

Silent Statecraft: The Revocation of Ambassadors as a Diplomatic Tool

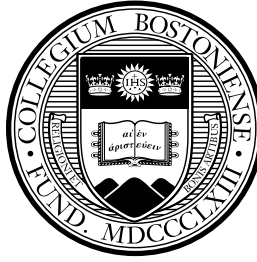
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SILENT STATECRAFT:
THE REVOCATION OF AMBASSADORS AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL

by
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Abstract

Out of diplomacy, sanctions, and war, diplomacy is the most cooperative strategy in the diplomatic toolbox. Thoughtful communication and negotiation are often idealized in resolving international disputes. Aside from outright negotiation, a large component of diplomacy is the realm of nonverbal signaling. One such nonverbal technique is diplomatic revocation, in which a sending state summons its ambassador home from a receiving state. Such an act has strategic value; in expressing strong condemnation and cutting off communication, it can be used to discourage politically reprehensible acts in the receiving state, or further delegitimize its leaders or government to the international community, especially when accompanied by other sanctions or a comprehensive political agenda. Other times, revocation is reactionary, as in the cases of recalling an ambassador for poor conduct or as a precautionary measure against dwindling security conditions in the host state. In consulting scholarly work on the nonverbal dynamics of diplomacy and using an original dataset of over 1,000 instances of diplomatic revocation, this thesis examines the efficacy of diplomatic sanctions through a three-tiered system and concludes that 53% of diplomatic revocations are not intended as politically persuasive tools.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: DIPLOMACY, NONVERBAL SIGNALING, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF AMBASSADORS.	14
CHAPTER 2: THE EFFECT OF DIPLOMATIC SANCTIONS	32
CHAPTER 3: METHODS- THE DIPLOMATIC DATASET	50
CHAPTER 4: REVOCATION AS A STRONG DIPLOMATIC TOOL	55
CHAPTER 5: REVOCATION AS A MODERATE DIPLOMATIC TOOL	67
CHAPTER 6: REVOCATION AS A PERIPHERAL DIPLOMATIC TOOL	77
CONCLUSION	93
APPENDIX: THE DIPLOMATIC DATASET (IN FULL)	104
Figure 1: Diplomatic Revocations, by Category	53
Figure 2: Revocation Category Counts and Percentages	53
Figure 3: Level 3 Sub-Categories.	54
Figure 4: Level 3 Subcategory Counts and Percentages.	54

Introduction

“The task of diplomats is the nonviolent advancement of the political, economic, cultural, and military interests of their state and people. They nurture relations with foreign states that will evoke cooperation or neutrality when war becomes necessary. Diplomats conduct the passage from protest to menace, from dialogue to negotiation, from ultimatum to reprisal, from war to settlement and reconciliation with other states. They build and tend the coalitions that deter or make war. Diplomats disrupt the alliances of enemies and sustain the passivity of potentially hostile powers. Their activity marks the phase of policy prior to war; it contrives war’s termination; it forms, strengthens, and sustains peace.”

-Chas Freeman, *Arts of Power*

Topic Overview

Within the diplomatic toolbox there are three strategic political tactics: diplomacy, sanctions, and war. Among these, diplomacy is the most cooperative, and often, thoughtful communication and negotiation are idealized in resolving international disputes. In just war theory, for example, force is acceptable only as a last resort. In approaching war (*ius ad bellum*), a state must first employ diplomacy, negotiation, and sanctions before initiating military action.

This thesis is concerned with the fracturing of diplomatic relations between two or more states. It investigates the extent to which the revocation of ambassadors from foreign states is and has been used as a diplomatic tool. Unlike the extensive protocol enumerated in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) for regulating diplomatic safety, the criteria for revoking an ambassador is quite short and makes no mention of political standards by which to justify such a retorsion. The policy on

retorsion is succinct and clear. The function of a diplomatic agent will come to an end in one of two circumstances: (1) The sending state notifies the receiving state that it is recalling its ambassador, or (2) The receiving state notifies the sending state that it rejects the credentials of said ambassador.

Neither the sending nor receiving state is required to provide a reason for the summons. This stems from the core tenet of the Vienna Convention as put forth in Article 2: “The establishment of diplomatic relations between States, and of permanent diplomatic missions, takes place by mutual consent.”¹ If either state no longer desires the foreign ambassador in its territory, the ambassador must leave; an ambassador’s presence is permitted by unanimous consent only. Thus sending state may use the revocation of an ambassador as a form of nonverbal diplomacy. Such signal sending can make a political statement about the opinion of the sending state regarding the policies of the host country.

An Overview

This thesis takes the form of a long paper supplemented by an extensive original dataset of instances of diplomatic revocation, with the purpose of examining the extent to which the revocation of ambassadors is used as a diplomatic tool. It focuses on the reasons for a state to recall its ambassador, and the conditions under which such a decision is made. It evaluates the prevalence of revocation as a form of signal sending—that is, for the sending state to send a message of political disapproval to the receiving

¹ Article 2, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, accessed April 23, 2016, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf

state by recalling its ambassador. This is contrasted with incidents in which ambassadors are revoked for security reasons, such as political tumult in the receiving state that threatened the safety of the ambassador, and personal reasons, namely, poor diplomatic behavior in the host state.

Ambassadors constitute an integral facet of diplomacy. If the revocation of ambassadors can be used to influence foreign countries, it can be used as a diplomatic tool. If it is merely a response to a security threat or personal gaffe, however, it is reactionary rather than proactive and cannot be employed as a bargaining strategy. Diplomats represent the sending state in the receiving state, protect the interests of the sending state and its nationals, negotiate with the government of the receiving state, and promote friendly relations between the two. Diplomatic missions are part of the diplomatic “tool box.” In persuading Country B to do what Country A wants, Country A has at its disposal the tactics of negotiation, sanctions, and war. Ambassadors are both practically and symbolically important to negotiations between the sending and receiving states.

The sanctity and utility of diplomatic missions is recognized across the world. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations is a treaty that has been in place since 1961 that defines a framework for mutual diplomatic relations between countries. It provides the bedrock for modern day diplomacy, and it is ratified by 190 states. The revocation of ambassadors as a diplomatic tool is therefore an important measure of the international political climate. Almost every state has agreed to cohesive international norms on the subject through the Vienna Convention, allowing the standards and

practices of diplomatic missions across the world to be compared.

Additionally, this thesis draws on existing literature on the topic of diplomatic norms and practices. Much has been written about international diplomacy, from diplomatic immunity, to best negotiating techniques, to embassies under siege. The establishment of diplomatic relations garners much attention, as was the case recently with the political brouhaha over President Obama and Raúl Castro's decision to reestablish diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba in 2015. However, not much is said about the revocation of ambassadors. Most coverage takes the form of brief newspaper articles. Longer that have been integral to studying the nonverbal nature of diplomacy include *Theatre of Power* by Raymond Cohen (1987), *Contemporary Diplomacy* by Geoffrey Pigman (2010), and *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World* by Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (2013). The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations is the legal standard by which to compare each incident.

Original Database and Three-Tiered Categorization

The findings of this thesis are derived from an extensive original index of diplomatic retorsions catalogued by year, sending state, and receiving state. Through this index, the thesis identifies three categories into which an incident may fall based on its political severity and motivation. The original dataset provides the foundation for my assertions about the extent to which the revocation of ambassadors is used as a diplomatic tool. This database is a product of research into instances of diplomatic revocation from all 195 countries.

This index is not merely a record of instances of diplomatic revocation in each country. Along with the sending and receiving state in question, this index also documents the reason for revocation, year in which it took place, media sources that cover the quarrel; and whether (and if so, after how long) diplomatic ties were reinstated. Most importantly, the index catalogues the overarching political narrative surrounding the dispute and, depending on the revocation's political significance and level of associated international actions, systematizes each into the three-tiered structure as described below (and in more thorough detail in Chapters 4-6). Many revocations are not solitary political actions. Often, they are a result of multiple states recalling their ambassador in shared protest over the actions of the receiving state, or they are accompanied by other diplomatic actions, like sanctions or political turmoil.

Tier 1: Diplomatic Revocation as a Powerful Diplomatic Tool

1. **Nonverbal Diplomacy:** The sending state revokes its ambassador from the receiving state to send a strong signal disapproval of policy and advocate for strategic change.
2. **Reasoning:** Such an act implies that the sending state has a severe difference of opinion with the receiving state on a certain issue that has recently come to light in an unfavorable way. Revocation as a diplomatic tool implies political division between two states, as well as a catalyzing event that brings the two states to a political impasse. We can expect the leader of the sending state to issue a statement explaining his or her decision, expounding on political grievances and bureaucratic discord.
3. **Indicators:**

- a. Any statement or political indication that Country A disapproves of Country B's policies and has therefore recalled its ambassador to B.
- b. Expectations that the sending state expressed its disapproval through all international diplomatic avenues, including sanctions, interventions, or other policies designed to advance its political agenda.
- c. Multilateral Action- Other sending states that share the same political disagreement with the receiving state may also revoke their ambassadors; the critical point at which a state recalls its ambassador implies there is something politically despicable about the receiving state.
- d. Comprehensive Action- A state will recall its ambassador from all receiving states that are participating in the unacceptable behavior.

Tier 2: Diplomatic Revocation as a Signal-Sending Tool

- 4. **Nonverbal Diplomacy:** The sending state revokes its ambassador from the receiving state to signal disapproval of policy.
- 5. **Indicators:**
 - a. Any statement or political indication that Country A disapproves of Country B's policies and has therefore recalled its ambassador to B.
 - b. No overarching political agenda required; this may be a solitary event; Country A might reinstate its ambassador quickly once its dissatisfaction has been made clear.

Tier 3: Diplomatic Revocation as a Non-Political Expression

6. Practical Necessity:

- a. **Security:** The sending state recalls its ambassador from the receiving state when it fears for the safety of its ambassador. It may or may not be accompanied by diplomatic overtones.
- b. **Ambassador Behavior:** A sending state recalls its ambassador to atone for the personal or criminal transgressions of the ambassador in the receiving state.
- c. **Ambassador Incompetence:** A sending state will recall its ambassador if the ambassador is unsuccessful in his or her diplomatic duties, or diverges from advocating for the national agenda.
- d. **Insult:** A sending state will recall its ambassador signal disapproval and hurt over what it perceives to be insulting comments or actions by the receiving state against its leaders, citizens, or culture.
- e. **Internal Reasons:** A sending state will recall an ambassador to attend to political business at home.
- f. **Political Transitions:** A head of state will recall one or many ambassadors upon assuming office.

7. Reasoning:

- a. Diplomats have a reasonable expectation of safety when they are in the receiving state. Their persons, personal residence, and embassy are inviolable to attack. Article 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations

protects the premises of the mission from attack, search, requisition, and execution.² Events of civil war, revolution, and political unrest are commonplace in some countries today, and embassies can sometimes be a target for disgruntled groups to express their dissatisfaction. Diplomatic missions carry a lot of weight in terms of both national security and personal security, so a threat to an embassy's information and persons warrants great concern from the sending state.

- b. An ambassador is charged with representing the sending state in the receiving state and must conduct his or herself with tact in order to foster positive and fruitful relationships with the leaders and citizens of the receiving state.
- c. An ambassador is charged with representing the sending state in the receiving state and must effectively carry out his or her official duties in order to be of service.
- d. An important part of a state's international political agenda is the cultivation and maintenance of its positive image abroad. If another state's actions jeopardize this, the sending state will respond in a diplomatic outcry.
- e. Issues such as conferences, treaties, and war might demand a diplomat's attention and expertise at home.
- f. It is customary in many countries for an incoming head of state to recall politically appointed ambassadors and replace them with diplomats of his or her own choosing.

² Article 22, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

8. Indicators:

- a. Any statement or political indication that Country A believes that its ambassador, its domestic political climate, or the receiving state fits into any of the above categories. If a state recalls its ambassador out of fear for his or her safety, it is reasonable to expect that state would accompany their decision with a statement explaining their concerns and disapprobation of the violence in the receiving state.
 - i. Political Tumult: Revocation on security grounds implies that the receiving state is in a state of violence. The receiving state might be in a state of emergency, war, revolution, or other turmoil that would undermine its stability and make it an unsafe place for foreign diplomats.
 - ii. An additional implication is that the sending state will not reinstate its ambassador until the security threat has passed.
 - iii. One could also expect the sending state to use sanctions or interventions, in efforts to stabilize the receiving state.
 - iv. Finally, one would expect to see that other sending states are removing their ambassadors out of safety concerns as well.

In relation to the main question being posed, instances of diplomatic revocation that fall under Tiers 1 and 2 indicate that this technique is used as a diplomatic tool to persuade Country A to modify its behavior that Country B deems undesirable. While Tier 1 represents stronger examples of this action, both tiers represent diplomatic signal-

sending efforts on the part of the sending state. The aggregate quantity of instances will determine whether this action is commonplace, while individual cases will prove whether it is effective in prompting change.

Non-Exhaustive Considerations in Analyzing Tiers 1 and 2

- Universality of objection:
 - Have several countries simultaneously pulled their ambassador from the receiving state for the same action?
- Uniformity of objection:
 - Has the same state simultaneously pulled their ambassadors from several receiving states for the same reason?
- Comprehensiveness of Objection
 - Are any other diplomatic tools in play to deter the receiving state from the undesirable behavior (i.e. economic sanctions)?
- Objectives/History
 - Ultimatums- Has the leader from either state made a clear statement as to the reasons behind revocation and the actions the sending state would like to see change?
 - Did Country A send a Letter of Protest?
 - Is there a history of tension between both states regarding the disputed state behavior for which the ambassador was recalled?

- Efficacy
 - Has the receiving state modified its behavior in any way as a result of the diplomatic sanctions?
 - Length- For how long does Country A recall its ambassador? Does the ambassador only return when the dispute has been rectified?
 - Universal reaction- are states (especially the sending state) concerned about the effects of the revocation?

Larger Trends

Also researched in this thesis is the change over time in the use of the strategy of diplomatic retorsion. Normative changes in diplomatic practice have affected the frequency with which states revoke their ambassadors, and the use of this technique changed post-WWII/Cold War with the advent of the United Nations and the concept of a more organized interactive, diplomacy-based state accountability structure.

Layout of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the history of diplomacy and the important role that nonverbal signaling plays in international relations. It also outlines the parameters of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. This chapter explains how ambassadors are important not only for their negotiation skills, but also for their presence and appearance as representatives of the sending state. Diplomatic revocations cause political change by virtue of the upset they cause with the marked absence of the ambassador.

Chapter 2 begins with an examination of the various responses from host states after diplomatic revocations, which range from outrage to indifference. It goes on to evaluate the mixed results of diplomatic sanctions. It gives a framework for the change in diplomatic culture over time, as well as the protocol for expelling an ambassador.

Chapter 3 explains the results of the diplomatic dataset. This dataset, made of 1,000 case studies of diplomatic revocation from 1794 to 2017, concerns ambassadors from all areas of the globe. This chapter explains the methods used in gathering the sources that support the dataset, and analyses the prevalence of each of the three levels of revocation.

Chapter 4 is the first of three chapters detailing the parameters of each level of revocation and associated case studies. Chapter 4 deals with Level 1, in which recalling an ambassador is paired with comprehensive or multilateral action to be used as a strong diplomatic tool. Individual cases examined include the Iranian Revolution of 1979; the current political turmoil in Syria; multilateral diplomatic tension between Argentina, Brazil, and several other states in 2013; Turkey's diplomatic penalties for Armenian Genocide recognition; and China's disapproval of Taiwanese independence.

Chapter 5 scrutinizes Level 2 revocations, in which recalling an ambassador is an insular action to express political disapproval of a sending state's political transgressions. These recalls, though political in nature, are unaccompanied by additional measures, like sanctions. Their power lies mostly in their ability to convey national denunciation of the act in question.

Chapter 6 deals with those instances of revocation that are most peripheral to policy. In these Level 3 cases, the sending state does not intend the recall to be a

persuasive maneuver towards the receiving state. Rather, the sending state recalls its ambassador for internal reasons, like personal conduct and transitions of leadership, or external but non-political reasons like petty insults directed at the sending state or security threats to the embassy in the receiving state.

Chapter 1

Diplomacy, Nonverbal Signalling, and the Importance of Ambassadors

“Diplomacy is the profession of persuasion. Diplomats are statecraft’s visible eyes, ears, and hands. They are the voice of their state in foreign lands. They are the peaceable heralds of its power.”

-Chas W. Freeman, Jr., *Arts of Power*

In this chapter

- A brief history of diplomacy
- Establishment of Diplomatic Relations and the VCDR
- Role of a Diplomat
- Why Ambassadors are Important
- The Sanctity of Diplomats
- Nonverbal Signal Sending in International Diplomacy

Diplomacy

Below are some basic dictionary definitions of diplomacy:

New Oxford American Dictionary: “the profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, typically by a country’s representatives abroad.”¹

Merriam Webster: “The art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations; skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility.”²

The Oxford English Dictionary: The management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist; skill or address in the conduct of international intercourse and negotiations.”³

It is interesting to note that the more general definition of diplomacy is “the art of dealing with people in a sensitive and effective way.” Diplomacy, although regulated by

¹ *The New Oxford American Dictionary: Second Edition*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 2005.

