplomats.

The tendency of using inappropriate diplomatic communication tends to become normal (Funnel, 2018), being favoured by the moral and professional strongness of the leaders and diplomats who use it because they forget, disregard or do not know the norms of etiquette and communication stated in international regulations and because more and more people are appointed politically and not on the basis of their moral and professional competence.

References

- AKWEI, I. (2017) *Throwback to former Libyan leader Gaddafi's historic speech at the UN*. Available from: <https://www.africanews.com/2017/09/19/throwback-to-former-libyan-leader-gaddafi-s-historic-speech-at-the-un-video/> [February 16, 2023].
- ALIRIZA, B., FLANAGAN, S. & MALKA, H. (2010) *The Gaza Flotilla Raid and its Aftermath*, Center for Strategic and International Studies. Available from: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/gaza-flotilla-raid-and-its-aftermath> [February 10, 2023].
- ARSHAD, M. & MICHELLE, N. (2017) *Despite undiplomatic discourse, Trump's dance card is full*. Available from: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-un-assembly-trump-world-idUSKCN1BX2R6> [February 14, 2023].
- ATHERTON, K. (2022) *Insult to injury: Part I*. Available from: <https://theworld.org/stories/2022-11-30/insult-injury-part-i> [February 14, 2023].
- ATTIAH, K. (2017) *Trump's behavior at NATO is a national embarrassment*. Available from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/05/25/trumps-behavior-at-nato-is-a-national-embarrassment/?utm_term=.f6515c46a662 [July 29, 2018].
- AVI, S. (1996) *The Middle East: The Origins of Arab-Israeli Wars*. In: Ngairé Woods, ed., *Explaining International Relations since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 219-40.
- BAREIS, L. (2018) *Interstate resource conflicts: international networks and the real politik of natural resource acquisition*. PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science. Available from: <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3783/>, [February 02, 2023].

- BBC NEWS STAFF (2008) *Gaddafi: Africa's 'king of kings'*, BBC News. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7588033.stm> [February 16, 2023].
- BEAUMONT, P. (2011) *Muammar Gaddafi, the 'king of kings' dies in his hometown*, The Guardian. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/20/muammar-gaddafi-dies-city-birth> [October 09, 2016].
- BERRIDGE, G.R., KEENS-SOPER, M. & OTTE, T.G. (2001) *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- BJOLA, C. (2013) The Ethics of Secret Diplomacy: A Contextual Approach, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 10(1), pp. 85-100.
- BOWEN, J. (2017) *1967 war: Six days that changed the Middle East*, BBC News. Available from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39960461> [February 06, 2023].
- BRASSET, J., BROWNING, C. & O'DWYER, M. (2020) EU've Got to Be Kidding: Anxiety, Humour and Ontological Security, *Global Society*, 35(1), pp. 8-26.
- BREMMER, I. (2019) *Trump leaves NATO summit early after video shows leaders laughing at him*, The Week. Available from: <https://www.theweek.in/news/world/2019/12/04/trump-to-leave-nato-summit-early-after-video-shows-leaders-laughing-at-him.html> [February 15, 2023].
- CARPENTER, T.G. (2022) *Biden's Latest Verbal Gaffe Is Truly Dangerous*, Cato Institute. Available from: <https://www.cato.org/commentary/bidens-latest-verbal-gaffe-truly-dangerous#> [February 15, 2023].
- CATHEY, L. & NAGLE, M. (2022) *Biden calls Russia's Putin a 'war criminal' over invasion of Ukraine*, abcNews. Available from: <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/biden-calls-russias-putin-war-criminal-invasion-ukraine/story?id=83486935> [February 09, 2023].
- CHANDLER, D.J. (2009) The Perfect Storm of Leaders' Unethical Behavior: A Conceptual Framework. *International Journal of Leadership Studies*, 5(1), pp.102-126.
- COHEN, A. & MILLER, M. (1990) *Nuclear Shadows in the Middle East: Prospects for Arms Control in the Wake of the Gulf Crisis*, Defense and Arms Control Studies Program, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Available from: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/19763/Nuclear_Shadows_MidEast.pdf [February 16, 2023].
- CORRELL, J.T. (2012) *Air Strike at Osirak*, Air Force Magazine. Available from: <http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2012/April%202012/0412osirak.aspx> [February 05, 2023].
- CULL, N. (2009) *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Figueroa Press, Los Angeles, California. Available from: <http://kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/kitaplar/PDPerspectivesLessons.pdf> [February 03, 2023].
- DAILY NATION (2018) *Boris Johnson: Britain's undiplomatic foreign secretary*, Daily Nation. Available from: <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/world/Boris-Johnson-Britain-undiplomatic-foreign-secretary/1068-4655072-30rkipz/index.html> [July 30, 2018].
- DE LAUNAY, J. (1985) *The last days of fascism in Europe* [in Romanian]. București:Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House.
- EBERLE, H. & UHL, M. (2005) *Hitler File* [in Romanian]. București: Meditații Press.
- EISENSTADT, M., CAGAPTAY, S., MAKOVSKY, D. & SATLOFF, R. (2010) *The Gaza Flotilla Incident: Implications for Middle East Politics and U.S. Policy*, The Washington Institute. Available from: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/gaza-flotilla-incident-implications-middle-east-politics-and-us-policy> [February 10, 2023].
- ERDRINK, T. (2015) *U.S. Remains the 'Great Satan,' Hard-Liners in Iran Say*, The New York Times. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/02/world/middleeast/us-remains-the-great-satan-hard-liners-in-iran-say.html> [February 8, 2023].
- ESFANDIARI, G. (2010) *The Language of Ahmadinejad: 'The Boogeyman Snatched The Boob'*, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty. Available from: https://www.rferl.org/a/The_Language_Of_Ahmadinejad_The_Boogeyman_Snatched_The_Boob/2125263.html [July 28, 2018].
- FRUM, D. (2022) *The Enduring Lessons of the 'Axis of Evil' Speech*, The Atlantic. Available from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/01/axis-of-evil-speech-frum-bush/621397/> [February 8, 2023].
- FUNNELL, A. (2018) *How changing rules of engagement sparked a diplomatic crisis for diplomats*, ABC News. Available from: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-07-26/the-future-of-diplomacy-trump-china-social-media/10029658> [January 23, 2023].
- GONCHARENKO, O. (2021) *Rising EU-Russia tensions are good news for Ukraine*, The Atlantic Council blog. Available from: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/rising-eu-russia-tensions-are-good-news-for-ukraine/> [February 12, 2023].
- GOTEV, G. (2018) *On eve of Russia summit, Trump calls EU 'a foe'*, EURACTIV.com with Reuters. Available from: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/on-eve-of-russia-summit-trump-calls-eu-a-foe/> [February 15, 2023].
- GRANT, R.W. & KEOHANE, R.O. (2005) Accountability and abuse of power in World Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 99(1), pp. 29-43.
- GRAY, C.S. (2006) *War, peace and international relations* [in Romanian]. Iași: Polirom.
- HALLIDAY, F. (1994) The Gulf War 1990-1991 and the study of international relations, *Review of international studies*, 20(2), pp. 109-130.
- HELLER, J. (2016) *About half of Israeli Jews want to expel Arabs*, survey finds, Reuters. Available from: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-survey-idUSKCN0WA1HI> [January 22, 2023].

