

THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, ROMANIA CASE STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION INTO NATO

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Abstract:

The end of the Cold War and the predictable structure of international relations system, until then, on one hand, and changes caused by the disappearance of the two great powers, media diversification and appearance of the new non-state actors on the stage of international relations on the other hand, have led to new forms of diplomacy as an alternative to the traditional.

Contemporary international relations recorded, under the impact of globalization, a process of resizing, states and governments interact, as well as individuals and NGOs and as a result the state monopoly has been put aside. A wide range of non-state actors influence a country's image abroad and traditional diplomacy is going through changes, while the progress of information technology offers multiple communication mechanisms.

In the last part of this article I decided to analyze public diplomacy in the context of integration into NATO, primarily to highlight the importance of public diplomacy in the practical implementation of the theory and secondly because the post-revolutionary period, Romania posted two major successes: NATO and EU integration, both of which are results of the efforts made in public diplomacy.

Key Words: Public diplomacy, integration, accession, NATO, public opinion, foreign policy, international relations

*"Diplomacy is a deliberate juggling of words and gestures, for influential persons to ensure the success of interested diplomat"*²⁰⁸ Valeria Mahok

Diplomacy has its origins in the distant past, in the regional conventions and derives from the ancient Greek word "diplo" translated "double". This action meant drafting diplomas or official documents in 2 copies of which one was the mandate letter sent, and the other one was kept in the archives. The person who was in possession of such a doublet was called diplomat and the activity done by him was called diplomacy²⁰⁹. Diplomacy was the best way civilization could invent in order to ensure that international relations would not to be governed by force because war, as a means of resolving international, disputes is not practical nor harmless.

The concept of diplomacy is equivalent to dialogue. Diplomacy as a method is the opposite of war and of the policy of force in general. Flexibility is the essence of diplomacy, or seeking mutually acceptable solutions. From the scientific perspective, diplomacy has as its object studying political and legal relations of the various states, and the interests that generate them. As art, diplomacy, aims international business administration which involves the ability to order and manage political negotiations²¹⁰.

During long periods of history it has been observed that the diplomatical dominance of certain schools have influenced the diplomatical practice through their methods. First it should be mentioned the Greek and Roman diplomatic school. Therefore, the qualities that ambassadors should have considering that their only weapons are words and favorable moments, had been noticed. Greek diplomacy has formulated a set of principles which refer to key aspects of relations between states.

²⁰⁸ <http://autori.citatepedia.ro/de.php?p=44&a=Valeria+Mahok>

²⁰⁹ <http://facultate.regielive.ro/licente/drept/rolul-misiunilor-diplomatice-in-activitatea-diplomatica-internationala-295772.html>

²¹⁰ CHRISTOPHER ROSS, translated by Ana Golgi, For an assertive public diplomacy and promoting the image of a country Polirom Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p.60.

Although the Romans gave no proof of mobility and also ingenuity as good as the Greeks, being just disciplined city functionaries, they still have developed a rich diplomatic activity, especially in the eastern part of the empire. The Byzantine diplomatic school is known for their refined knowledge and practical skills, so pronounced that then diplomacy largely influenced medieval Venice, Italian States, Russia and Turkey. A part of the nations have taken many elements from the medieval Byzantine diplomacy, such as the system of gifts, the principle of the messenger's immunity, methods of handling or negotiation etc. The Venetian diplomatic school is very well known for the order that Venetians introduced in the state archives, carefully keeping letters and reports from their diplomatic agents. French diplomatic school becomes predominant in the early seventeenth century. French diplomatic practice progressed during the reign of Louis XVI. When he received a foreign ambassador, the Foreign Minister prepared a note in which was indicated not only what topics should be approached, but also what topics should be avoided. The Ottoman diplomacy has been characterized by harshness and arrogance, but when the Turks began their great retreat they paid more attention to talks and negotiations. Chinese diplomacy had developed an elaborate ceremony that created difficulties to foreign diplomats through formulas used at the court of the Emperor and the Japanese used the same method of passive resistance using a complicated ceremonial, Japanese messages always delay negotiations²¹¹.