² Merriam-Webster, Inc, *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, New Edition, (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, Incorporated), 2016.

³ Oxford University Press, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, (Clarendon Press), 1989.

international conventions and diplomatic law, is an art. Its nuances are subject to the same intense scrutiny as some of the great masterpieces. These definitions identify not only the objective act of negotiation, but also the finesse, acuity, and tact that characterizes successful statesmanship.

Diplomacy is not a modern addition to international relations. In fact, there are historical records written in cuneiform script that detail diplomatic encounters that date as far back as 2500 BC.⁴ Nascent forms of diplomacy began as a way for Middle Eastern Kings to exert influence over neighboring territories' leaders, through exchanged letters and gifts transported via royal envoy.⁵ Diplomacy continued to develop throughout Ancient Greece and Persia, before spreading to Europe, where it arrived at its modern form (with embassies, formal diplomatic training, and foreign ministries) over the course of 500 years between the 15th and 20th centuries.

In 1681 Dutch diplomat Abraham de Wicquefort wrote a multi-volume work detailing the role of a diplomat, entitled *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions*. In it, he defines an ambassador as “a Public Minister whom a sovereign sends to a foreign power to represent himself.”⁶ Such a man is not necessarily a negotiator, as all ministers are, but must possess a “political and moral mélange” that allows him to perform the work of his master with incorruptible fidelity.⁷

There exist disparate opinions on the perceived efficacy of diplomacy. Harold Nicolson hailed diplomacy as a rational methodology for achieving high aims, namely,

⁴ Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, Oxford University Press, 2013, 3.

⁵ Kerr and Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, 19.

⁶ Abraham van Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et Ses Fonctions*, (Cologne: Chez Pierre Marteau, 1690), 3.

⁷ Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et Ses Fonctions*, 6.

the “conciliation and exchange of interests to prevent major conflicts between sovereign states.”⁸ Disenchanted Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, conversely, decried, “Good words are a mask for the concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water and wooden iron.”⁹ Nevertheless, diplomacy has played an integral role in modern international crises, from the end of World War I, to the Cold War, to the Suez Crisis, US engagement in Vietnam, to the fall of the Berlin Wall, and most recently, to the negotiation of the Iran nuclear deal.

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations and the Vienna Convention of 1961

Sometimes a state will not send ambassadors to each foreign country, or will send one ambassador responsible for an entire region. Of the 195 countries with which it could have diplomatic relations, the United States maintains diplomatic relations with 192, all except Bhutan, Iran, and North Korea. The United States severed diplomatic relations with Iran following the 1979 hostage crisis and radicalization of the post-revolutionary Iranian government, and both Bhutan and North Korea maintain limited diplomatic relations in general. Having established a Department of Foreign Affairs less than 50 years ago and still struggling with development, Bhutan maintains diplomatic ties with only 52 states and the EU.¹⁰ Similarly, North Korea, although known as the “hermit kingdom,” supports embassies in over 50 states and maintains diplomatic relations with

⁸ Kerr and Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, 4.

⁹ Kerr and Wiseman, *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, 5.

¹⁰ Bhutan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Bilateral Relations of Bhutan,” Royal Government of Bhutan, 2016, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.mfa.gov.bt/foreign-policy/bilateral-relations>.

164.¹¹ Notably, Pyongyang abstains from diplomatic relations with the United States, France, Israel, and Japan (among numerous others) and refuses to recognize South Korea as a legitimate state.¹²

The core tenet of the Vienna Convention as put forth in Article 2 outlines one simple and explicit condition under which two states may commence formal diplomatic relations with one another: “The establishment of diplomatic relations between States, and of permanent diplomatic missions, takes place by **mutual consent**.”¹³ If either State does not want the ambassador to be in the receiving state, he or she must leave. An ambassador’s presence is permitted by unanimous consent only. This is why the revocation of an ambassador on the part of the sending state can be used as a form of nonverbal diplomacy. Such signal sending can make a political statement about the opinion of the sending state regarding the policies of the host country.

A receiving state may refuse an ambassador before he or she even arrives. The sending state is obligated to present an *agrément* to the receiving state officially announcing its intent to present an ambassador to represent its interests in that state. The receiving state can refuse these diplomatic letters on any grounds and never has to reveal its reasons. Article 9, Section 1 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations states that “The receiving state may at any time and without having to explain its decision,

¹¹ Prashanth Parameswaran, “The Myth of a North Korea-Malaysia Special Relationship,” *The Diplomat*, accessed February 23, 2017, <http://thediplomat.com/2017/02/the-myth-of-a-north-korea-malaysia-special-relationship/>

¹² Daniel Wertz, JJ Oh, and Kim Insung, “DPRK Diplomatic Relations,” *The National Committee on North Korea*, August 2016, accessed February 15, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20161228074114/http://www.ncnk.org/resources/publications/NCNK_Issue_Brief_DPRK_Diplomatic_Relations.pdf

¹³ Article 2, United Nations Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities (Vienna). *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, Vienna, April 18, 1961*. [malta] Treaty Series, No. 107. Valletta Malta: Dept. of Information, 1968.

notify the sending state that the head of the mission or any member of the diplomatic staff of the mission is persona non grata or that any other member of the staff of the mission is not acceptable. In any such case, the sending state shall, as appropriate, either recall the person concerned or terminate his functions with the mission. A person may be declared persona non grata or not acceptable before arriving in the territory of the receiving state.”¹⁴ Although an embassy and its staff are inviolable, the sending state has high-level autonomy over the composition of its inhabitants.

Only one article in the entirety of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations outlines protocol for the cessation of diplomatic relations between two states. There are two ways for diplomatic relations to come to an end. Either the sending state can notify the receiving state that it has chosen for the function of the diplomatic agent has come to an end, or the receiving state can notify the sending state that, in accordance with paragraph 2 of article 9, it refuses to recognize the diplomatic agent as a member of the mission.¹⁵ Aside from Article 43, the only other information concerning the recall of ambassadors is Article 45, which details the process by which the sending state can entrust its confidential information and materials to a third state while transitioning out of the receiving state.

Role of a Diplomat

A diplomat must be skilled in the art of negotiation while balancing hardline policy goals with diplomatic tact. Raymond Cohen touches on the lexical adroitness required of

¹⁴ Article 9, Section 1, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

¹⁵ Article 43, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

a diplomat in order to navigate the conflicting concerns and affairs of two states:

Since, simply put, diplomacy rests upon orderly dialogue, diplomats must endeavor to convey their intended message while excluding the unintended intrusion of irrelevant or confusing information ... It is generally assumed that the burden of diplomatic communication is carried by language. And indeed statesmen have evolved over centuries a language of diplomacy making use of specialized terms and conventions so that messages can be conveyed, both orally and in writing, with a minimum of unnecessary misunderstanding.¹⁶

Miscommunication is anathema to diplomacy, which requires finesse in maintaining personal relationships and agreeing on terms of bilateral arrangements. Cohen cites the meticulous level of care that diplomatic officials exercise in crafting statements on policy, treaties, and other official documents. They take much legal care to ensure that these documents convey exactly what is desired, with no superfluous language, but also no room for loopholes.

A diplomat is charged with representing the sending state in the receiving state, and so must convey to the best of his or her abilities the policies, opinions, and wishes of the native state to the government of the receiving state. A diplomat's function is to facilitate the "peaceful accommodation of usually selfish and frequently conflicting interests and aspirations" between the sending state and the receiving state and engage in orderly dialogue with other diplomats and heads of state.¹⁷ Ideally, diplomats should be fluent in the language of diplomacy of which Cohen writes, and able to be both firm and adaptable, all while deftly executing their duties.

As one scholar explains of the diplomatic balance, "Diplomats are only the

¹⁶Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power : The Art of Diplomatic Signalling*. (London: Longman, 1987), 1.

¹⁷ Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power*, 1.

representative of their political masters, and as such, they cannot afford to decide what the red lines and the objectives are. Diplomats are however relatively free to decide how to tackle negotiations. One could also add that diplomatic negotiators are not devoid of personal agendas and personal convictions. These latter, when related to the political substance of negotiations, play a huge role in shaping negotiations' dynamics."¹⁸

Diplomats have great responsibility in choosing how to execute their duties.

The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations lists five functions of a diplomatic mission: (1) Representing the sending state in the receiving state; (2) Within legal limits, protecting the interests of the sending state and its nationals in the receiving state; (3) Negotiating with the government of the receiving state; (4) Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving state, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending state; and (5) Promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and developing their economic, cultural, and scientific relations."¹⁹ This establishes several criteria for the conduct of an ambassador: it must be peaceful, legal, sanctioned by the sending state, and have the purpose of advancing relations between the two countries for the betterment of both.

A diplomat is a "conduit of communication" between the host state and the sending state.²⁰ He or she can meet with both government officials and average citizens, negotiate critical policies and maintain everyday communication and foster interpersonal relationships with key leaders. Ambassadors can furthermore play a persuasive role in

¹⁸ Mauro Galluccio, *Handbook of International Negotiation: Interpersonal, Intercultural, and Diplomatic Perspectives*. (New York: Springer Cham Heidelberg Press, 2015), xiv.

¹⁹ Article 3, Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

²⁰ Tara Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed: The Consequences of Diplomatic Sanctions," *The Washington Quarterly* 33, no.3, 2010, 61.

lobbying the host government to adopt certain policies or garnering support for his or her own state's national policies. This involves persuading the government of the receiving state to adopt policies favorable to the sending state, and to disseminate a positive view of the sending state through the receiving state's media.²¹ Deputy EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process Alberto Oggero acknowledges the role of perception in diplomatic communication, granting that “emotions as much as cognitive processes are central to what human beings do and how they operate. When it comes to diplomatic negotiations, the political dimension is often dominant, implying that perceptions, emotions, and motivations—always embedded within political positions—are an integral part of such processes.”²²

One of the main functions of a diplomat is information gathering. The point of having a representative of a state in such close proximity to the leaders and citizens of another is for that representative to take advantage of the accessibility of knowledge pertaining to their culture, policies, and proximity to political events as they unravel in real time. Maller further explains this diplomatic advantage in her assertion that, “Having an embassy in a country not only makes it easier to access information and track events within that country, but also allows the United States to gain a perspective it might not otherwise have. The duties of political officers include collecting and analyzing information about the attitudes and actions of foreign governments and societies.”²³ The United States, she contends, stands to lose important intelligence relating to human

²¹ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 68.

²² Gallucio, *Handbook of International Negotiation*, xiv-xv.

²³ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 64.

rights, economic trends, and future political leadership when it pulls its ambassador from foreign states.

A diplomat's information may even take on a covert character in order to glean sensitive information from the host country; because of its close proximity of information and personnel, "diplomacy is frequently used to 'cover,' with the immunities available to it, activities that are not quite diplomatic, that is, concerned with exchanges between the authorized official elites of the sending and receiving states."²⁴ There is a tacit acceptance of covert diplomacy, evidenced by its reciprocal use and the lack of retaliation.

Why Ambassadors are Important

Ambassadors constitute an integral facet of diplomacy. Diplomats represent the sending state in the receiving state, protect the interests of the sending state and its nationals, negotiate with the government of the receiving state, and promote friendly relations between the two. Diplomatic missions are part of the diplomatic "tool box." In persuading Country B to do what Country A wants, Country A has at its disposal the tactics of negotiation, sanctions, and war. Ambassadors are both practically and symbolically important to negotiations between the sending and receiving states. If the revocation of ambassadors can be used to influence foreign countries, it can be used as a diplomatic tool. If it is merely a response to a security threat or personal gaffe, it is reactionary rather than proactive and cannot be employed as a bargaining strategy.

²⁴ Michael W. Reisman, and James E. Baker, *Regulating Covert Action: Practices, Contexts, and Policies of Covert Coercion Abroad in International and American Law*, (New Haven: Yale UP), 1992, 37.

Diplomats are important because their function is to convey information. To this extent, they (or in the case of this thesis, their absence) can signal disapproval to their host state and play a part in a larger strategy of dissuasion. The importance of ambassadors has been recognized even in classic literature. In Jean Giraudoux's *La Guerre de Troie n'aura Pas Lieu*, Greece sends its ambassador Ulysses to negotiate the return of Helen and avoid the Trojan War.²⁵ It is telling that an ambassador played the pivotal role in arguably the most famous diplomatic conflict in the Western tradition.

The day-to day contact of diplomacy is useful in maintaining relations with allies and improving relations with foes. President Barack Obama believed that strong diplomatic practices directly correlated to strong national security. Without a personal presence, the receiving state media has a monopoly on the public image of the sending state. Critics of this school of thought argue that a diplomatic presence implies tacit approval for the receiving state's actions. This is the mentality behind politically motivated diplomatic revocation: that more good can be achieved by sending a signal of disapproval and cutting off relations than by maintaining the status quo with open diplomatic relations. By summoning its ambassador, a sending state can isolate and delegitimize troublesome states.²⁶

Diplomacy is also useful in preventing war. Negotiation and conciliation, when given time to flourish, go a long way in soothing political tensions that could otherwise lead to violent conflict. Diplomatic scholars Alfred L. McAlister and Brittanie Wilczak

²⁵ Jean Giraudoux, *La Guerre De Troie N'aura Pas Lieu : Pièce En Deux Actes*, 1935. (Paris: Livre De Poche 1991).

²⁶ Tara Maller, "Diplomatic Sanctions as a US Foreign Policy Tool: Helpful or Harmful?" American Political Science Association, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol.3, No.4, October 2010, 826.

identify the international relations phenomenon of “war fever,” which prioritizes military force, dehumanizes the enemy, and minimizes perceived consequences of war. These trends foster a culture of war in which the merits of diplomacy are disregarded, and the lack of communication leads to misinformation that further perpetuates the escalation. The wars in Vietnam and Iraq, he says, are two examples of conflicts in which “the participating nations chose to go to war because of both deliberately misleading information from national leaders and dysfunctional thoughts about enemies and the consequences of using military force against them that, at the time, convinced the majority of their population that military action was preferable to diplomatic negotiation, economic sanctions, or other measures that do not require the use of lethal weapons on a mass scale.”²⁷ In this way diplomacy represents a moral principal we have all been learning since kindergarten: that, though more difficult, it is better to resolve conflict with words and not force.

Distinguished scholar in residence at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Dean G. Pruitt explains how diplomatic negotiations have helped to bring fruitful conversation and de-escalation to the Israel-Palestine conflict. He cites the 12 secret sessions that took place in January 1993 between Israeli and Palestinian Liberation Organization representatives as integral to the development of a detailed framework for peace between the two warring factions.²⁸ This agreement included provisions for a democratically elected Palestinian authority with jurisdiction over Gaza and part of the West Bank, and nascent agreements on the future status of Jerusalem and the right of

²⁷ Gallucio, *Handbook of International Negotiation*, 33-34.

²⁸ Gallucio, *Handbook of International Negotiation*, 125.

Palestinian refugees to return to their ancestral homes. Israeli authorities were so heartened by these negotiations that they sent two Israeli diplomats in quick succession, one in May and another in June, to participate in the deliberations. In this instance of positivist diplomacy in what would become the Oslo Accords, diplomats served both a practical and optical purpose- to act as Israeli agents in high-level negotiations, and to lend a new level of legitimacy to the talks as a show of good faith by the Israelis.

Diplomatic scholar and Professor of Political Economy at Bennington College, Geoffrey Allen explains how diplomacy's ability to prevent war accounts for its renewed importance in the 20th century:

“Scholars in the first half of the century began to study diplomacy as a vehicle or lens for understanding what at the time was becoming known as international relations: the relationships between nation-states in the international system, and the characteristics of the international system of nation-states itself. This occurred in part because of a need felt by scholars to understand the causes of WWI and the subsequent pitfall-strewn process of creation of international structures and institutions designed to prevent a repeat of the ruinous consequences of the war to end all wars. Could a scholarly understanding of diplomatic actors and processes in the international system help to prevent errors of diplomacy, and in doing so reduce the likelihood of future wars?”²⁹

International legal scholars understood diplomacy to be an effective de-escalatory tool. It can promote understanding between states and water down the sparks of tension that would otherwise fan into the flames of war. The study of diplomacy is fundamental to the understanding of the international political climate and the relationships between its actors.

Finally, there is the persuasive element of diplomacy. In negotiations, each side

²⁹ Geoffrey Allen Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 4.

makes concessions, but an adroit diplomat can turn the balance of power in favor of his or her state by maximizing the agreement in favor of the state's demands. A diplomat's communicative power, Pigman asserts, lies in "[his or her] ability not only to achieve its primary objectives – resolving a conflict, maintaining a relationship, promoting social and economic exchange – but also in so doing to modify the interests and even the identity of the actors communicating with one another."³⁰ Pigman vouches for the importance of diplomacy in relation to its foundation in communication. Although the realm of democracy is that of the international domain of all foreign states, actual diplomacy takes place through individual instances of contact between representatives.