- HERMANN, M.G. (1980) Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders. *International Studies Quarterly*, 24(1), pp. 7-46.
- HOLLIGAN, C. (2022) *The "attainment gap" in Scottish education policy a critique of policy values, "Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct"* Max Webber, Paper presented at UWS Research Festival, University of the West Scotland, United Kingdom. Available from: https://myresearchspace.uws.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/30876428/2022_05_26_Holligan_Attainment_accepted.pdf [January 21, 2023].
- IORGA, N. (1991) *The foreign policy of King Charles I* [in Romanian]. București: Glikon.
- JERVIS, R. (2017) *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- JAPAN TIMES (2017) *Despite undiplomatic discourse, Trump met more leaders at U.N. General Assembly than Obama*. Available from: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/09/23/world/politics-diplomacy-world/despite-undiplomatic-discourse-trump-met-leaders-u-n-general-assembly-obama/#.W2GFdIRXZ4> [July 28, 2018].
- JOHNSON OLAOSEBIKAN, A. (2010) Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution, *African Research Review*, 4 (4), pp.549-560.
- KARTHA, T. (2018) *Donald Trump-Kim Jong-un summit: US president drops diplomatic language and goes for kill; India has much to learn*, First Post. Available from: <https://www.firstpost.com/world/donald-trump-kim-jong-un-summit-us-president-drops-diplomatic-language-and-goes-for-kill-india-has-much-to-learn-4509335.html> [August 18, 2018].
- KATZ, Y. (2012) *Security and Defense: Preparing for war by surprise*, The Jerusalem Post. Available from: <http://www.jpost.com/Features/Frontlines/Article.aspx?id=279094> [August 12, 2012].
- KEDDIE, P. (2016) *Remembering the Mavi Marmara victims*, Aljazeera. Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/7/21/remembering-the-mavi-marmara-victims> [February 10, 2023].
- KEINON, H. & PARASZCZUK, J. (2012) *Khamenei: Zionist regime will disappear from the map*, The Jerusalem Post. Available from: <http://www.jpost.com/iranianthreat/news/article.aspx?id=281366> [August 24, 2012].
- KORBEL, J. (1962) *The Decline of Diplomacy*. Available from: https://carnegiecouncil-media.storage.googleapis.com/files/v05_i004_a003.pdf [February 4, 2023].
- L.A. TIMES ARCHIVES (1990) *Iraq Chemical War Threat: Hussein Says He'll Wipe Out Half of Israel if Attacked: Denies He Is Building A-Bomb*, Los Angeles Time. Available from: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-04-02-mn-584-story.html> [February 16, 2023].
- MIGDALOVITZ, C. (2010) *Israel's Blockade of Gaza, the Mavi Marmara Incident, and Its Aftermath*, Congressional Research Service, Report for US Congress. Available from: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4cb547b51f1.pdf> [February 10, 2023].
- MILZA, P. & BERNSTEIN, S. (1998) 20th century history, vol. 1 [in Romanian]. București: BIC All.
- MULINDWA, P. (2020) The Interstate Border Conflicts and their Effects on Region-Building and Integration of the East African Community, *African Journal of Governance and Development*, 9(2), pp. 599-618.
- MOGHADDAM, F. & HARRE, R., eds. (2010) *Words of Conflict, Words of War*, Praeger, Santa Barbara, California. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/21414770/Words_of_Conflict_Words_of_War [February 5, 2023].
- NEHRING, H. (2017) *Handshakes or punches? What goes on behind closed diplomatic doors*, The Conversation. Available from: <http://theconversation.com/handshakes-or-punches-what-goes-on-behind-closed-diplomatic-doors-72017> [February 2, 2023].
- O'CONNELL, M.E. (1991) *Enforcing the Prohibition on the Use of Force: The U.N.'s Response to Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait*. Available from: <https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/2085> [February 2, 2023].
- ÖZEL VOLFOVÁ, G. (2014) *Changes in Turkish-Israeli Relations: Implications for the Regional Security Environment*. Available from: https://www.cejiss.org/images/issue_articles/2014-volume-8-issue-1/article-05.pdf [February 10, 2023].
- REUTERS STAFF, (2018) *Trump told me 'You're a brutal killer', EU's Juncker says*, Reuters. Available from: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-juncker-idUSKBN1JA2KC> [February 14, 2023].
- SALINGER, P. & LAURENT, E. (1991) *War in the Gulf. The secret file* [in Romanian]. București: Tinerama.
- SHARNOFF, M. (2012) *Defining the Enemy as Israel, Zionist, Neo-Nazi, or Jewish: the Propaganda war in Nasser's Egypt, 1952-1967*. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/352694489_Defining_the_Energy_as_Israel_Zionist_Neo-Nazi_or_Jewish_The_Propaganda_War_under_Nasser%27s_Egypt_1952-1967 [February 7, 2023].
- SCHIFFERES, S. (2003) *US Names 'Coalition of the Willing'*, BBC News Online, Washington. Available from: https://www.google.ro/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=LftKVdTtO8OvygPZgYGwCA [May 03, 2015].
- SHARP, P. (1998) *Who needs diplomats? The problem of diplomatic representation*, Diplo. Available from: <https://www.diplomacy.edu/resource/who-needs-diplomats-the-problem-of-diplomatic-representation/> [January 12, 2023].
- SHEAR, M.D. & PORTER, C. (2018) *Trump Refuses to Sign G-7 Statement and Calls Trudeau 'Weak'*, The New York Times. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/09/world/americas/donald-trump-g7-nafta.html> [February 3, 2023].
- SIMUNJAK, M. & CALIANDRO A. (2019) *Twiplomacy in the age of Donald Trump: Is the diplomatic code changing?* The Information Society. Available from: <https://www>.