From early times diplomacy was used to defuse tensions, conflictual moods, to normalize relations between states. According to Kissinger Henry²¹² who defines diplomacy as "*an adjustment of differences through negotiation*"²¹³ this process is possible only in the framework of the international system where legitimacy is prevailed.

When you cease the use of diplomatic means to resolve disputes, the exposure of force will not delay to appear, destroying the most valuable asset of any nation.

"*Peace is a vivid phenomenon of movement, achieved gradually, a purpose, a direction and no way to rest and complacency*"²¹⁴ defined Nicolae Titulescu²¹⁵ peace through the diplomatic channel.

Diplomacy is a constant negotiation with the receiving State with a diversified development. It does not take place only at the negotiating table. A diplomat must know how to negotiate strongly. He knows that if interests do not converge, any effort is in vain, because states do not have disinterested links, they have also government policy interests.

The diplomat's role is to make legitimate rights known and to establish a joint project to promote state interests that they represent. Any society, any social organism, in order to evolve, it must obey certain rules, even just from the desire to avoid clutter. A form of hierarchy exists, as we know, in any organized society. In an advanced society, the order becomes an unavoidable necessity and imperious because the infinite complexity of human relationships demand rules necessary to carry out peaceful life together.

In business, if you master the art of negotiation, you have an extra chance to win more and keep a good relationship with your partner. If you negotiate well, you can steer, influence and manipulate your partner to make him cooperate. Negotiation is a talent, an native gift but also a skill acquired through experience, training and learning. Nowadays diplomacy has an open character, the discussions are direct and economic diplomacy is on the first place. This is especially because of the import-export relations, trade, cooperation and economic confrontation²¹⁶.

With the creation of international institutions such as the League of Nations, there is a new diplomacy that is named international organization's diplomacy. Countries pay great attention to economic diplomacy, because today the battle is for economical power.²¹⁷

²¹¹ Melescanu Teodor Romanian diplomacy Renaissance 1994-1996, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, pp.23-31

²¹² Henry Alfred Kissinger (born on May 27, 1923) is a German-born American writer, political scientist, diplomat, and businessman. A recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, he served as National Security Advisor and later concurrently as Secretary of State in the Administrations of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. After his term, his opinion was still sought by U.S. presidents and subsequent some other world leaders.

²¹³ Henry Kissinger, Does America Need a Foreign Policy? The XXI century diplomacy, Ed Incitatus, Bucharest, 2006, p.79.

²¹⁴ Walter M. Bacon, Titulescu and foreign policy of Romania, European Institute Publishing, 1999, Bucharest, p.246

²¹⁵ Titulescu (born March 4, 1882, Craiova - died March 17, 1941, Cannes) was a Romanian diplomat and politician, several times minister of foreign affairs, former president of the League of Nations. In the years 1928 - 1936, Titulescu was several times Minister for Foreign Affairs

²¹⁶ I Ghe BARBULESCU European Union: enlargement policy, Triton Publishing, Bucharest, 2006, p.162

²¹⁷ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multilateralism>

Contemporary international relations recorded under the impact of globalization are passing through a process of resizing, which has the consequence of removing the state monopoly on foreign policy²¹⁸. A wide range of non-state actors influence a country's image abroad, and information technologies gives them multiple communication mechanisms. In this situation, diplomatic activities are accompanied by a process of communication, both internal and on external markets. More and more countries launch information campaigns designed to contribute to the foreign policy priorities, but also to obtain their support for these companies. In the context of participatory democracy, public adherence to government policy is indispensable for the survival of a government²¹⁹. External strategies are also part of these campaigns because they target the changes or strengthening of the international public perception towards a particular country.