Diplomats are also important because they are crucial to the low-level public sphere of international relations. In *Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling*, Cohen explains, "All servants of the state must be sensitive to the impression they make on observers. For those engaged in the conduct of foreign affairs this is true not only in a public relations sense, but because what they say and what they do is taken as guide to official policy. Anyone who follows international relations in the press cannot fail to be struck by the scrutiny to which every detail of state behavior is subjected."³¹ Diplomats are clear and visible agents of foreign policy. Although only one person, a diplomat must be conscious that his or her words and actions represent an entire state and are taken as official policy. Their conduct is easily accessible to the public, through media coverage of their international visits, official statements, and anything else the press might deem coverage-worthy.

³⁰ Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, 7.

³¹ Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power : The Art of Diplomatic Signalling*. (London: Longman, 1987), 1.

The transparent side of diplomacy explains why diplomats are recalled or expelled for diverting from official policy. In 2011 the Kuwaiti government recalled its ambassador to Bhutan because he advocated for policies contrary to Kuwait's agenda, namely, withdrawing the Gulf Cooperation Council's Peninsula Shield forces from Bahrain.³² The Peninsula Shield Forces had entered Bahrain a month earlier in conjunction with a mutual defense agreement, and Kuwait was playing an ancillary role in supplying naval units. Ambassador Nameer Kadhem Al Quraine's deviation from official policy prompted an inquiry from the Kuwaiti foreign ministry. Member of Parliament Mohammed Al Hayef promised, "I will ask the minister about the administrative measures taken against ambassadors or diplomatic missions that do not adopt the official foreign policy line" after Al Quraine called for the retreat of the Peninsula Forces on his Facebook page.

The Sanctity of Diplomats

The sanctity and utility of diplomatic missions is recognized across the world. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) is a treaty that has been in place since 1961 that defines a framework for mutual diplomatic relations between countries. As of February 2017, 191 states are party to this document providing the bedrock for modern day diplomacy.³³ The revocation of ambassadors as a diplomatic tool is an important measure of the international political climate. Almost every state has agreed to

³² Habib Toumi, "Kuwait Recalls its Ambassador to Bhutan," *Gulf News Kuwait*, April 30, 2011, accessed February 2, 2015, <http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/kuwait/kuwait-recalls-its-ambassador-to-bhutan-1.801577>

³³ United Nations Treaty Collection, "The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations: Privileges and Immunities, Diplomatic and Consular Relations, Etc.," *The United Nations*, Status as of April 22, 2017. "https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=III-3&chapter=3&clang=_en

cohesive international norms on the subject through the Vienna Convention, allowing the standards and practices of diplomatic missions across the world to be compared. The only states to have not adopted the terms of the VCDR are South Sudan, Palau, and Vanuatu.

The sanctity of diplomatic missions and their staff is codified in local, religious, and national law. In 2014 Muslim scholars issued a fatwa on the tenets of Islam. Among the twenty-four items in the executive summary, including such important commands as the prohibition of killing, torture, and unjust war, is the strict provision that “It is forbidden to kill emissaries, ambassadors, and diplomats.”³⁴ This was from an Islamic legal ruling addressed to the leader of the Islamic State and garnered the signatures of hundreds of scholars.

Nonverbal Signal Sending in International Diplomacy

By its nature, diplomacy is a direct channel of state-to-state communication. Because of its formalized and centralized nature, the details of diplomatic action are at times highly visible and therefore easily accessible to public consumption. If there is any incident that illustrates the stubbornly aesthetic nature of diplomacy, it is the sequence of events that took place between Israel and Turkey in early 2010, as evidenced in the following downward spiral of diplomatic spats:

In January 2010, Deputy Foreign Minister Daniel Ayalon of Israel summoned the Turkish ambassador to Israel to protest an anti-Semitic episode of a popular television drama in Turkey. This event turned into a diplomatic crisis as Ayalon insulted the Turkish ambassador by placing him on a lower chair, and requesting

³⁴Shaykh Abdallah bin Bayyah and many other Muslim scholars, “Open Letter to Dr. Ibrahim Awwad Al-Badri, Alias ‘Abu Al-Baghdadi,’ Baghdadi” 2014.

the media take pictures of them sitting, as well as the fact that the only flag on the small table was an Israeli flag. Turkey threatened to summon the ambassador back to Ankara, which led to an official apology from Israel.³⁵

As the escalation of tensions over chair height, handshakes, and flag size show, diplomacy is a practice where optics prevails.

In another instance of theatrical diplomacy, Washington recalled the US ambassador to Chile in 1979 after a Chilean judge refused to extradite three Chilean military leaders wanted in the United States for the 1976 murder of exile leader Orlando Letelier. State Department officials “said the recall of ambassador George Landau was partly intended as a signal of U.S. displeasure over the decision”³⁶ In addition to the signal of disapproval sent to Chile, the revocation of the ambassador was also meant as a signal to all other nations that the United States will not tolerate such actions. Attorney General Griffin Bell issued a statement reaffirming the US commitment to “ensuring that this case sets no precedent for this type of terrorist act.” In this way, parallels can be drawn between this instance of revocation and Turkey’s revocation of ambassadors to all countries that recognize the Armenian Genocide. Neither wants to set a troublesome precedent of tacit acceptance of the unacceptable act.

Nonverbal signal sending is key to diplomacy precisely because it is a form of communication. There exists a diplomatic culture- a tradition and acceptance of protocol surrounding diplomatic conduct and communication, in which gestures as specific as

³⁵ Ziya Meral and Jonathan Paris, “Decoding Turkish Foreign Policy Hyperactivity,” *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2010, 82.

³⁶ Associated Press, “State Department Recalls US Diplomat,” *The Michigan Daily News*, May 16, 1979, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2706&dat=19790516&id=CwhKAAAIBAJ&sjid=eh4NAAAAIBAJ&pg=5260,1279694&hl=en>.

seating arrangements at international functions, the giving and receiving of gifts, and the language of official toasts function as diplomatic signals.³⁷ In 1972, for example, the gift of two adorable giant pandas by the Chinese government to the United States constituted “one of the most powerful tokens of the diplomatic thawing of previously complete alienation” between President Richard Nixon and Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong. This act improved the American public’s favorability of China.

Some scholars suggest that diplomats are unimportant in high-level negotiations between states. Between the United States and Europe for example, international institutions take precedence. In constructing the discussion framework to address global trends such as climate change and shifts in economic power, Sudesha Roy suggests that the United States coordinates primarily with the European Union, rather than with individual European states, and discussion takes place between heads of state and cabinet officials, not ambassadors. (It is interesting to note here that this prescription does not preclude the role of diplomats, as some countries have ambassadors to international institutions, like the EU and UN).³⁸

Diplomats are, however, crucial to the low-level public sphere of international relations. The aesthetic nature of diplomacy means that ambassadors do not always have to be high-level negotiators; theirs is the realm of nonverbal signals. Cohen goes so far as to describe diplomacy as a performance:

Once their every action and gesture is perceived to be significant, leaders’ appearances are bound to become self-conscious and purposeful. As such they

³⁷ Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, 21.

³⁸ Sudeshna Roy, Dana Cooper, and Brian Murphy, eds., *Transatlantic Relations and Modern Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Examination*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 33.

can surely be subject to the same sort of ‘dramatic’, if not aesthetic, criticism as other kinds of public performances. Extending the metaphor, we can view the foreign policy leadership as dramatists or theatrical directors, providing an overall political conception to the performance. There is a script, a basically prearranged text. The setting, consisting of props and backdrop, is meticulously prepared. Not even costume and gesture can be left to chance when the length of a handshake or the warmth of an embrace may be carefully noted.³⁹

Globalization is a fundamental reason for the importance of ambassadors. The role of a diplomat is so crucial, Pigman explains, because of the necessity to communicate across cultures, states, and governments in an increasingly interconnected world, which includes an increased public presence. With the arrival of mass communication technology and the democratization of politics, he says, “Governments and their diplomats increasingly had to come to terms with the need to communicate with publics, both foreign and domestic, in addition to communicating with their official counterparts in other nation states.”⁴⁰

³⁹Cohen, *Theatre of Power*, Introduction.

⁴⁰Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, 3.

Chapter 2

The Effect of Diplomatic Sanctions

“Indeed, one suspects that in some cases domestic political goals were the motivating force behind the imposition of sanctions. Such measures often succeed in galvanizing public support for the sender government, either by inflaming patriotic fever (as illustrated by US sanctions against Japan just prior to World War II) or by quenching the public thirst for action (as illustrated by US sanctions against Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi’s adventurism in northern Africa and elsewhere, and later against Manuel Noriega for many months prior to the actual invasion of Panama.) It is quite clear that US, European, and British Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa, as well as US, EC, and Japanese sanctions against China in the wake of the Tiananmen Square massacre, were principally designed to assuage domestic constituencies, to make a moral and historical statement, and to send a warning to future offenders of the international order, whatever their immediate effect on the target country.”

-Gary Clyde Hufbauer, Jeffrey J. Schott, and Kimberly Ann Elliott, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*

In this chapter:

- The Utility of Diplomatic Revocation
- Effect of Diplomatic Sanctions
- Response to Recall
 - Case Study 1: Turkey and the United States (2007)
 - Case Study 2: Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (1998)
 - Case Study 3: Sudan and the United States (1990s)
- Change over Time
- Expelling an Ambassador

The Utility of Diplomatic Revocation

The visibility of diplomacy augments the utility of revocation as a useful diplomatic tool. Everyone- other states, political leaders, and ordinary citizens alike- can see acts of diplomacy unfold. When every move an ambassador makes is scrutinized, his or her absence due to a recall is a glaringly noticeable event. Diplomatic revocation is also easy

implement, so states can deploy it as an immediate response. The sending state is not obliged to provide any reason or go through any formal process of withdrawal when calling its ambassador home. It is a self-contained action, so states are able to recall ambassadors quickly without needing to have formulated a full and certified response to an issue yet. In this way, diplomatic revocation provides a more immediate and reactive barometer of a state's political climate than do larger actions like sanctions and war, which require ample time, resources, and bureaucratic maneuvering.

Diplomatic revocation is a tool whose utility is recognized even by the United Nations. Article 41 of the UN charter stipulates, "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."¹ The UN may request that one or many states recall their ambassador to increase pressure on a delinquent nation.

The UN has imposed diplomatic sanctions on recognized states, unrecognized states, and non-state actors. Though no UN diplomatic sanctions are currently in effect, past targets include the Afghanistan/Taliban/Al-Qaida contingent, Angola, Libya, Southern Rhodesia, Sudan, Yugoslavia, and rebel group UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola).

Diplomatic sanctions are intended to send a signal of disapproval to the host state,

¹ Charter of the United Nations, article 41. June 26, 1945. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/index.html>

and delegitimize its international presence. Nicholas D. Wright identifies what he calls “prediction error” in international relations. Prediction error refers to how one party’s actions affect the perceptions of others, and therefore affects how they respond. It is therefore an important cognitive part of signal sending between nations. Diplomatic revocation is effective because of the gap between perception and reality. Though a small act in itself, it leads to escalation in the mind of the enemy, and therefore exerts an effect larger than the objective impact of the ambassador’s absence.²

There are several ways in which recalling an ambassador can be an effective form of nonverbal diplomacy. Diplomatic revocation is an advantageous diplomatic tool because it does not permanently sever relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and it is an act that can be free-standing, or paired with other sanctions or political action. The sending state can exercise a high level of control in deploying diplomatic sanctions, customizing the timing, length, and associated message of the recall. Diplomatic retorsion quickly establishes a sending state’s condemnation of reprehensible acts without requiring an immediate comprehensive response.

Response to Recall

When a sending state withdraws its ambassador, there are a number of reactions on the part of the receiving state, ranging from anger to apathy. Apathy (whether sincere or a concerted effort to downplay a diplomatic barb) usually follows revocations that indicate mild political disapproval. In these cases, revocation is not a troublesome predicament

² Mauro Gallucio, *Handbook of International Negotiation: Interpersonal, Intercultural, and Diplomatic Perspectives*. (New York: Springer Cham Heidelberg Press, 2015), 54.

perhaps because the sending state was expecting the recall, knows the act to be a self-contained retaliation, and expects diplomatic relations with the sending country to march forward as usual soon, if not immediately. Sometimes a recall does not even interrupt the diplomatic relations of two states if the sending state leaves the entire embassy mission and other consular staff in place. This case represents a sort of theater of diplomacy, while the true infrastructure of interstate relations remains in tact.

Diplomatic sanctions are also effective in that they are very accessible to the public. Recalling an ambassador is an easily understood expression of disapproval, free of the legal jargon of treaties or the nuances of multilateral military action.

Discerning the impact of the recall of an ambassador can be difficult because sending states are under no obligation to explain their actions. Unlike the extensive protocol enumerated in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations for diplomatic safety expectations, the criteria for revoking an ambassador is quite short, and makes no mention of political standards. The policy on retorsion is succinct and clear. The function of a diplomatic agent will come to an end in one of two circumstances: (1) The sending state notifies the receiving state that it is recalling its ambassador, or (2) The receiving state notifies the sending state that it rejects the credentials of said ambassador. No reasons need to be given by either side.

One of the reasons diplomatic sanctions are a useful way for a sending state to express disapproval is that it is seen as a “low-cost means of isolating and delegitimizing

regimes” since revocation does not require financial or military support.³ In the absence of the ambassador, a sending state will usually keep its embassy open in the receiving state under the direction of the *charge d’affaires* or other members of the consular staff. In these cases of downgraded diplomatic relations, revocation is strictly an indication of disapproval and is not intended to disrupt normal diplomatic relations between the two states. Such was the case in 1975 when the United States recalled its ambassador from Laos to protest the establishment of a communist regime. The US embassy in Laos continued to function for seventeen years under the direction of the *charge d’affaires*.⁴

There exist several possible pitfalls for the sending state when imposing diplomatic sanctions. These include loss of information and intelligence about the receiving state, decreased channels of communication, and reduced influential power in the receiving state. In Afghanistan, for example, US access to up-to-date information plummeted in the absence of an embassy. US political leaders were forced to rely on third party information from UN and Western journalists, and Afghanistan dropped off the greater political agenda. The same situation occurred in Iran, where in 2009 the United States struggled to obtain information regarding the unraveling political protests because of diplomatic deficiencies, and so resorted to information gathering from social media.⁵

Diplomatic sanctions have been shown to decrease the efficacy of economic or military sanctions as well.⁶ The presence of diplomatic sanctions accounts for an 11-18%

³ Tara Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed: The Consequences of Diplomatic Sanctions,” *The Washington Quarterly* 33, no.3, 2010, 61.

⁴ US Bilateral Relations Fact Sheet, “US Relations with Laos,” US Department of State, December 13, 2016. <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2770.htm>

⁵ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 66.

⁶ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 61.

drop (depending on the retorsion's severity) in political efficacy when paired with economic sanctions. Put simply, "the higher the level of diplomatic sanction employed in an economic sanctions episode, the more likely the United States will fail to get the target state to comply with its demands."⁷ This happens for two reasons. First, a lack of information inhibits the sending state's ability to customize smart sanctions so to maximize their hurt and therefore, efficacy, to enact change. Secondly, once the sanctions are in place, diplomatic absence makes it difficult to monitor their efficacy or adjust policy accordingly.⁸ The ambassador can communicate the conditions that must be met for their removal, therefore increasing the receiving state's ability to meet them. A diplomat's presence can make a population more receptive to change and amenable to the sending state's policy. These hazards indicate the importance of ambassadors and the fallout in terms of cooperation and information in their absence.

Pro-diplomacy scholars believe that the significance of direct conversation and interpersonal diplomacy is paramount for gaining a true perspective on a receiving state's political climate, noting that a personal diplomatic presence can be especially helpful in navigating political crises or humanitarian disasters as they arise. Professor Robert Wolfe highlights that "intangible assets that are a foreign ministry's stock in trade – knowing who is who in the government or the ability to interpret complex events – can only be developed and then exploited by being on the ground."⁹ Political Science Professor Matthew Krain at the College of Wooster agrees that diplomatic sanctions can hurt, rather

⁷ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 69.

⁸ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 68.

⁹ Robert Wolfe, "Still Lying Abroad? On the Institution of the Resident Ambassador," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 9, no. 2 (July 1998): 46.

than help, peace efforts. In his article, “The Effects of Diplomatic Sanctions and Engagement on the Severity of Ongoing Genocides or Politicides,” he concludes that diplomatic sanctions do not stem the severity of genocides or politicides, but “merely reduce the flow of information without credibly signaling intent or commitment.”¹⁰

Another key role of a diplomat is explaining the policies of his or her sending state.¹¹ This can prevent miscommunication and allay political worries in the host state. This is why international scholars and citizens alike worried about President Donald Trump’s immediate and comprehensive recall of ambassadors on his first day in office. While it is customary for politically appointed ambassadors to step aside with the inception of the new administration, there is usually a grace period that allows for smooth transitions. Especially in light of President Trump’s proposed controversial policies, scholars worry that an interruption in diplomatic relations could heighten confusion and unrest among foreign populations who are unsure of what the policies portend for their populations.