- researchgate.net/publication/330291575_Twiplomacy_in_the_age_of_Donald_Trump_Is_the_diplomatic_code_changing [February 5, 2023].
- SMOOHA, S. (2010) *Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: alienation and rapprochement*, United States Institute for Peace. Available from: https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/PW67_Arab-Jewish_Relations_in_Israel.pdf [January 22, 2023].
- SOLJENIȚIN, A. (1997) *The Gulag Archipelago, vol. 1 and 2* [in Romanian]. București:Univers.
- STEELE, K. (2014) Palestinian-Arab Media Frames and Stereotypes of the "Other" Israel-Jews. *Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research In Communications*, 5(1), p. 45.
- SIPRI (2012a) *UN Arms Embargo on Iran*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Available from: http://www.sipri.org/databases/embargoes/un_arms_embargoes/iran [May 03, 2015].
- SIPRI (2012b) *UN Arms Embargo on Iraq*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Available from: http://www.sipri.org/databases/embargoes/un_arms_embargoes/iraq [May 03, 2015].
- TAUBMAN, W. (2003) *Did he bang it? Nikita Khrushchev and the shoe*, The New York Times. Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/26/opinion/26iht-edtaubman_ed3_.html [September 13, 2016].
- THE STRAIT TIMES (2022) *Biden's uncalled-for remarks on Pakistan: Dawn*. Available from: <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/south-asia/biden-s-uncalled-for-remarks-on-pakistan-dawn> [February 15, 2023].
- THE TELEGRAPH (2015) *UN General Assembly 70th anniversary: six historic moments: From Khrushchev's shoe to Netanyahu's cartoon bomb, the UN General Assembly has generated memorable moments over the years*. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/11895531/UN-general-assembly-six-historic-moments.html> [September 13, 2016].
- VAN RYTHOVEN, E. (2022) Backstage Mockery: Impoliteness and Asymmetry on the World Stage, *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2, pp. 1-12.