"In international relations, the term" public diplomacy "has emerged to describe aspects of international relations that are manifested outside of interaction between state structures. The term "public diplomacy" was introduced into scientific circulation in 1965, when Edmund Gullion, a career diplomat and the dean of School of Law and Diplomacy, at Tufts University, created the Center for Public Diplomacy Edward R. Murrow. The center described this term as "*the influence of public attitude formation and execution of foreign policies*"²²⁰. This includes dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy, training by governments of public opinion in other countries; interaction between private interest groups in different countries public information on international affairs and their influence on domestic policy, communication between those whose function is communication, as diplomats and foreign journalists, the process of intercultural communication. Soon the term became useful for U.S. government offering necessary theoretical external business American Intelligence Agency (U.S. Information Agency)²²¹.

U.S. State Department defines public diplomacy as the U.S. government funded programs designed to inform or influence public opinion abroad²²², while Hans Tuch²²³ defines public diplomacy as a government communication process with the public foreign countries in an attempt to explain his ideas and ideals that nation, its institutions and its culture as well as national interests and policies²²⁴.

The former diplomat John Brown describes U.S. public diplomacy as a process which involves three roles: information dissemination, education and cultural exchanges²²⁵. Philip Taylor uses the term "management of perception" to describe the informational role of public diplomacy, drawing a distinction in this regard between public affairs, public interest, psychological operations, media management and public diplomacy. Researchers in the field of cultural diplomacy as Kevin Mulcahy and Harvie Feigenbaum emphasizes the difference between public and cultural diplomacy in that the first is oriented towards short-term information dissemination and promotion policies and the cultural to establish long-term relationships²²⁶. Public diplomacy as traditionally perceived, includes government support programs in the cultural field, educational, and informational exchanges of people, programs aimed at informing and influencing foreign audiences. Its mission is worldwide and essential in foreign policy being indispensable national interests, ideals and leadership in the world. U.S. Congressman Henry Hyde considers that "*the role established for our public diplomacy is to recruit people of the world in a common cause and to convince them that the objectives tend to*

²¹⁸ Erik Jones, Debating the translating relationship, Rhetoric and Reality, in International Affairs, 80, 2004, p 236

²¹⁹ <http://www.akademos.asm.md/files/Diplomatia%20publica%20componenta%20indispensabila%20a%20discursului%20extern%20in%20conditiile%20globalizarii.pdf>

²²⁰ Idem 14

²²¹ Idem 11

²²² Durkeime Emile, Sociology. The rules of sociological method, Ed Header, California, 2002, page 47

²²³ Hans N. Tuch, a retired Career Minister in the U.S. Foreign Service, served in public diplomacy positions in Germany, the Soviet Union, and Brazil. He was Deputy Chief of Mission and charge in Bulgaria and Brazil. In Washington, he served as Deputy and Area Director for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in USIA, and as Deputy and Acting Director of the Voice of America. After his retirement in 1985, he taught public diplomacy and intercultural communications at Georgetown University and the University of Missouri-Kansas City. He is the author of Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas.

²²⁴ http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2005/20051000_cdsp_paper_diplomacy_5_gonesh_melissen.pdf

²²⁵ Idem 12

²²⁶ Idem 12

themselves - freedom, security and prosperity - are the same ones that Member United tend to promote abroad"²²⁷.

British Council's Strategic Public Diplomacy defines this notion as "*activity that aims to positively influence, including by establishing relationships and partnerships perceptions of individuals and organizations abroad on UK*"²²⁸.

John Nye designates a new concept in diplomacy, soft power, which, according to his definition, is the ability to achieve the expected goal based on voluntary participation by allies, not by constraint. Soft power consists in culture also political ideals of the country. *When you fail to make others admire your ideals also to want what you want. Seduction is always more effective than coercion, and many values like democracy, human rights and individual opportunities are deeply attractive*²²⁹. Soft power of a country is created by the multiple actors and organizations impacting on foreign public - artists, art galleries also broadcasters, NGOs, political parties, writers, musicians and creative associations, journalists and media groups, researchers and teachers, entrepreneurs and religious leaders.