Additionally, diplomatic retorsion can delegitimize all diplomatic relations between countries. Revocation leads to increased resistance of other forms of state-to-state interaction, and states are more suspicious of information conveyed through third parties.¹² In 1950, for example, China used Indian diplomat Kavalam Pannikar as a third party through which to communicate its impending troop movements in Korea, as there were no formal diplomatic relations between the United States and China at this time.

¹⁰ Matthew Krain, “The Effect of Diplomatic Sanctions and Engagement on the Severity of Ongoing Genocides or Politicides,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16:1, 25.

¹¹ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 66.

¹² Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 66.

The United States doubted Pannikar's credibility and objectivity, thinking him a pawn of the Chinese government.¹³

The importance of diplomatic communication cannot be denied, and was illustrated in Turkey's behavior towards Syria in the midst of its political crisis in 2011. While there was a mass exodus of ambassadors from Western and Gulf states to protest the violent political repression of the Assad regime, Turkey took a different approach. Once an emerging ally of Syria, Turkey, instead of disengaging, chose to reengage with the administration to effect change. Turkey sent its foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu to Damascus in August 2011 to convey a hardline message to condemn Syria.¹⁴ This diplomacy did not last long, and Turkey recalled its ambassador from Syria and suspended embassy functions in 2012.¹⁵

Britain also recognized the merits of keeping channels of communication open in Syria during despite its diplomatic recall. Foreign Secretary William Hague explained that the British embassy in Syria would remain open during the recall, "as it provided a valuable source of information on the ground and a useful channel to 'impress on some members of the regime the gravity of the situation.'"¹⁶

¹³ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 67.

¹⁴ Nada Bakri, "3 Arab Countries Recall Ambassadors to Syria," *New York Times*, August 8, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/09/world/middleeast/09syria.html>.

¹⁵ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-and-closes-embassy-7585329.html>

¹⁶ Alex Spillius, "Syria: Britain Recalls Ambassador as US Closes Damascus Embassy," *The Telegraph*, February 6, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9065056/Syria-Britain-recalls-ambassador-as-US-closes-Damascus-embassy.html>

Recall Response Case Study 1: Turkey and the United States in 2007

Turkey recalled its ambassador to the United States in 2007 to protest Congressional efforts to legally recognize the Armenian genocide. Though routine and unsurprising, Turkey's actions were met with mixed responses from US officials about the significance of the recall. A State Department spokesperson issued the following even-tempered statement:

People are sometimes called back for consultation; sometimes they're called back for other reasons. If they wanted to bring their ambassador back for consultations or do something else, that is their decision. I certainly think that it will not do anything to limit our efforts to continue to reach out to Turkish officials, to explain our views, to engage them on this issue and again to make clear that we intend to work on this with Congress.¹⁷

Spokesman Tom Casey's placid response would seem to indicate that the United States was unperturbed by the recall. He articulates his belief that the absence of the Turkish ambassador will in no way hinder US communication with Turkey. In some sense this is true. Unlike the diplomatic recalls of yore, modern revocations enjoy the benefit of other channels of communication. Whether by phone, telegram, email, or a personal visit made easier by advances in transportation, a sending state can convey its message to a receiving state through channels other than its diplomat. After the recall, for example, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice encountered no barriers in requesting a direct call with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and President Abdullah Gul within

¹⁷ Deirdre Walsh, Elise Labott, and Joe Sterling, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador over Genocide Resolution," *CNN Politics*, October 12, 2007, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/8973189/Turkey-recalls-French-ambassador-over-Armenian-genocide-bill.html>.

the week.¹⁸ In this way, diplomatic sanctions have come to serve more optical than punitive purposes. Representative and House Foreign Affairs Chairman Tom Lantos of California arrived at his tranquility via the following line of reasoning: that the recall is nothing but an optical move on Turkey's part to indicate disapproval, and to retaliate against the United States would never be in Turkish self-interest because it stands to lose too much.

Other officials in this case, however, believed that the act of recalling the ambassador still held substantial political significance with the potential for political damage. With ambiguous threats about unpleasant consequences coming from Turkish policy makers as high as the president and the foreign policy advisor to the prime minister, some US officials pointed out the significant ways in which a souring of relations with Turkey could hurt the United States. Turkey, a NATO member, has been a key US ally in the Middle East and a conduit for sending supplies into Iraq. Representative and Armed Services Committee Chairman Ike Skelton of Missouri voiced his concern that Turkish backlash could obstruct US efforts to redeploy troops in Iraq by blocking off roads and airfields, which happened to French forces after Paris passed a similar genocide resolution the previous year. Defense Secretary Robert Gates noted that 70 percent of the air cargo intended for U.S. forces in Iraq and 30 percent of the fuel consumed by those forces fly through Turkey. The House resolution came at a particularly sensitive time for US-Turkish relations, as the United States had just asked Turkey to refrain from sending troops into Northern Iraq to combat the Kurdistan

¹⁸ Walsh, Labott, and Sterling, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador," accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/10/11/us.turkey.armenians/index.html?iref=topnews>

Workers' Party.

Recall Response Case Study 2: Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States in 1998

When Russia withdrew its ambassadors from the United Kingdom and United States in 1998 to protest continuing US-British raids against Iraq, the diplomatic fallout was minimal on all sides. Russian officials intended the recall to be a self-contained expression of disapproval in light of the United States and United Kingdom conducting air strikes targeting Iraqi media communications and oil facilities. Russia sought to protect their interests in key areas like food aid and the International Monetary Fund from repercussions. Moscow wanted to express disapproval, while avoiding jeopardizing collaborative relations with either country. Presidential spokesman Dmitry Yakushkin assured, "There can be no talk of a rift between Russia and the United States and Great Britain. We mustn't slip into the rhetoric of confrontation."¹⁹ On one hand, this was a strong diplomatic signal, as Russia had never before recalled its ambassador to the United States, and had not recalled its ambassador to the UK for more than a quarter century. Russian ambassador to Britain Yury Fokin declared, "Anyone who views my departure from London as a sign of protest is absolutely right." But on the other hand, the sign was just this- a gesture. Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia Jack Matlock echoed the move's banality, saying, "Recalling an ambassador for consultations means absolutely nothing.

¹⁹ Melissa Akin, "Russia Recalls Ambassador over Iraq," *The Old Moscow Times*, December 19, 1998. <http://old.themoscowtimes.com/sitemap/free/1998/12/article/russia-recalls-ambassadors-over-iraq/282064.html/>

It's just a gesture.”

This case demonstrates the ‘last resort’ characteristic of diplomatic sanctions. Russia had exhausted its other more ideal political avenues. Negotiations with the United States and Britain to stop strikes were stagnant, and the United Nations Security Council proved unhelpful to Russia. This case’s nature as a self-contained signal is further reinforced by the preservation of communication channels between all three states despite the diplomatic recall. Through letters, in-person meetings, and telephone calls, the US President, Vice President, and Secretary of State were able to respond to the concerns of the Russian President and Foreign Minister. As seen in the case of Turkey, a message was sent, but diplomatic relations between all involved states remained relatively undisturbed.

Recall Response Case Study 3: Sudan and the United States in the 1990s

The difficulty with diplomatic sanctions is that often the sending state does not want to completely cut off communication with the receiving state. Once its disapproval has been made clear, the sending state is left with less (and inferior) channels of communication. In Sudan, for example, the United States began trimming its diplomatic presence in 1993 and completely closed its embassy in Khartoum in 1996 as terrorist groups like al-Qaeda found a home there. The United States recalled their ambassador to show strong disapproval of such terrorist activities and imposed economic sanctions for human rights violations. Unfortunately, the United States was then relegated to third party information, which the Clinton Administration distrusted because of the inherently

sensitive and high-risk nature of intelligence concerning terrorism. The lack of communication paralyzed the effect of economic sanctions, and Sudan continued to harbor terrorists and never agreed to sit at the negotiating table during this period.²⁰ Diplomatic sanctions, though financially costless, impose both short- and long-term expenses on a sending state's ability to collect intelligence, negotiate with the host state, and effect political change.

US-Sudanese relations remained stagnant until 2001, when President George W. Bush reappointed an ambassador who constructed a four-point comprehensive program to rebuild a spirit of trust and diplomacy between the two countries. Because of his personal presence and commitment to see negotiations through, Ambassador John Danforth was able to achieve more progress in Sudan than had been made in the previous decade, namely:

- 1) Allowing a UN humanitarian mission to go into the Nuba Mountains, a conflict-plagued region of Sudan
- 2) Laying the groundwork for an internationally monitored ceasefire without 3rd party involvement
- 3) Collaborating with the US Agency for International Development
- 4) US assistance in facilitating an investigation on slavery and abductions in Sudan²¹

Expelling an Ambassador

In some cases a receiving state will initiate the removal of a foreign ambassador. Such was the case in 2015 when the Venezuelan government believed United States Embassy staff to be spying on their internal affairs. In an effort to truncate US diplomatic

²⁰ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 70-71.

²¹ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 74.

power, Venezuelan officials ordered 83 out of 100 US diplomatic personnel to return to the States. Expulsions are usually the result of poor diplomatic behavior or disparate political agendas. Sometimes a state will cover all bases by recalling its ambassador from the host country and expelling that country's ambassador from its own territory. Such was the case in 1961, when Czechoslovakia recalled its ambassador to Albania to protest the ambassador's hostile behavior. Prague officials were so enraged that they also expelled the Albanian ambassador from Czechoslovakian territory.²²

Sometimes a sending state will recall its ambassador at the behest of the receiving state. This usually happens when the ambassador is at high risk of becoming *persona non grata*, and the sending state recalls him or her to avoid a diplomatic tiff. Diplomatic expulsions happen when an ambassador acts in such a reprehensible way so as to be declared *persona non grata* by the receiving state. (According to Article 9 of the VCDR, a receiving state may declare any member of the diplomatic staff to be *persona non grata* at any time, after which the sending state must recall its envoy.) This happened in 2015 when the Vatican rejected the appointed French ambassador, without reason, but purportedly because the ambassador was gay.²³

²² AAP-Reuters, "Czechs Recall Ambassador from Albania," *The Age*, December 14, 1961, accessed October 24, 2017, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1300&dat=19611214&id=yKsUAAAIBAJ&sjid=HbQDAAAIBAJ&pg=4682,2184851&hl=en>

²³ Stephanie Kirchgaessner and Kim Willsher, "Paper Claims Pope Rejected Gay French Diplomat as Ambassador to Holy See," *The Guardian*, April 22, 2015, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/22/pope-gay-french-diplomat-paper-claim-reject-ambassador>.

Change Over Time

Until the 1950s, the United States reserved diplomatic sanctions for wartime, such as during WWII, when it recalled its ambassador from Japan and Germany. This practice has changed as of late, and diplomatic sanctions are more often enacted either as self-contained diplomatic acts or in conjunction with nonmilitary sanctions as a persuasive tool in discouraging states from actions related to terrorism, proliferation, or regime change.²⁴

The United States cut ties with Iraq in the early 1990s following its invasion of Kuwait. Diplomatic tension between the United States and Iraq remained in stasis until 2003 because of allegations of Iraqi proliferation. The United States downgraded relations with Burma in 1990 to protest the military junta's refusal to recognize the outcome of the parliamentary election. The US has recalled its ambassador for such reasons as security in Afghanistan in 1989, nuclear proliferation in North Korea, and terrorism in Iran.²⁵

The use of diplomatic sanctions has decreased over time as the efficacy of comprehensive sanctions has been questioned. Sanctions will sometimes even include provisions for the maintenance of diplomatic relations so that authorities of the targeted state may better work toward peace and reconciliation.²⁶ Included in the 1998 travel ban against the Taliban, for instance, was the provision that any Afghanistan authorities traveling in relation to reconciliation efforts must be exempt. In such cases, the Council

²⁴ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 63.

²⁵ Maller, "Diplomacy Derailed," 63.

²⁶ "UN Sanctions," UN Security Council Special Research Report, *Security Council Report* no.3, November 25, 2013, 10.

determines that “the benefits of signaling illegitimacy with diplomatic sanctions [is] outweighed by the cost in terms of lost opportunities for multi-party negotiations.” This substantiates to the crucial roles of diplomats in restoring order and brokering peace.

Diplomatic sanctions saw an increase in popularity under the leadership of George W. Bush, whose administration functioned under the policy that “ . . . ‘rogue’ regimes were to be uprooted, either by military force (as in Iraq) or through diplomatic isolation and political pressure (as the administration has tried with Iran and Syria). The United States would not offer ‘carrots’ to such states to induce positive changes; diplomatic engagement would be limited to sticks.”²⁷ Additionally, in 2006 the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism adopted the ideology of complete isolation of states sponsoring terrorism.

In light of technological advances and the increasing interconnectedness of world affairs, it may appear that diplomats serve an outdated function. If the US president wants to express disapproval to the leader of another state, a phone call can be easily made. However, the interpersonal nature of diplomatic correspondence and negotiation is of utmost importance. “While some argue that advances in telecommunications make an on-the-ground presence unnecessary, certain,” Maller insists, “information cannot be gleaned without the special awareness fostered and developed by living and working in the target country.”²⁸ Pigman argues that the radical improvements in technology actually make the role of a diplomat even more crucial. Diplomatic information is more accessible to the

²⁷ Flynt Leverett, “Illusion and Reality,” *The American Prospect*, August 13, 2006, accessed October 24, 2016, [http:// www.prospect.org/cs/articles?articleId 11859](http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?articleId 11859).

²⁸ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 64.

public, the need to maintain state legitimacy is heightened, and the speed at which pivotal decisions must be made is accelerated.²⁹

Kerr and Wiseman identify five contemporary challenges to contemporary:³⁰

1. Globalization
2. Interdependence
3. Friction between globalization and regionalization
4. New emphasis on diplomacy over military force for the resolution of problems
5. Changing world order that is no longer US-centric

Globalization is a fundamental reason for the importance of ambassadors. The role of a diplomat is so crucial, Pigman explains, because of the necessity to communicate across cultures, states, and governments in an increasingly interconnected world. With the arrival of mass communication technology and the democratization of politics, he says, “Governments and their diplomats increasingly had to come to terms with the need to communicate with publics, both foreign and domestic, in addition to communicating with their official counterparts in other nation states.”³¹

Secondly, diplomats must find their place in an increasingly interdependent world. In tackling issues that do not respect national boundaries, like climate change, economic instability, and political upheaval, the conduct of diplomacy faces a question of whether to rely on traditional state-to-state diplomacy, international organizations like the UN, or multilateral coalitions representing specific interests of different countries, like the G20. Pigman identifies the “increasing profusion of diplomatic actors to include not just governments of nation-states, but sub-state governments (Catalonia, Québec),

²⁹ Geoffrey Allen Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 13.

³⁰ Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman, ed., *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4-7.

³¹ Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, 3.

supranational governments (the European Union), multilateral organizations and institutions (the United Nations, NATO), civil society organizations (the International Committee of the Red Cross, Greenpeace) and global firms (Toyota, Microsoft), among others.”³² Along with this is the tension between globalization and regionalization, as location-specific diplomatic coalitions like the EU and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Nations) grow in strength and influence. As shown in the diplomatic revocation index, the UN and EU do maintain ambassadors.

The fourth problem of military versus diplomatic conflict resolution coincides exactly with the importance of ambassadors and the significance of their absence. As diplomacy increases in importance, so does the power of the ambassador, and more noticeable is his or her absence. Finally, the rise of new powers like China, Brazil, and India will fundamentally change the balance of power. Diplomats to and from these countries will need to shift their political expectations when negotiating issues for these countries or their own.

³² Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, 11-12.

Chapter 3

Methods, and Explaining the Diplomatic Dataset

“The function of a diplomatic agent comes to an end, inter alia:

- (a) On notification by the sending State to the receiving State that the function of the diplomatic agent has come to an end;
- (b) On notification by the receiving State to the sending State that, in accordance with paragraph 2 of article 9, it refuses to recognize the diplomatic agent as a member of the mission.”

-Article 43, *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*

In this chapter

- Methods
- Explanation of the Diplomatic Dataset
- Graphs and Tables

Diplomatic recalls can take several forms. It can take the form of an ambassador who is temporarily recalled in political protest, as was the case between the United States and Mexico in 1998 over the release of a Puerto Rican terrorist, to an entire embassy being shut down and all diplomatic relations ceasing between the two states, as was the case with the United States and Cuba in 1960 during the Cold War. In this dataset, Level 1 revocations are the most politically significant. They result from political strife and are accompanied by other diplomatic recalls or alternate forms of sanctions. Level 2 revocations occur for political reasons, but are briefer in diplomatic scope. Level 3 revocations cover all non-political diplomatic summonses.