Public diplomacy plays an important role because the spread of democratic political regimes is characterized by the continuous pressure on politics society by transforming the legitimacy of government policies in a key internal stability. In order for democracy to work, it is important that the public be positive, that international organizations must be well-seen by as many citizens from different countries. Globalization offers states the opportunity to have access to foreign investment, in labor from other countries, they can do business in other places, being able to benefit from the economic rules of the state in which you wish to work. Besides this possibility that mainly refers to companies, technology so advanced, the Internet, makes information reach very quickly any part of the world, which creates a transnational public opinion. In this new conjuncture there is no clear delimitation between internal and external policy issues, since, for example, the political crisis in a State may destabilize the international situation.

In this sense, public diplomacy has become an indispensable component of foreign policy of states, but also a topic on the agenda of international organizations. In the London Times newspaper in January 1856, the term "public diplomacy" was used to refer to the need to change U.S. President Franklin Pierce discourse from Britain. During World War I, with reference to the term public diplomacy was used also the term *open diplomacy*²³⁰.

Contrast to diplomacy (official), which could be described as how states communicate with each other, at different levels, public diplomacy focuses on how governments communicate with citizens of other states. It has a transparent character and involves a large number of actors gathered around a common set one interest, unlike diplomacy, which is promoted by institutions. Although, as we know, communicating with the company state that is accredited, has always been the prerogative of the diplomat²³¹. A condition for carrying out an more effective and efficient diplomacy is attractive ideas and the values promoted by a State within its own society. At present, most of the ideas on a country by foreign public assimilated into the areas which are not under the strict supervision of state institutions, books, TV programs, internet, movies, etc. produced by national connotation. In this case, governments can only find ways to positive messages to reach target groups, government programs although experience with shows this many failures and we give as an example the situation of Gypsies in various European countries.

Initially, the term "public diplomacy" was used as an antonym of propaganda²³². While propaganda is usually seen as something malefic, "public diplomacy" is based on the principle of "truth", formulated by the former director of the U.S. Agency for News, Edward Murrow, as follows: "*Truth is the most good propaganda and lies - the greatest evil. To be credible, we must be honest.*"²³³

²²⁷ Reinhart Kosselck concepts and their histories, semantic and pragmatic socio-political language, translated from the German by Gabriel H. sores, ART Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p 89

²²⁸ Joseph S. Nye. Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics by (Paperback - April 26, 2005) p 72

²²⁹ Idem21

²³⁰ Woodrow Wilson, *Europe and Euro-Atlantic Integration*, ed. Oxford Portland, 2003, pp.110-112

²³¹ Mark Leonard. Public Diplomacy, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing (Paperback - Jun 17, 2002) p 53

²³² Jarol B. Manheim. Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence (Paperback - Sep 1, 1994) p. 93.

²³³ Idem 23

Thus, depending on the situation public diplomacy can be perceived as a means of propaganda or propaganda can become a means of public diplomacy. The former U.S. ambassador to Syria and Algeria, senior adviser at the State Department Public Diplomacy, Christopher Ross, has identified seven "pillars" or principles of public diplomacy²³⁴:

1. Ensuring the understanding of foreign policy audience as it is in reality, not as others say or think.
2. Need for policy explaining, demonstrating and justifying the rationality of its fundamental values.
3. Submission of appeals consistent, accurate and convincing the international community.
4. The ability to adjust the target audience calls whose constituents are studied continuously.
5. Carrying out the activities not only target narrow segments, and by means written and electronic media oriented masses.
6. Cooperation with various partners to include new representatives from the target audience.
7. Active international communication and exchange programs.

The history of the concept of scientific diplomacy has its beginning in 1941, when Charles Galton Darwin (grandson of Charles Darwin) was appointed by the British Government Central Scientific Director of the Washington Office, in order to collaborate with scientific institutions in the U.S. and facilitate the exchange scientific information²³⁵. However, the Second World War and the use of the atomic bomb led to a greater involvement of scientists in international business management. On 9 July 1955, Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein published a manifesto which advocated that scientists use all means to neutralize the threat of political persuasion produced by nuclear weapons. As a result, in 1957 there was the first Pugwash Conference on Science and Issues in the World²³⁶. Today the board at Pugwash are considered to be an important platform for discussion on non-proliferation, international security, arms reduction, obtaining, in 1995, in recognition, the Nobel Peace Prize²³⁷. Other organizations that have influenced the development of scientific diplomacy, we can mention the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which established in 1957 a program for scientific cooperation.