Methods

The information in this dataset comes from media coverage and government records from all 195 foreign states recognized by the United States, as well as some extant states

(like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia), disputed territories (like Taiwan) and non-state actors that receive ambassadors (like the European Union and the United Nations). In total, there are 156 unique sending entities who recalled their ambassador home, and 171 unique receiving entities which had an ambassador recalled from their midst.

Using Google and LexisNexis, this dataset catalogues primary coverage of international instances of diplomatic revocation, when one sending state recalls its ambassador from another state with whom it has established formal diplomatic ties. Each state is afforded a distinct search entry (“Country X recalls ambassador”) so as to cast the widest net in capturing all possible occasions on which it recalled its ambassador. In identifying relevant search results, the first fifty results of every search were parsed for articles that were truly about one state recalling its ambassador from another. This dataset, and thesis as a whole, deals only with the revocation of ambassadors, and not lesser diplomatic staff, like ministers, envoys, or *charges d’affaires*.

Additionally, these search terms often turned up results in which Country X served as the receiving state. Such instances are logged accordingly. All unique revocations are recorded only once. That is to say, if the same instance of revocation appeared when both terms of its dyads were searched, it is only recorded once. Also of note: sometimes a search entry produced results about diplomatic retorsion unrelated to Country X, but flagged because the recall was covered in a news source from Country X. Such instances are also logged appropriately.

With all state searches complete, targeted searches were conducted for revocations whose initial search turned up sources that provided insufficient information to correctly

assess the correct level of political significance to which the revocation corresponds. Revocations unsubstantiated by a second round of research were removed from the dataset. Another cause for removal from the dataset resulted from the nuances of “recall” terminology in diplomatic semantics. Often the language of an ambassador being “presented a recall” is used in quotidian transitions of title from one ambassador to another. The new ambassador must present their letters of credence to be accepted by the receiving state (the protocol laid out in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations), and the new ambassador presents the old ambassador with a letter of recall as a matter of course. These conventional revocations are not included in the index unless they correspond to a transition in government leadership or international policy. The caliber of the dataset is additionally improved by exclusions made for source quality and availability.

The Numbers

The completed dataset, available in the appendix, is ordered by sending state, receiving state, year, level of political significance, explanation, length of revocation (if available), and source. Using the index as a microcosm for all instances of international diplomatic revocation throughout our selected span of history, one can see that fewer than half of diplomatic revocations concern policy, and just fewer than 16% of revocations are used as a strong diplomatic tool. The majority are Level 3 revocations, which encompass personal or professional shortfalls of the ambassador, domestic or diplomatic transitions in the sending state, insulting remarks and actions, and security issues in the receiving

state. Level 1 and Level 2 revocations relate to a state’s political environment. Level 3 reasons are more varied, as they serve as the catchall of non-political revocations. Sub-categories and their prevalence within Level 3 are listed below.

Figure 1: Diplomatic Revocations, by Category

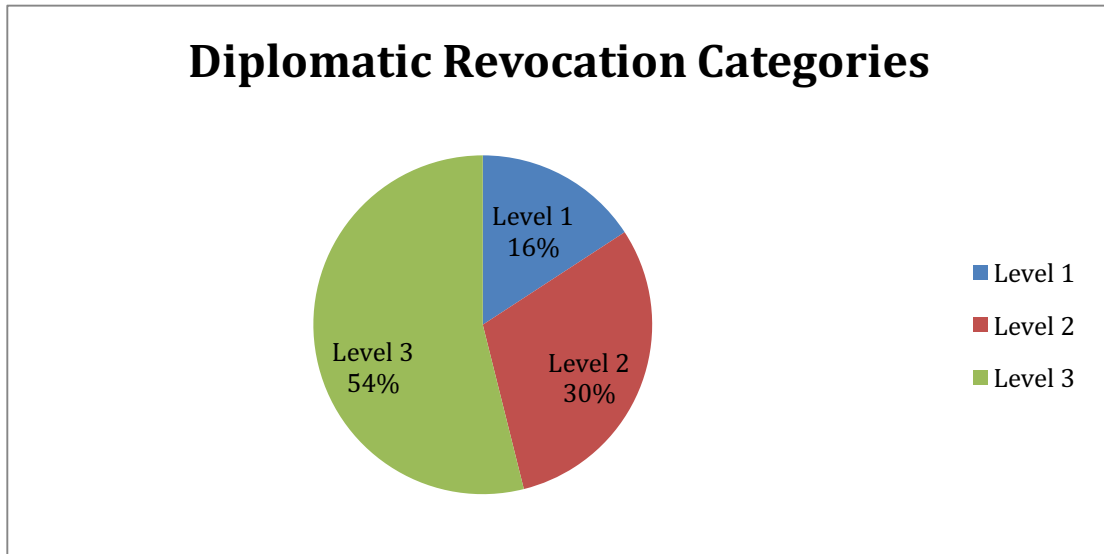


Figure 2: Revocation Category Counts and Percentages

	Total Count	Percentage
Level 1	158	15.8%
Level 2	303	30.3%
Level 3	539	53.9%
Total	1000	100%

Figure 3: Level 3 Sub-Categories

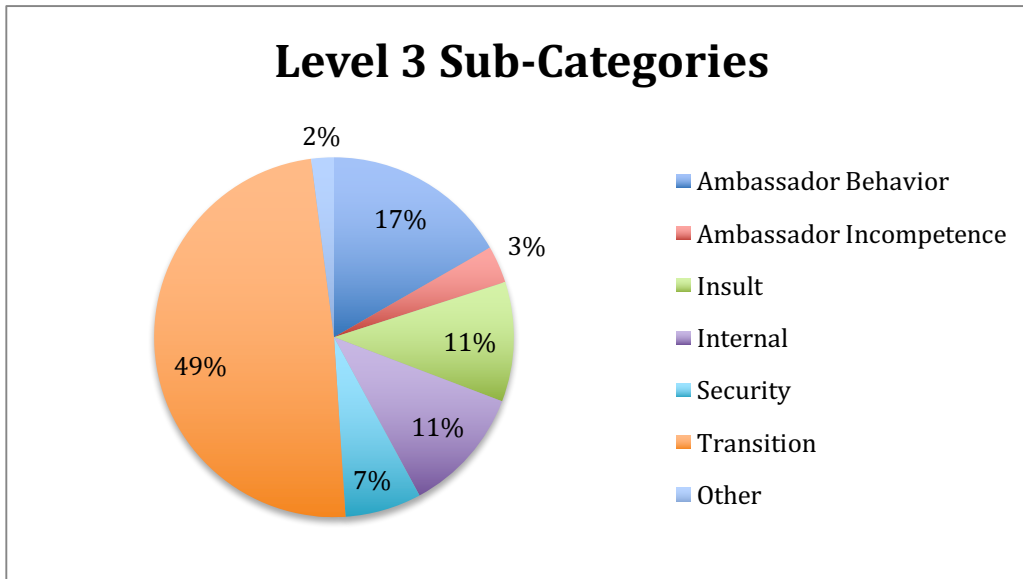


Figure 4: Level 3 Subcategory Counts and Percentages

	Total Count	Percentage
Ambassador Behavior	90	16.7%
Ambassador Incompetence	18	3.3%
Insult	58	10.8%
Internal	61	11.3%
Security	37	6.9%
Transition	264	49.0%
Other	11	2.0%
Total	539	100%

Chapter 4

Level 1: Revocation as a Strong Diplomatic Tool

In this chapter

- Description of a Level 1 Revocation
- Level 1 Cases
 - The United States and Iran in 1979
 - Political Turmoil in Syria from 2011 Onward
 - Argentina and Brazil in 2013
 - Turkey and the Armenian Genocide
 - China and Taiwanese Independence

Level 1: Powerful Diplomatic Tool

Description

Level 1 diplomatic revocations refer to those that function as powerful nonverbal diplomatic tools. They serve to communicate strong or prolonged disapproval, supplement international policy and sanctions, and effect distinct change and dissuasion in the receiving state. In a Level 1 revocation, the sending state revokes its ambassador from the receiving state to signal disapproval of policy. Such an act implies that the sending state has a severe difference of opinion with the receiving state on a certain issue that has recently come to light in an unfavorable way. Revocation as a diplomatic tool implies political division between two states, as well as a catalyzing event that brings the two states to a political impasse. One might expect the leader of the sending state to issue a statement explaining his or her decision that expounds on a history of political grievances and bureaucratic discord between the two states.

Level 1 revocations might be accompanied by sanctions, war, or ongoing multilateral efforts to combat the controversial behavior of the receiving state. Economic

sanctions “serve as a junior weapon in a battery of diplomatic artillery aimed at the antagonistic state” once the “normal means of diplomatic protest” (recalling an ambassador or cancelling a cultural mission) have been extinguished.¹ The United States implements diplomatic sanctions in conjunction with about 30 percent of its economic sanctions.² Such was the case in 1949 when the United States recalled its ambassador to Guatemala.

A Level 1 revocation may be paired with any combination of the following indicators:

1. Engagement in war or political upheaval, of which diplomatic revocation comprises part of the sending state’s strategy.
2. Expectations that the sending state first expressed its disapproval through all international diplomatic avenues, including sanctions, interventions, or other policies designed to advance its political agenda.
3. Multilateral Action- Other sending states that share the same political disagreement with the receiving state may also revoke their ambassadors.
4. Comprehensive Action- a state will recall its ambassador from all receiving states that are participating in the unacceptable behavior.

Level 1 Cases

Level 1.1: The United States and Mexico in 1845

In March 1845 the United States and Mexico both recalled their ambassadors amid

¹ Gary Clyde Hufbauer, Jeffrey J. Schott, Kimberly Ann Elliot, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy*, 2nd ed., (Washington DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990), 43.

² Tara Maller, 2010 “Diplomacy Derailed: The Consequences of Diplomatic Sanctions,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 62.

tensions surrounding the annexation of Texas. Diplomatic strain had been mounting in the previous year, as Mexico rejected the treaty conceding disputed territory to the Republic of Texas following Mexican defeat in the Battle of San Jacinto. President John Taylor filed a last minute resolution in Congress for the annexation, and when incoming President James K. Polk continued his expansionist campaign promises, Mexico recalled its ambassador, prompting a tit-for-tat recall. The next year, President Polk declared war on Mexico.³

Level 1.1/1.2: The United States and Iran in 1979

The United States' diplomatic recall in Iran in 1979 was a small piece in a very large puzzle of political hostility between the two states. Since the overthrow of the progress-oriented Pahlavi dynasty in the Iranian revolution, when Iran closed itself from Western cooperation and imposed a strict religious regime under Ayatollah Khomeini, the United States have imposed comprehensive sanctions on Iran. Immediately after the seizure of the US Embassy in Tehran, President Carter froze eleven billion dollars in Iranian assets and imposed economic sanctions that would soon incapacitate Iran's economy.

1.1/1.2 The United States and the Soviet Union in 1979

In another instance of a highly political diplomatic recall, the United States summoned its ambassador to the Soviet Union in December 1979 to protest Soviet

³ John Durand, *The Taos Massacre*, 263, 2003, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qtDARoLA6vIC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

military invasion in Afghanistan. Press Secretary Jodie Powell characterized Soviet intervention as Soviet action in Afghanistan as “a serious threat to peace.”⁴ This marked a crucial point of conflict between the two superpowers still riding the wave of Cold War tensions and competing for global influence. Not only did this recall correspond to an immense political conflict, it was also part of a larger political campaign of action. In addition to recalling American ambassador Thomas J. Watson, President Jimmy Carter postponed negotiations on the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty to regulate nuclear weapons and considered new trade restrictions and a potential boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics to be held in Moscow.⁵ The recall marked the end of détente and ushered in a US recommitment to anti-Communist foreign policy with the election of Ronald Reagan the next year. This recall sent a strong message to the United States that a Soviet puppet government in Afghanistan would not be tolerated and that the period of improved diplomatic and economic relations was over.

Level 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4: Political Turmoil in Syria from 2011 Onward

A robust example of a Level 1.3 diplomatic revocation comes from Syria in the past half decade in light of the large number of states that recalled their ambassador from Damascus to protest the political oppression of Syrian President Bashir al-Assad’s regime. The Syrian crisis merits a Level 1 categorization on many fronts: it prompted multilateral political diplomatic recalls following the exhaustion of other political

⁴ “U.S.-Russia Détente Ends,” accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-russia-detente-ends>.

⁵ “U.S.-Russia Détente Ends,” *History.com*

channels; it also posed security concerns, caused tit-for-tat recalls, and bore the brunt of several other political sanctions.

As of August 2011, more than 1,600 people had been killed in the Syrian government's sweeping campaign to crack down on political protesters who it claimed were agents of foreign Islamist terrorist groups.⁶ That number rose to 6,000 by July of the following year.⁷ France, Italy, Spain, Britain, Netherlands, Belgium, and the United States recalled their ambassadors to Syria in 2012 to protest Syria's crackdown on political protesters.⁸ The United Kingdom and the United States closed their respective embassies in Damascus to protest what they considered the unacceptable level of violence in the country. Additionally, the entire Arab League called on all its members to recall their ambassadors to Syria in the wake of the Syrian government's assault on Homs.⁹

The Assad government has launched assaults on cities across Syria, from Homs in the West, to Deir al-Zour in the northeast, to Hama in the center, which have been the sites of continuous shelling campaigns and have periodically been without water and electricity.¹⁰ Gulf states like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait recalled their

⁶ Alessandro Rizzo, "Italy Recalls Ambassador to Syria," *The Seattle Times*, August 02, 2011, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/italy-recalls-ambassador-to-syria/>.

⁷ "Netherlands Recalls Ambassador from Syria," *Now Media*, February 07, 2012, accessed February 9, 2017, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/netherlands_recalls_ambassador_from_syria.

⁸ "Belgium Recalls Ambassador from Damascus for Consultations," *UNIAN News*, February 07, 2012, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.unian.info/politics/605384-belgium-recalls-ambassador-from-damascus-for-consultations.html>; Rizzo, "Italy Recalls Ambassador to Syria"; "Netherlands Recalls Ambassador from Syria"; "US Closes Embassy in Syria, UK Recalls Ambassador," *RT International*, February 06, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.rt.com/news/syria-obama-605/>.

⁹ "Egypt, Syria in Tit-for-Tat Recall of Ambassadors," *GulfNews*, February 20, 2012, accessed December 7, 2016, <http://gulfnews.com/news/mena/syria/egypt-syria-in-tit-for-tat-recall-of-ambassadors-1.983353>.

¹⁰ Nada Bakri, "3 Arab Countries Recall Ambassadors to Syria," *The New York Times*, August 08, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/09/world/middleeast/09syria.html>.

ambassadors and expelled Syrian envoys in their own countries. Those Syrian ambassadors that were not expelled were recalled by Syria in a tit-for-tat revocation. Notoriously conservative and authoritarian Saudi King Abdullah made a public statement addressed directly to Assad calling on him to stop the “killing machine and end the bloodshed.”¹¹ Saudi Arabia has a history of discontent with Syria regarding disparate policies in neighboring Lebanon.¹² The Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council also made strong public statements condemning the systemic violence in Syria.

This situation satisfies all the components of a Level 1 revocation. In addition to its multilateral nature, it was also comprehensive. Sending states also expressed their approval through other international diplomatic channels, including the UN, where a veto by China and Russia had narrowly defeated a UN resolution drafted to address the unrest. The European Union, France specifically, vowed to introduce a new wave of sanctions on Syria. These sanctions were accompanied by a verbal political condemnation of a policy head in the sending state. British Foreign Secretary William Hague summoned Syria’s representative to London to convey his “abhorrence” to the brutality on display in Syria, such as the alleged government assault on the city of Homs. In a statement to British lawmakers, Hague characterized Assad’s government as a “murdering regime” that has permanently lost its international credibility.

The political violence that caused these diplomatic revocations in Syria also garnered the attention of non-state actors. In addition to the UN resolutions on Syria, the

¹¹ Nada Bakri, “3 Arab Countries Recall Ambassadors to Syria,” *The New York Times*, August 08, 2011.

¹² Nada Bakri, “3 Arab Countries Recall Ambassadors to Syria,” *The New York Times*, August 08, 2011.

United Nations reported more than 8,000 casualties.¹³ The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights in Britain closely monitored the location of shelling and the strategic political moves of Assad.¹⁴ European states have fostered working relationships with civilian opposition groups such as the Syrian National Council to provide training on reporting human rights abuses.¹⁵

Additionally, opposing states held high-level meetings between their leaders to discuss the situation in Syria. President Obama met with President Erdogan of Turkey in 2012 to discuss the situation in Syria and the possibility of sending medical aid and other non-military assistance to the Syrian rebels.¹⁶

Even Turkey, a neighbor and emerging ally of Syria, recalled its ambassador in 2012. Turkey had originally tried maintaining diplomatic ties in an effort to use its ambassador to convey strong anti-violence messages to the Syrian government, but ultimately decided to temporarily suspend diplomatic activities, citing security concerns and the unacceptable political violence in Syria. Turkey has absorbed 17,000 Syrian refugees.¹⁷

There are also elements of security concerns to the Syrian revocations. The United

¹³ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-and-closes-embassy-7585329.html>

¹⁴ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012.

¹⁵ Alex Spillius, "Syria: Britain Recalls Ambassador as US Closes Damascus Embassy," *The Telegraph*, February 06, 2012, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9065056/Syria-Britain-recalls-ambassador-as-US-closes-Damascus-embassy.htm>.

¹⁶ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012.

¹⁷ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012.

States had threatened to recall its ambassador to Syria a month earlier than it actually did due to security concerns, believing the safety of its staff to be threatened, not just in general, but because of specific and targeted threats directed toward US ambassador to Syria Robert Ford. The state-run media in Syria had led a sharply critical campaign against him, portraying his previous diplomatic work in Iraq in an unfriendly light. He was mobbed during his meeting with opposition leaders, and his solidarity visit to Hama with the French ambassador prompted the Assad regime to enact strict restrictions on the travel of foreign ambassadors within Syria.¹⁸

Morocco similarly recalled its ambassador two months earlier, citing safety concerns following attacks on the Moroccan embassy in Syria by political protesters.¹⁹ France referenced security concerns as well following the attack by political protesters on military bases in Damascus.²⁰ Switzerland also recalled its ambassador to Syria in 2011, citing contempt for the regime's prolonged human rights violations. The Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs released a statement condemning the continuation of violence against civilians, but noting that the Swiss embassy in Damascus remains open and fully functional and that the ambassador's recall does not constitute a fracture in diplomatic relations.²¹

¹⁸ "Diplomatic Collision Course Leads to Recalls of US, Syrian Ambassadors," *VOA*, October 23, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.voanews.com/a/diplomatic-collision-course-leads-to-recalls-of-us-syrian-ambassadors-132501898/147150.html>.

¹⁹ "Morocco Recalls Ambassador to Syria," *Bahrain News Agency*, November 17, 2011, accessed February 7, 2017, <http://bna.bh/portal/en/news/480796?date=2012-01-14>.

²⁰ Erik Hayden, "Violence Escalates in Syria, France Recalls Ambassador," *The Atlantic*, November 16, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/11/syria-france-ambassador/335416/>.

²¹ Bern Qna, "Switzerland Recalls Ambassador to Syria for Consultations," *Arabs Today*, August 18, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.arabstoday.net/en/37/switzerland-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-for-consultations>.

Along with Qatar, Italy had previously recalled its ambassador to Syria in 2011, citing the Assad administration's "horrible repression" of anti-government demonstrators.²² In addition to freezing cooperative programs with Syria, Rome called on the other members of the EU follow suit and recall their ambassadors to Syria. The EU had already implemented travel bans and asset freezes on multiple military and government officials, including President Assad. The EU agreed to extend the sanctions to Syrian Defense Minister Ali Habib Mahmud and the head of the army's internal security, Major General Tawfiq Younes, bringing the total sanctioned list to thirty-five officials and four government agencies.²³ The diplomatic sanctions were part of a larger effort to invalidate and seclude Syria, as evidenced by Hague's statement:

"In the absence of an end to the senseless violence and a genuine process of political reform, we will continue to pursue further EU sanctions. President Assad and those around him will find themselves isolated internationally and discredited within Syria."²⁴

Syria did not remain silent in the face of these highly targeted diplomatic attacks. Damascus recalled its own ambassador from Egypt and the United States in a tit-for-tat retaliation to express resentment over the recalls, as well as over US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's meeting with seven Syrian opposition leaders during a trip to Geneva.²⁵ The unrest in Syria is one of the most pressing political situations of modern day, and it has given rise to a veritable potpourri of diplomatic sanctions.

²² Rizzo, "Italy Recalls Ambassador to Syria."

²³ Rizzo, "Italy Recalls Ambassador to Syria."

²⁴ Rizzo, "Italy Recalls Ambassador to Syria."

²⁵ "Syria recalls ambassador to US," *Ynetnews*, December 21, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4164686,00.html>.

1.3/1.4: Argentina and Brazil in 2013

A revocation can also be part of a concentrated group; sometimes multiple countries will pair up in recalling their ambassadors from the same offending country or countries for the same reason. In 2013 for example, both Argentina and Brazil wished to express displeasure at five European countries that had refused to let the plane of Bolivian president Evo Morales enter their airspace upon his return from an energy summit in Moscow, thus forcing an emergency landing in Austria.²⁶ In response, both Argentina and Brazil recalled their ambassadors from five countries: France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Belgium. It was later revealed that the US ambassador to Austria had alerted these countries of his suspicion that the supposed political fugitive Edward Snowden was aboard this plane. This prompted Argentina and Brazil to recall their ambassadors to protest what they perceived to be European interference with South American attempts to grant asylum to Snowden.

1.4: Turkey and the Armenian Genocide

Turkey produces some of the most comprehensive diplomatic sanctions in the entire world. In what has been referred to as the “never-ending” Armenia issue, Turkey swiftly recalls its ambassador from every state that officially recognizes (or even hints at acknowledging) the 1915 Armenian genocide under the Ottoman Empire.²⁷ During the eight years between 1915 and 1923, Turkey deported almost 2 million Armenians, 75%

²⁶ “S. American States to Recall Ambassadors from Europe over Bolivian Plane Incident,” *RT International*, July 12, 2013, accessed October 27, 2016, <https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/>.

²⁷ Ziya Meral and Jonathan Paris, “Decoding Turkish Foreign Policy Hyperactivity,” *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2010, 75-86.

of who died.²⁸ There exists long-standing enmity between Turkey and Armenia over the characterization of the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians under the Ottoman government from 1915 to 1923. Turkey bristles at the term genocide, which implies a strategic and systematic mindset it believes was not present in its campaign against Armenians.

In the past decade alone, Turkey has recalled its ambassador from nine states, sometimes on multiple occasions, to protest against their formal or implied recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Offending states include Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the United States, and the Vatican. Turkey summoned its ambassador to Canada when the Canadian Prime Minister spoke at a vigil for the Armenian genocide.²⁹ Turkey recalled its ambassador to France in 2011 when the French legislature not only recognized the Armenian Genocide, but also criminalized its denial.³⁰ Ankara recalled its ambassador to the United States on multiple occasions, not only with official recognition, but also any time a resolution would make headway in the House or Senate to recognize the genocide.³¹

1.4: China and the Independence of Taiwan

Similarly, during the 1990s, the recognition conflict between China and Taiwan

²⁸ "Armenian Genocide," *History.com*, 2010, accessed September 16, 2016, <http://www.history.com/topics/armenian-genocide>.

²⁹ "Turkey Recalls Ambassador from Canada over vigil," *Reuters*, April 22, 2009, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://ca.reuters.com/article/domesticNews/idCATRE53L3AU20090422>.

³⁰ "Turkey Recalls French Ambassador over Armenian Genocide Bill," *The Telegraph*, December 22, 2011, accessed April 26, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/8973189/Turkey-recalls-French-ambassador-over-Armenian-genocide-bill.html>.

³¹ Walsh, Labott, and Sterling, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador over Genocide Resolution"; Marin Cogan, "Turkey Pulls Ambassador from U.S.," *Politico*, March 4, 2010, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.politico.com/story/2010/03/turkey-pulls-ambassador-from-us-033939>.

produced a steady series of diplomatic recalls. Taiwan's cultural and legal relationship to China had been in flux for several centuries. China had annexed Taiwan in the late 17th century, ceded the territory to Japan in 1895, and then regained Taiwan after World War II when Japan was in shambles. Resentment in Taiwan grew against oppressive Chinese policies until the establishment of a Taiwanese democracy in the last decade of the 20th century.³²

China habitually recalled the Chinese ambassador from countries that chose to recognize Taiwan as a legitimate government, and South Africa did the same for countries who recognized Beijing instead of Taipei as the legitimate Chinese government. China summoned its ambassador to Latvia in 1992 once Latvia commenced formal relations with Taiwan.³³ Beijing recalled its ambassador to the United States four years later when President Bill Clinton received the Taiwanese president for an official visit to the United States.³⁴ On the other side of the conflict, Taiwan recalled its ambassador to South Africa in 1996 and Grenada in 2004 after these states moved toward recognizing Beijing over Taipei.

³² "Taiwan profile – Timeline" *BBC News*, January 20, 2016, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16178545>.

³³ Jelena Staburova, "Latvia-China-Taiwan: Triangle or Circle?" *Latvian Institute of International Affairs*, 1993, accessed February 3, 2017, <http://liia.lv/en/publications/latvia-chinataiwan-triangle-or-circle-5>.

³⁴ Elaine Sciolino, "Angered Over Taiwan, China Recalls Its Ambassador in U.S." *The New York Times*, June 16, 1995, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/06/17/world/angered-over-taiwan-china-recalls-its-ambassador-in-us.html>.

Chapter 5

Level 2: Revocation as a Moderate Diplomatic Tool

In this chapter

- Explanation of Level 2 Revocations
- Level 2 Cases
 - Policy
 - Mistreatment

Level 2: Low Level Political Disapproval

Reasons for self-contained Level 2 diplomatic revocations include, but are not limited to: mistreatment of the sending state's citizens in the receiving state, accusations of espionage and election interference, human rights violations, political disagreements, territorial disputes, and longstanding political tensions. Level 2 diplomatic revocations do not correspond to organized or multilateral foreign policy initiatives, but are nevertheless useful for nonverbal signal sending.

2.1- Policy

Level 2 revocations are unilateral and insular. They account for just over 30% of diplomatic recalls. An official statement often follows level 2 revocations or political indication that Country A disapproves of Country B's policies and has therefore recalled its ambassador to B. In 2015 for example, Bahrain sent for its ambassador to Tehran following what it dubbed "hostile statements" by Iranian officials. Bahrain called these statements evidence of "a strategy built on interference in the affairs of the Kingdom of

Bahrain.”¹ The two states share a history of religious and political disagreement, but this recall did not prove to be a catalyst for heightened political action. Level 2 revocations happen if the political impropriety is not severe enough to merit a multifaceted response, but not so benign so as to permit the turning of a blind eye.

Case 1: The United States and South Africa in 1985

Sometimes a state will recall its ambassador for political reasons, but take no other diplomatic action against the receiving state. Such was the case in South Africa in 1985. President Reagan recalled US ambassador to South Africa Herbert Beukes in June of that year “to underscore US dissatisfaction with South Africa’s crackdown on dissent and its incursions into Angola and Botswana.”² South Africa’s program of apartheid displeased the United States, and the Pretoria’s imposition of attendance limits at black funerals aggravated Washington’s ire. South Africa also instituted a state of emergency to justify the groundless arrest of over 1200 people, mostly youths and community leaders. Although both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed resolutions calling for economic sanctions, the Reagan administration eschewed economic sanctions in favor of increased verbal and diplomatic criticism. The next month President Botha of South Africa recalled its ambassador to the United States in a tit-for-tat reprisal.

¹ Maha El Dahan, “Bahrain Recalls its Ambassador to Iran, Citing 'Hostile Statements,’” *Business Insider*, July 25, 2015, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.businessinsider.com/r-bahrain-recalls-its-ambassador-to-iran-citing-hostile-statements-2015-7>.

² Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr. “South Africa Recalls Its U.S. Envoy,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1985, accessed February 15, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1985-07-31/news/8502200095_1_black-townships-south-africa-funerals.

Case 2: The United States and Bulgaria in 1989

Four years later, President Bush recalled US Ambassador Sol Polansky to Bulgaria to protest the Bulgarian oppression of Turks. Turks made up over ten percent of the Bulgarian population, but fled by the thousands into Turkey in the wake of oppressive Bulgarian policies. The Turks claimed that Bulgarian authorities were waging a cultural war to wipe out the Turkish identity.³

Case 3: The United States and Burkina Faso in 1992

In 1992 the United States recalled its ambassador to Burkina Faso, believing the East African country to be supplying weapons to Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor during Liberia's civil war.⁴ Worried that these arms would fan the already growing flames of crisis and undermine peace efforts, President Bush recalled Ambassador Edward P. Brynn. Tensions between the United States and Liberia were already high, as the State Department insisted that Taylor was responsible for the killing of five American nuns the month prior. Before recalling its ambassador to Burkina Faso, the United States had already exhausted several channels of negotiation, citing their continued military aid for Taylor despite protracted warnings to the contrary.

³ "U.S. Recalls Bulgaria Envoy; Plight of Turks Is Protested," *The New York Times*, August 29, 1989, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/08/30/world/us-recalls-bulgaria-envoy-plight-of-turks-is-protested.html>.

⁴ Barbara Crossette, "U.S. Recalls Envoy to Burkina Faso," *The New York Times*, November 05, 1992, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/06/world/us-recalls-envoy-to-burkina-faso.html?n=Top%2FReference%2FTimesTopics%2FOrganizations%2FU%2FUnited%2FStates%2Fforeign%2FService>.

Case 4: The United States and France in 1794

In a historic example of a Level 2 revocation, France recalled its ambassador to the United States in 1794 following the Citizen Genêt Affair. French Minister to the United States Edmond Genêt jeopardized US attempts to remain neutral in the conflict between Great Britain, Spain, and Revolutionary France. Upon arriving at his posts in the States, Genêt advocated for the outfitting of French ships in US ports and attempted to commission US privateers (despite warnings to the contrary), as American support would be helpful in safeguarding French colonies in the Caribbean. Remaining neutral, however, was a crucial strategy to the nascent United States. Still in its early stages of existence, President Washington's cabinet wanted to sustain good political relations with both Great Britain and France, fearing that to embroil itself in foreign conflicts so soon could make it the target of attack and economic reprisal. The Citizen Genet fair was unique in that it was not a clean-cut diplomatic revocation. Unsatisfied with his inability to garner support from US officials, France recalled Genet. The United States allowed him to stay stateside to preserve his safety, though no longer in a diplomatic capacity.⁵

Case 5: China and Myanmar in the 1990s

The outcome of elections can also prompt a diplomatic stir, as seen in the 1990s following the election of Aung San Suu Kyi of the National League for Democracy in Myanmar. China recalled its ambassador for a year when the Burmese military regime rejected the results of the democratic election and scorned China's hospitality to Suu Kyi.

⁵ "The Citizen Genêt Affair, 1793-1794," *U.S. Department of State*, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1784-1800/citizen-genet>.

China wished to maintain bilateral relations, so it was forced to advocate for its political and economic agenda with the military government rather than the relatively disempowered NLD. China did not wish to take further actions to sever ties. With the reemergence of Suu Kyi since 2011, China redoubled its diplomatic efforts, sending its ambassador to meet regularly with Suu Kyi, and inviting NLD representatives to China to increase communication and understanding.⁶

Case 6: Costa Rica and Nicaragua in 2005

Territorial disputes sometimes prompt a state to summon its ambassador. In 2005, for example, Costa Rica recalled its ambassador and filed suit against Nicaragua in the International Court of Justice, demanding the right to run police patrols across the San Juan river, a river which Nicaragua insists falls within its own borders.⁷ This has been an ongoing dispute since 1998. Costa Rica argues that Nicaragua is restricting Costa Rican boats and passengers in violation of an 1858 treaty between the two countries, while Nicaragua maintains that Costa Rica is entitled to only limited commercial privileges on the river. Nicaragua moved troops to the border and threatened, but did not enact, economic sanctions in response. In another instance of territorial revocation, Iran recalled its ambassador to Iraq in 2008 after Iraq pledged support for United Arab Emirates ownership of three Persian Gulf Islands. Iran had claimed ownership of these islands in 1971 after the departure of the British forces, and threatened to bring the UAE to the

⁶ Yun Sun, "China's Relations with Myanmar: Does an NLD Government Mark a New Era?" *Asia Times*, December 08, 2015, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.atimes.com/article/chinas-relations-with-myanmar-does-an-nld-government-mark-a-new-era/>.

⁷ Geraldine Coughlan, "Americas | Costa Rica takes dispute to court," *BBC News*, October 04, 2005, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4309418.stm>.

Hague for illegal occupation of the islands.⁸

Case 7: Jordan and Israel in 2014

Religious politics are also a factor in Level 3 revocations. Jordan recalled its ambassador to Israel in 2014 to protest the continued Israeli violation of holy sites in Palestine, which Jordan views as the unfettered encroachment of the Jewish presence in Muslim territory. Palestinian authorities claimed that Israeli police illegally entered the al-Aqsa mosque, the third most sacred holy site in Islam. Jordan released a statement condemning the action and warning that it would lodge an official complaint with the United Nations Security Council. Jordan had sent other pro-Palestine signals to Israel in the past, most recently via a warning by Jordanian Ambassador Walid Obeidat a week prior directed at Israeli ultranationalists.⁹ This contributed to the already-high tensions after Israel closed off the part of Jerusalem's Old City under Jordanian King Abdullah's jurisdiction. Israel and Jordan have shared a peace treaty since 1984, and they are currently trying to join forces to combat the presence of ISIS in the region, which is perhaps why Israel did not escalate tensions with a response, keeping this at a Level 2 summons.