The EU accession has led candidate countries to rethink external image while efforts are needed to convince their societies need to adopt European standards and fairness course taken. During 2000-2004, the countries of Central and Eastern public diplomacy mechanisms applied in parallel with negotiating treaties of accession to the EU, including Romania.

Using scientific cooperation to improve bilateral relations between countries may take the following forms:²³⁸

1. Scientific and technical cooperation agreements, which often signified improving political relations between countries like USA, USSR and China in the years 70-80.
2. Creating new institutions - eloquent example in this respect is the European Organization for Nuclear Research, which was created after the end of World War II to rebuild trust between countries.
3. Educational grants are considered to be a mechanism for networking verified and encouraging partnerships.
4. Diplomacy "second level" poatefi used to involve experts from outside the official process of negotiations. For this process to be effective, experts involved must be credible and influential, and their findings compelling the parties to negotiations or mediation.
5. Science festivals and exhibitions are considered successful forms of emphasis on the universality of science and common cultural interests.

²³⁴ Christopher Ross, Pillars of Public Diplomacy: grappling with international public opinion, (Perspectives), Harvard International Review, 2003, www.harvardir.org/articles/1117'1

²³⁵ Charles Wolf Jr., Brian Rosen, Public Diplomacy. How to Think About and Improve it, translation Adrian I. Marinescu, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009.

²³⁶ Dizard Jr, Wilson. Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age, Prager, NY April 2010 p.5

²³⁷ Idem26

²³⁸ World Science Forum 2013. Materials of the Session on Science Diplomacy, http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/youngleadersforums/index.php?en_cde_about-forum

From the examples outlined above lies the fact that, in the modern period, scientific diplomacy contribute to the foreign policy priorities, sometimes creating the necessary conditions to relaunch bilateral relations between states.

Case study / analysis of Romania's integration into NATO

Why NATO integration? In post-revolutionary period, the major objective pursued constantly and consistently by all governments of Romania and the consensus of all political parties and has received overwhelming support of the population, was the objective of joining the NATO and security integration in the north-Atlantic. This goal meant more than a goal Romanian diplomacy agenda. It represented a clear option of returning the country to the family of European democratic values and Euro-Atlantic and change Romania's image abroad. It meant security, meant even the option for economic prosperity and the accession was the most successful post-revolutionary political Romania, together with moment integration into the European Union.

In diplomacy, communication arts, oratory, determines a functioning relationship that develops between layers shall be maintained. Both internationally and regionally, dialogue contributes to peace, political stability, which leads to economic development. To support security policy cooperation led to the prestige enjoyed by the EU today, which major influence European public opinion and the international.

Despite the fact that in 1989-1990, Romania has faced serious problems of national strategy, civil disorder and restore peace after a long difficult period of communist oppression in marie 1990, Romania was the first country coming from the communist bloc which with a strong diplomacy, established official relations with the European Community. In Romania the communist period was the secret diplomacy. It was cultivated as a science and exercised by a small group of people, who were carefully selected, both professional principles and of belonging to the noble family tree²³⁹.

With Melescanu's foreign minister at the time and the government, in 1993, Romania has concluded a European act that allowed our country to become a part of the EU associated countries, and on the other hand to start accession negotiations with the other 11 states.

Romania's accession to NATO was a goal that has enjoyed a broad consensus on the part of all political forces and public opinion. Of the seven invited to join NATO at the Prague Summit, the goal accession enjoyed popular support in Romania highest. In this context, Romania pays special attention to public diplomacy activities in order to maintain and enhance interest and public support for NATO. Better information and knowledge in the public activities, profile and allied structures, a constant process of evolution and adaptation of the Alliance to new security threats and profiling and Romania's role in NATO and its contribution to the achievement of the alliance of goals is essential in this regard. The range of public diplomacy activities include a variety of instruments, from the organization of study visits and information at the Alliance for participants from Romania, seminars, conferences, roundtables, exhibitions on themes that responds Romanian public interest to NATO activities and bring it closer alliance. In organizing these events, Permanent Delegation closely cooperates with NATO Public Diplomacy Division, civil society representatives, academics and university in the country government institutions²⁴⁰.