2.2- Mistreatment

The mistreatment (or alleged mistreatment) of the sending state's officials is a

⁸ "Iran recalls ambassador to Iraq," *Iran Focus*, May 09, 2008, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.iranfocus.com/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15209%3Airan-recalls-ambassador-to-iraq&catid=7%3Airaq&Itemid=112.

⁹ Jeffrey Heller, and Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Jordan Recalls Its Ambassador From Israel," *The Huffington Post*, November 05, 2014, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/05/jordan-recalls-ambassador-israel_n_6108564.html.

hallmark of Level 2 revocation. Diplomatic sanctions were imposed by the victimized state when an Israeli warplane accidentally shot three Egyptian officers in 2011, when three Botswanan soldiers were arrested for illegally entering Zimbabwe in 2010, when the Burmese chief of intelligence was arrested in Canada in 2004, when Belgium's highest court ruled that the Israeli Prime Minister could be tried for war crimes in 2003, when Germany arrested a Rwandan official in 2009, when Iran buried a Canadian journalist in 2003 against his wishes to be buried in Montreal, when Iraq hung a British journalist for alleged espionage in 1990, when a Kenyan court issued an arrest warrant for the Sudanese president for crimes against humanity in 2011, when India brought two Italian marines to trial in 2014, and in 2004 when Saudi Arabia suspected Libya of plotting to kill the Saudi Arabian crown prince.¹⁰

¹⁰ "Egypt Recalls Ambassador to Israel over Shootings," *The Nation*, August 20, 2011, accessed December 7, 2016, <http://nation.com.pk/international/20-Aug-2011/Egypt-recalls-Ambassador-to-Israel-over-shootings>; "Botswana Recalls Zimbabwean Diplomats," *Sunday Standard*, February 07, 2010, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.sundaystandard.info/botswana-recalls-zimbabwean-diplomats>; "New Burmese Ambassador to Canada: a Messenger for New Regime in Burma?" *Canadian Friends of Burma - News Flash*, April 20, 2011, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.cfob.org/news/New%20Burmese%20Ambassador%20to%20Canada%20-%20a%20messenger%20for%20new%20regime%20in%20Burma.html>; "Israel Recalls Belgium Ambassador after Sharon Ruling," *The Irish Times*, February 11, 2003, accessed February 2, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/israel-recalls-belgium-ambassador-after-sharon-ruling-1.461194>; "Germany Recalls Ambassador From Rwanda," *VOA*, November 01, 2009, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2008-11-11-voa48/339092.html>; "Canada Recalls Ambassador After Iran Buries Journalist," *Orlando Sentinel*, July 24, 2003, accessed November 15, 2016, http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2003-07-24/news/0307240188_1_iran-ambassador-shiraz; Salah Nasrawi, "Journalist Hanged For Alleged Spying; Britain Recalls Ambassador," *Associated Press*, March 15, 1990, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1990/Journalist-Hanged-For-Alleged-Spying-Britain-Recalls-Ambassador/id-74923dbbef10b0e0e7e414f614f7ea08>; "Sudan Recalls Ambassador from Kenya over Bashir Arrest Warrant," *Panapress*, November 29, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.panapress.com/Sudan-recalls-Ambassador-from-Kenya-over-Bashir-arrest-warrant--15-807607-30-lang4-index.html>; "Italy Recalls Ambassador to India after Supreme Court Delays Marines' Trial," *The Guardian*, February 18, 2014, accessed February 2, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/18/italy-recalls-ambassador-india-marine-trial-delays>; Neil MacFarquhar, "Seeing a Plot, Saudis Recall Ambassador From Libya," *The New York Times*, December 23, 2004, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/23/world/middleeast/seeing-a-plot-saudis-recall-ambassador-from-libya.html>.

The mistreatment of the sending state's citizens also prompts a diplomatic outcry. Affected states recalled their ambassador when Austria banned Turkish citizens living in Austria from holding an anti-coup rally in 2016, when Canada imposed new visa requirements on Czech citizens in 2009 to cut down on refugee claims, when the Democratic Republic of the Congo deported five Britons accused of spying, when Belarus harassed ethnic Poles in 2005, when Singapore hung a Philippine maid accused of murder in 1995, when Iran detained two Azeri poets in 2012, when poor Qatari labor conditions caused the death of dozens of Nepali workers in 2013, in 2013 when the Dominican Republic passed a new law revoking citizenship from people born of Haitian parents who arrived after 1929, when Romania refused to let one of its citizens leave to visit his wife in Sweden in 1987, and when Sandinistas in Nicaragua shot down a helicopter in 1984 killing 8 Hondurans.¹¹

¹¹ "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Austria for Consultations," *Qatar Tribune*, August 23, 2016, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.qatar-tribune.com/Latest-News/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-austria-for-consultations-4>; Michael Valpy, "Czech Republic Recalls Ambassador," *The Globe and Mail*, August 23, 2012, accessed September 16, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/czech-republic-recalls-ambassador/article1200111/>; "Britain recalls Congo Ambassador," *Kuna*, December 1, 1999, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticlePrintPage.aspx?id=986494&language=en>; Steven L. Meyers, "World Briefing | Europe: Belarus: Poland Recalls Ambassador," *The New York Times*, July 29, 2005, accessed February 9, 2017, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D00E4DD113FF93AA15754C0A9639C8B63>; Aziz Hamdoun, "Morocco and Mauritania: Is it Just a Tug of War or a Real One?" *Moroccans of the World*, December 26, 2016, accessed February 7, 2017, <http://moroccansoftheworld.com/morocco-and-mauritania-is-it-just-a-tug-of-war-or-a-real-one/>; "Azerbaijan Recalls Iran Ambassador," *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, May 30, 2012, accessed September 16, 2016, <http://www.rferl.org/content/azerbaijan-iran-recall-ambassador/24597902.html>; Gopal Sharma, "Nepal Envoy Recalled after Qatar 'Open Jail' Remarks," *Reuters*, September 26, 2013, accessed February 7, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nepal-qatar-ambassador-idUSBRE98P10O20130926>; "Haiti Recalls Its Ambassador to the Dominican Republic," *Caribbean Journal*, October 01, 2013, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://www.caribjournal.com/2013/10/01/haiti-recalls-its-ambassador-to-the-dominican-republic/#>; Rolf Soderlind, "Sweden Recalls Ambassador to Romania," *UPI*, November 03, 1987, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/1987/11/03/Sweden-recalls-ambassador-to-Romania/3229562914000/>; "Around the World: Army Placed on Full Alert in Nicaragua," *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, May 10, 1984, accessed February 9, 2017, LexisNexis Academic.

Case 8: Australia and Indonesia in 2015

In another instance of a Level 2 revocation, Australia recalled its ambassador to Indonesia in 2015 in response to two Australian citizens being executed for their role in a drug smuggling scheme. Australian officials spent the better part of the decade trying to prevent the execution, but Indonesia sought to fight its self-proclaimed war on drugs with strict punishments for offenders. Although Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot released a statement saying that relations “cannot be simply business as usual” and sharing his belief that the executions were cruel and unnecessary, it was strategic for Australia to avoid escalating tensions . Australia shares a stable and productive relationship with Indonesia, and the two countries collaborate on asylum and anti-terrorism initiatives.¹² A unilateral and insular revocation allowed Australia to condemn Indonesia, while maintaining important international ties.

Case 9: Italy and Egypt in 2016

In a similar case, Italy recalled its ambassador to Egypt in 2016 over the torture and death of an Italian student in Cairo. Italy, frustrated with Egypt’s reticence to collaborate on the investigation, imposed diplomatic sanctions on Egypt under suspicion that Egyptian police were responsible for the student’s beating. In the wake of accusations of torture, abductions, and extrajudicial killings, Italy worried this incident corresponded to a larger problem involving Egyptian disregard for human rights. In this case, Italy could not garner any multilateral support that would elevate their recall to a Level 1 revocation.

¹² “Indonesia Executions: Australia Recalls Ambassador,” *BBC News*, April 29, 2015, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32508722>.

Due to shared economic and political interests between Egypt and the West, Rome was unsuccessful in appealing to other European countries to manifest their disapproval against Egypt.¹³

¹³ Declan Walsh, "Italy Recalls Envoy to Egypt Over Inquiry Into Student's Death," *The New York Times*, April 08, 2016, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/09/world/europe/italy-recalls-envoy-to-egypt-over-inquiry-into-students-death.html?_r=0.

Chapter 6

Level 3: Revocation as a Peripheral Diplomatic Tool

In this chapter

- Explanation of a Level 3 Revocation
- Level 3 Cases
 - Ambassador Behavior
 - Professional Diplomatic Incompetence
 - National Insult
 - Internal Circumstances
 - Security
 - Transition of Leadership
 - Other

Level 3: Security, Ambassador Conduct, and Other Diplomatic Shenanigans

Level 3 revocations are as diverse as they are numerous. Accounting for about 53% of the Diplomatic Revocation Index, Level 3 revocations encompass all non-strategic or non-political diplomatic recalls. 98% of Level 3 recalls can be broken down into one of the six following categories: poor ambassador behavior, professional incompetence, personal insult, internal diplomatic reshuffle, executive transition, or security concerns.

3.1 Ambassador Behavior

Although ambassadors enjoy full diplomatic immunity under the terms of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations for any personal or legal indiscretions, they have a duty to build a relationship of trust and respect with their host state so as to facilitate professional and fruitful diplomatic negotiations. A sending state will therefore often recall its own ambassador if he or she has committed a crime or engaged in unsavory behavior as a way to maintain peaceful relations with the receiving state. This is also a preemptive move to save face before the receiving state can declare the

ambassador *persona non grata* and expel them. Behavioral recalls account for the second highest sub-category of Level 3 revocations, at 16.7%.

Diplomats have committed a wide variety of indiscretions in their tenure. From social gaffes to petty theft, to public drunkenness and vehicular homicides, diplomats have found many ways to put their immunity to the test. In 1985, for instance, the United States recalled its ambassador to England. The American ambassador was facing charges of “gross indecency” in London, and the United States wished to shuffle him away quietly with as little scandal as possible.¹ Similarly, Papua New Guinea recalled its ambassador in 1987 when he killed a man while driving under the influence.² In a more trivial example of poor ambassador behavior, the French ambassador to Hong Kong was suspended in 2010 for attempting to smuggle two high-end bottles of wine out of an exclusive nightclub by hiding them in his pants. French Foreign Minister Bernard Volèro released a statement characterizing Ambassador Marc Fonbaustier’s actions as “incompatible with the personal conduct required of a French diplomat.”³ This was not the first time Fonbaustier was suspected of stealing alcohol.

3.2 Professional Diplomatic Incompetence

A common reason for revocation among non-political recalls is the professional incompetence of an ambassador. Because an ambassador’s role is to represent the sending state in the receiving state, problems arise when the ambassador goes off script,

¹ Philip Shenon, “A Cornerstone Can be Burdensome,” *The New York Times*, June 04, 1987, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/06/05/us/washington-talk-diplomatic-immunity-a-cornerstone-can-be-burdensome.html?pagewanted=all>.

² Shenon, “A Cornerstone Can be Burdensome.”

³ “Diplomat who ‘Trousered’ Finest Wines is Sent Home in Disgrace,” *The Times (London)*, December 2, 2010, accessed January 31, 2017, LexisNexis Academic.

advocates for a policy, or supports an international position that runs contrary to the agreed upon foreign policy of the sending state. As one scholar explains, “Part of the role of embassy staff is to project a positive US image to both the host government and the population through direct contact and public diplomacy campaigns.”⁴ When an ambassador cannot successfully or dutifully carry out his or her diplomatic tasks, the sending state presents a competency-based recall. Competency-based recalls, though serious in nature and sometimes even flagrant, account for only 3.3% of Level 3 revocations.

An ambassador will sometimes overstep his or her boundaries and falsely advocate for policies contrary to the interests of his or her home state because, although an ambassador’s function is to represent the will of the sending state, the ambassador has some leeway in how he or she goes about advocating policy by virtue of his or her individual conscience and geographic removal from the sending government. In 1980, for example, the United States felt forced to recall its ambassador to Guatemala when his strong disagreements with US foreign policy hindered his ability to execute his duties.⁵ The United States was particularly sensitive to allegations of oppression from Guatemala’s right wing at this time, and Ambassador Frank Ortiz Jr had maintained channels of communication with the Guatemalan military government that the US government deemed too chummy.

Governments are not amenable to their own public servants turning against them

⁴ Maller, “Diplomacy Derailed,” 67.

⁵ Nicholas Lemann, “How Realpolitik Undid One Diplomat,” *The Washington Post*, July 06, 1980, accessed February 15, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1980/07/06/how-realpolitik-undid-one-diplomat/084cf20b-7faf-41a9-9248-31793b09162f/?utm_term=.20f9bf3873f3.

while abroad. The United Kingdom recalled its ambassador to Uzbekistan in 2004 after he criticized his own government for allegedly obtaining intelligence through torture. British ambassador Craig Murray accused MI6 of using intelligence gathered in Uzbek torture cells. He laments, “Anyone who even internally questions what’s happening is going to seriously damage their employment prospects.”⁶ Similarly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo recalled three of their own ambassadors from England in 2012 for their statements accusing the DRC government of terror, abductions, arrests, assassinations, election fraud, and the militarization of the Republican Guard.⁷

Sometimes ambassadors will commit professional gaffes that are entirely separate from policy, but are nonetheless professionally incriminating. In these cases the sending state will recall their own ambassador in embarrassment to show the receiving state that they do not condone the behavior. Additionally, revocation serves the dual purpose of taking responsibility for one’s own ambassador before he or she is expelled by the receiving state. Venezuela ejected the US ambassador and the 83% of the US embassy staff in the same year because it was convinced the diplomatic staff was engaged in espionage.⁸

3.3 Insult

States will sometimes recall their ambassador following personally insulting

⁶ “UK | Former British envoy is suspended,” *BBC News*, October 17, 2004, accessed February 17, 2017, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3750370.stm.

⁷ Diane Taylor, “Congo Embassy Workers Claim Asylum in UK,” *The Guardian*, February 20, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/20/congo-embassy-workers-asylum-uk>.

⁸ Associated Press in Caracas, “Venezuela Tells US to Downsize Embassy Staff from 100 to 17 as Tension Escalates,” *The Guardian*, March 02, 2015, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/venezuela-tells-us-cut-embassy-staff>.

comments or actions by another state, its officials, or its nationals. Insult-driven recalls account for 10.8% of Level 3 revocations. Recalling a diplomat can be a quick and targeted method of expressing disfavor toward the offending parties. Sometimes the sending state will demand a formal apology. Such a revocation not only attempts to discourage the receiving state's insults, but also allows the sending state to save face. By responding with a diplomatic recall, the sending state avoids appearing weak and signals its displeasure without appearing to overreact by implementing harsher or more extensive sanctions. When France recalled its ambassador to Mali in 2013 after a personal falling out with the French foreign minister, for example, France replaced its ambassador almost immediately.⁹ This shows that insult-based recalls are largely for optics.

In 2015, for example, Morocco recalled its ambassador to Nigeria, accusing the Nigerian president of trying to use the King of Morocco to win favor from Nigerian Muslims before the upcoming election.¹⁰ In 2004 the Democratic Republic of the Congo recalled its ambassador to Belgium when the Belgian foreign minister made comments that the DRC possessed unimpressive politicians and an illegitimate government.¹¹ Two years later, Pakistan summoned its ambassador from Denmark when a Danish newspaper published cartoons that were offensive to Muslims. This prompted Denmark to

⁹“France Recalls Mali Ambassador,” *Al-Manar*, March 21, 2013, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://77.246.170.50/english/adetails.php?fromval=2&cid=46&frid=22&seccatid=46&eid=86799>.

¹⁰ “Morocco Recalls Ambassador to Nigeria over Phone Pitch to Muslims Ruse,” *Reuters*, March 12, 2015, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2015/03/12/morocco-recalls-ambassador-to-nigeria-over-phone-pitch-to-muslims-ruse/>.

¹¹ “Kinshasa Recalls Ambassador to Belgium,” *IRIN*, October 22, 2004, accessed December 7, 2016, <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2004/10/22/kinshasa-recalls-ambassador-belgium>.

temporarily close its embassy in Pakistan.¹² Furthermore, Saudi Arabia and Syria recalled their ambassadors to Denmark for the same reason.¹³ Cameroon recalled its ambassador to Equatorial Guinea in 2014 following the deportation of a Cameroonian national.¹⁴ Thailand recalled its ambassador to Cambodia in 2009 following Cambodia's decision to employ a Thai fugitive as an official economic advisor.¹⁵

Insult-driven diplomatic summonses were enacted by the wounded parties in the following cases: in 2003 when a Paraguayan justice minister referred to all Argentinians as scoundrels, in 2011 when Senegal withdrew Belgian airline rights to operate flights via Dakar, in 1980 when Filipino President Marcos refused to receive Chilean President Pinochet, in 1984 when a French employee was fatally shot in Albania, and following the Philippine's insufficient apology for the 2013 murder of two Taiwanese fishermen.¹⁶

Sometimes the insults laughably petty, as with the diplomatic spat between Venezuela and Mexico in 2005. Both countries summoned their ambassadors in a row

¹² Qudssia Akhlaque, "Pakistan: Ambassador Recalled from Copenhagen, Denmark Shuts Embassy in Islamabad," *UCLA International Institute*, February 17, 2006, accessed February 9, 2017, <http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/article/39456>.