In the public diplomacy events in Romania, about NATO, a special place has "NATO's Day". This special day is a milestone event for the Romanian society from the perspective of Romania's NATO ally status and meaning associated with this time. Since 2005, "NATO's Day" in Romania is marked annually on the first Sunday of April, based on legislative decisions. When selecting the date, it was taken into account the proximity of the official date of Romania's accession to NATO (March 29, 2004) and the date when the Romanian flag was officially stramed at NATO headquarters in Brussels (April 2, 2004)²⁴¹. "NATO's Day" is a public holiday dedicated to the spirit of democracy and European and Euro-Atlantic area.

Besides the interest in informing the internal public opinion, Romania pays attention and supports the public diplomacy activities of NATO partner countries.

²³⁹ Mircea Malita, *diplomacy, schools and institutions*, the revised second edition, Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975.

²⁴⁰ Jozef Batora, *Public diplomacy in small and medium-sized countries: Norway and Canada*. Oxford 2008, p 112

²⁴¹ www.europa.eu

The first NATO product of conceptual evolution of post-Cold War was the Strategic Concept presented at the NATO Summit in Rome in 1991. Moreover, the document that presents the "operational" NATO's founding treaty provisions in the security environment of the '90s, is the first exercise of public diplomacy in the Alliance.

In my opinion, public diplomacy has a multiple role on the international scene such as to facilitate international and interstate cooperation, to streamline decision-making mechanisms, to coordinate the states' position and last, but not least to expand economical, political, military capacity of some countries in order to outline some interests.

Mutual respect is a key element in diplomatic activity and leads to negotiation, collaboration and trust, absolutely necessary attributes between international organizations and the cause of peace and security in the world.

Development of cultural relations and diversification of cooperation have led to specific means of making diplomacy. In addition, MFA cultural agreements, organizations and domestic institutions plus international organizations with a governmental and non-governmental character, which is concerned with universal heritage and sign agreements that facilitate cultural exchanges such as UNESCO. In Article 1 of the Charter of UNESCO, says that in order to achieve this, "*the organization promotes mutual knowledge and understanding between nations, prints a vigorous impulse popular education and dissemination of culture, helps to maintain and dissemination of knowledge.*"²⁴²

Although the idea of stability promotes cooperation and communication, the ultimate goal being the balance of power, in my opinion, this goal remains often promoted by those who are at the top. Thus reinforces my idea that the firmness of United States in defending internal affairs, the inadmissibility of intervention in the economic or military affairs with whom the U.S. worked with, its diplomacy's pragmatism and reluctance which has made certain alliances.

Collective security offers no guarantee to a nation, does not include the idea of threat to the opponent, but defends international law in an abstract way. The obligation to obey rules when a country is part of an alliance is ahead of the national interest. Collective security contributes to the dominance of a safe environment if they share similar ideas in a certain problem: "*...when there was a balance of power were the longest period of peace in history. When a nation becomes infinitely strong competitor in relation to its potential, then appeared the danger of war.*"²⁴³ Nixon, Time Magazine, January 3, 1972.

Although Charles de Gaulle stated that "*Diplomats are useful only in fair weather. How begins to rain gets drowned in every drop*"²⁴⁴, despite some high-level diplomacy failures, as were Wilson, FD Roosevelt or Truman, with other heads of state, though the importance of these meetings to create communication channels was evident in subsequent crises.

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²⁴² Angela Duțu, UNESCO Documentary, Politehnica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1973.

²⁴³ Henry Kissinger, Dplomația, All Publishing, Translation from English, Mircea Radu Ștefancu and Paraschivescu, Bucharest, 1998.

²⁴⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, The Art of Diplomacy, The American Experience, New York, 1968, page 16

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