¹³ "Europe | Saudis Recall Envoy in Danish Row," *BBC News*, January 26, 2006, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4651714.stm>.

¹⁴ "Cameroon Recalls Ambassador to Malabo," *Panapress*, March 16, 2004, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.panapress.com/Cameroon-recalls-ambassador-to-Malabo--13-543217-18-lang4-index.html>.

¹⁵ "Thailand Recalls Ambassador to Cambodia over Thaksin Job," *Burma Democracy and Development*, November 06, 2009, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://burmadd.blogspot.com/2009/11/thailand-recalls-ambassador-to-cambodia.html>.

¹⁶ "Argentina Recalls ambassador from Paraguay," *MercoPress*, July 31, 2003, accessed September 16, 2016, <http://en.mercopress.com/2003/07/31/argentina-recalls-ambassador-from-paraguay>; "Belgium Recalls Senegal Ambassador in Airline Row," *Reuters*, January 28, 2011, accessed October 27, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/uk-belgium-senegal-idUKLNE70R04J20110128>; B. Sen, "A Diplomat's Handbook of International Law and Practice," *Google Books*, 1988, accessed February 7, 2017, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FpfnxgkTVMUC&lpg=PA231&dq=chad%2Brecalls%2Bambassador&pg=PA228#v=onepage&q=chad%20recalls%20ambassador&f=true>; "Paris Recalls Envoy Over Albania Shooting," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1984, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/28/world/arouind-the-world-paris-recalls-envoy-over-albania-shooting.html>; "Taiwan Recalls Philippine Envoy over Shooting," *Al Jazeera*, May 15, 2013, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2013/05/201351544057410475.html>.

following Hugo Chavez's characterization of Mexico as a "puppy of US imperialism." Mexican President Vicente Fox said that such insults "strike at the dignity of the Mexican people" and demanded a formal apology from Caracas.¹⁷ In a similarly unkind case in 2017, the Venezuelan foreign minister called the Peruvian president a "coward" and a "dog."¹⁸ Lima subsequently recalled its ambassador and also penned a formal letter of protest.

3.4 Internal

States will sometimes recall their ambassador home to deal with internal political issues. These instances of diplomatic revocation are categorized as Level 3 because they occur independently of the policies of the receiving state and pertain only to the national climate of the sending state. Internal recalls explain just over 11% of Level 3 recalls.

Sometimes internal diplomatic recalls are a concerted effort to reorganize the national public service. In 2007 Fiji conducted a thorough overhaul of its public service program, recalling and then reappointing new ambassadors to Australia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and the United States.¹⁹ The Fijian attorney general spoke to the routine and non-political nature of the summons, saying, "This is a movement of staff, there's nothing sinister to it. Essentially they are looking at how best to utilize some of these ambassadors, so it is obviously ambassadors or high commissioners that will be appointed fairly soon." In 2016 Swaziland internally

¹⁷ "Americas | Chavez and Fox Recall Ambassadors," *BBC News*, November 14, 2005, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4437024.stm>.

¹⁸ "Peru recalls ambassador in Caracas amid diplomatic spat," *BBC News*, March 07, 2017, accessed February 9, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-39188482>.

¹⁹ " 'Nothing Sinister' in Recall of Fiji Envoys," *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, May 9, 2007, accessed January 31, 2017, LexisNexis Academic.

reshuffled ten of its own ambassadors.²⁰ Similarly, Sri Lanka conducted a blanket diplomatic recall in 2015. Sri Lankan Ambassadors to twenty-three states and three international organizations were recalled in order to reduce the politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force.²¹

Internal recalls are not always the result of diplomatic reshuffling. Sometimes the ambassador is recalled to help address problems at home. This happened in China in 1989. Beijing recalled its ambassadors from fourteen states: Australia, Bahrain, Belgium, Egypt, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, and West Germany. China needed its ambassadors to attend a special conference purportedly to discuss repairing China's badly damaged international image in the wake of the Chinese government's suppression of pro-democracy student movements.²²

In a much older example of a diplomat being needed at home, the United States recalled John Quincy Adams from Russia 1814 to help negotiate the Treaty of Ghent.²³ The Treaty of Ghent would bring an end to the War of 1812 and help ease political tensions between the United States and the United Kingdom. The negotiations, spanning a four month time period, were rife with political demands and disagreements. The United States needed one of its best statesmen to be on the case.

²⁰ Gugu Simelane, "King Reshuffles Ten Diplomats," *Swazi Observer*, October 28, 2016, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html>.

²¹ Ben Doherty, "Sri Lanka's High Commissioner to Australia Among 50 Diplomats Recalled," *The Guardian*, February 18, 2015, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled>.

²² "China Recalls All Its Ambassadors To Peking," *Financial Times (London, England)*, June 29, 1989, accessed November 15, 2016, LexisNexis Academic.

²³ "John Quincy Adams Historical Document to James Monroe." *The Raab Collection*, accessed February 2, 2017, <https://www.raabcollection.com/john-q-adams-autograph/john-q-adams-signed-ambassador-john-quincy-adams-informs-secretary-state>.

3.5 Security

Just under 7% of Level 3 diplomatic recalls result from security concerns. A sending state may recall its ambassador because it fears for their personal security because of unsafe conditions in the receiving state. As the official representative of the sending state in the receiving state, diplomats may find themselves or their property subject to aggression when political tensions arise over the policies of the sending state. In 1990, for example, Iraqi forces denied food, necessities, and freedom of movement to foreign embassies in Kuwait after annexing the country. The British embassy in China was stormed during the Cultural Revolution of 1967. Five US ambassadors have been murdered at their posts since 1968, and four British ambassadors have been murdered since 1967.²⁴

Ambassadors have a reasonable expectation for safety because diplomatic missions, materials, and agents are supposed to be inviolable.²⁵ The sending state has an obligation to actively preserve the sanctity of the mission, and must do all within reason to prevent the mission's disturbance. Article 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations demarcates three clear protections afforded to the embassy: (1) The premises of the mission shall be inviolable. The agents of the receiving state may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission; (2) The receiving state is under a special duty to take all appropriate steps to protect the premises of the mission against any intrusion or damage and to prevent any disturbance of the peace of the mission or impairment of its

²⁴ Michael W. Reisman and James F. Baker, *Regulating Covert Action: Practices, Contexts, and Policies of Covert Coercion Abroad in International and American Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987. 161.

²⁵ United Nations, "The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations," 1961, Article 22, accessed April 23, 2016, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf.

dignity; and (3) The premises if the mission, their furnishings, and other property thereon and the means of transport shall be immune from search, requisition, attachment, or execution.”²⁶

Article 22 protects embassies, ambassadors, and diplomatic materials from foreign interruption or transgression. The receiving state is under obligation to honor these immunities at all times. If the embassy is threatened by acts of war, the receiving state must provide reasonable accommodation to ensure diplomatic safety.²⁷ Article 24 and Article 27, sections 2 and 5, extend safekeeping to the relevant archives and documents of the mission, official correspondence, and the diplomatic bag, respectively. Article 30 protects an ambassador’s personal residence, property, and correspondence. Ambassadors are entitled to these immunities immediately upon entering the territory of the receiving state and when traveling through third states.²⁸

Some instances of security-based revocation involve direct attacks on ambassadors, embassies, diplomatic staff, or diplomatic materials. Because violent upheaval is often tied to political concerns, many safety-driven recalls have a political component to them. A notable instance of a security revocation occurred after the 2011 attack on the US consulate in Libya.²⁹ Libyan extremists motivated by an anti-Muslim film created in California breached the US consulate in Benghazi, set it on fire, and killed US

²⁶ United Nations, “The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,” 1961, Article 22.

²⁷ United Nations, “The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,” 1961, Article 44.

²⁸ United Nations, “The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,” 1961, Article 39 and 40.

²⁹ Kevin Sullivan, “Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens Recalled as Beloved Champion of Libya,” *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/ambassador-j-christopher-stevens-recalled-as-beloved-champion-of-libya/2012/09/14/08597d22-fe86-11e1-b153-218509a954e1_story.html?utm_term=.5c4918229d68.

ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other US nationals. Later that night a US diplomatic annex suffered mortar and rocket fire.

The United States responded to these flagrant violations of the safety ensured within the VCDR by evacuating more than thirty Americans, issuing a statement condemning the attack “in the strongest terms,” and closing the US consulate for almost an entire year. The United States then launched investigations into the attack through the State Department, Homeland Security, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and many other avenues of investigation.³⁰ The United States had previously recalled its ambassador from Libya in 1980 after a Libyan mob attacked and burned the US embassy in Tripoli. This prompted the United States to designate Libya as a state sponsor of terrorism and withdraw US embassy staff from the capital. The resulting US diplomatic sanctions on Libya lasted for 36 years until 2006.³¹

In another instance of a direct embassy attack, Iranian protesters angered over the execution of Shia leaders including popular cleric Nimr al-Nimr set fire to the Saudi Arabian embassy in Tehran in 2016.³² In response, Saudi Arabia severed all diplomatic ties with Iran and lodged a formal complaint with the United Nations about the attacks on its diplomatic missions. In addition, Saudi Arabia stopped all flights to Iran and teamed up with Sunni-dominated Turkey to counter Shia power in Iran. Kuwait, Bahrain, and

³⁰ “Benghazi Mission Attack Fast Facts,” *CNN*, August 31, 2016, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/09/10/world/benghazi-consulate-attack-fast-facts/>.

³¹ “Tripoli, Libya - Embassy of the United States.” *Embassy of the United States*.

³² Fitch, Asa, and Emre Peker. “Kuwait Recalls Ambassador From Tehran as Iran-Saudi Tensions Spread.” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 05, 2016, accessed February 3, 2017, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/kuwait-recalls-ambassador-from-tehran-as-iran-saudi-row-tensions-spread-1451989716>.

Sudan recalled their ambassadors to Iran in solidarity.³³

A state may also have diplomatic security concerns due to general political upheaval in the sending state. Such was the case in 2012 when Turkey recalled its ambassador to Syria among the violent political crackdown of Bashar al-Assad's regime. Turkey's security concerns came to light when more than 8,000 people were killed after just one year of Assad's severe programs.³⁴ Ankara closed the entire embassy and President Recep Tayipp Erdogan met with US officials to discuss sending help, medical aid, and other "non-lethal" assistance to Syrian rebels.

France recalled its ambassador to Iran in 2011 after the attack on the British embassy in Tehran. Although not directly affected, the French could see that Iran was becoming a hostile environment for Western diplomats. President Nicolas Sarkozy recommended international embargoes to punish Iran for the attack.³⁵

Perhaps the reason that security concerns account for such a small percentage of diplomatic revocations is that the safety provisions of the VCDR have become heavily normative. States have come to observe diplomatic inviolability, even during wartime. The "uniformity and universality of condemnation" that states can expect if they violate the diplomatic mission is a strong deterrent to transgressions. When US troops breached the residence of the Nicaraguan Ambassador in 1989 and seized arms, the Organization

³³ "Iran-Saudi Arabia Row: Kuwait Recalls Ambassador from Tehran." *BBC News*, January 05, 2016, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35231382>.

³⁴ Associated Press, "Turkey Recalls Ambassador to Syria and Closes Embassy," *The Independent*, March 26, 2012, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-and-closes-embassy-7585329.html>.

³⁵ Eline Gordts, "Iran: France Recalls Ambassador," *The Huffington Post*, November 30, 2011 accessed January 31, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/30/iran-france-recalls-ambassador_n_1121442.html.

of American States passed a resolution declaring the entrance and seizure to be a violation of international law under the Vienna Convention. President George Bush admitted the mistake, and the State Department penned a formal note of regret and returned the arms in question to the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry. Normative observance of diplomatic security is so tantamount that embassies have become locations for political refuge in places like China, Latin America, and Eastern Europe.³⁶ States and international institutions have treated the coercion of diplomats with similar stringency; the UN annually revisits the topic of diplomatic security on its meeting agenda.

3.6 Transition

A majority of Level 3 revocations take place under more banal circumstances, namely during political transitions. In many states it is custom for all politically-appointed ambassadors to be recalled upon the assumption of office by a new head of state. In January 2017, for example, now-President Donald Trump ordered almost eighty politically appointed ambassadors to leave their posts by noon on inauguration day. Those recalled included ambassadors to Belgium, Germany, India, China, the UK, Canada, Japan, and Saudi Arabia.³⁷ Although controversial for the speed with which Trump ordered this to happen, the practice of transitioning diplomats with the new administration is relatively unexceptional.³⁸

Transitional diplomatic recalls are usually the result of changeovers of leadership in

³⁶ Michael W. Reisman and James F. Baker, *Regulating Covert Action: Practices, Contexts, and Policies of Covert Coercion Abroad in International and American Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987. 37.

³⁷ Julie Hirschfeld Davis, "In Break With Precedent, Obama Envoys Are Denied Extensions Past Inauguration Day," *The New York Times*, January 05, 2017, accessed February 15, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html>.

³⁸ Davis, "In Break With Precedent, Obama Envoys Are Denied Extensions Past Inauguration Day."

the sending state, when a new administration assumes office and executes a clean sweep of old diplomatic personnel. Such was the case in Gambia in 2017 when the new president recalled thirteen ambassadors who recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election.³⁹ In Guinea, a military junta under the direction of Captain Moussa Camara seized power in December 2008 within 24 hours of the death of the former president. Camara recalled thirty (about three-quarters) of Guinea's ambassadors, from abroad by the following May.⁴⁰

Transition recalls are the largest proportion of Level 3 revocations, accounting for almost 50%. Diplomatic transitions may be a routine occurrence in some states. Moldova, for example, recalled fifteen of its ambassadors in June 2015 when their four-year mandate expired.⁴¹

3.7 Other

The leftover 2% of Level 3 revocations that do not fit into any of the above categories contain some of the most unique or ridiculous instances of diplomatic revocation, having little or nothing to do with policy, conduct, or security. Some non-conforming Level 3 summonses take place as a result of insufficient diplomatic ties. After four years of maintaining an ambassador to the Bahamas, for example, San Marino recalled its ambassador “after discovering that the two countries did not have diplomatic

³⁹ “12 Gambian Ambassadors Recalled,” *The Point Newspaper, Banjul, The Gambia*. 2017, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-2>.

⁴⁰ “Guinea Junta Recalls 30 Ambassadors,” *The Tocqueville Connection*, May 6, 2009, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm>.

⁴¹ “Moldova Recalls 15 Ambassadors with Expired Mandates,” *BBC Monitoring Kiev Unit*, June 4, 2015, accessed February 7, 2017, LexisNexis Academic.

ties” in 2007.⁴² In this case, diplomatic revocation was not a political statement, but a legal necessity. San Marino similarly recalled its ambassador to Montenegro in July 2014 after it was discovered during his arrest for illegal betting charges that he had neither presented his letter of credence nor been accepted by the Montenegro authorities. Both posts violated the protocol of the Vienna Convention, which declares that the establishment of diplomatic relations takes place by mutual consent and that the sending state must ensure the receiving state is given the *agrément* for the proposed diplomat.⁴³

In a positive case of diplomatic revocation, Afghanistan recalled Ambassador Jawed Ludin home to commend his diplomatic work in Canada and promote him to a new position in Kabul. Ludin was instrumental in Canada’s decision to extend its military mission in a non-combat role as the international community prepared to transition out of Afghanistan by 2014. The Afghan president commended Ludin on his ability to communicate the Afghan perspective to the Canadian prime minister. Journalist Jennifer Campbell noted that this is “clearly not the traditional recall, which is done to express displeasure at a foreign government’s position. Rather, Ambassador Jawed Ludin is being called home to Kabul so his skills can be put to use there.”⁴⁴

In 2011 the United States briefly called home every one of its foreign ambassadors to attend a large foreign policy conference. Ambassadors from all 260 US embassies,

⁴² Patrick Boehler, Carvalho, “Macau Gambling Kingpin was San Marino Envoy; Paul Phua, who Faces Charges in the US, Never Completed Procedures to Become Ambassador to Montenegro; had Status Revoked after Arrest,” *South China Morning Post*, July 30, 2014, accessed February 7, 2017, LexisNexis Academic.

⁴³ United Nations, “The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,” 1961, Articles 2 and 4, accessed April 23, 2016, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf.

⁴⁴ “Afghan Ambassador Returns Home to Help,” *Ottawa Citizen*, November 17, 2010, accessed September 16, 2016, Lexis Nexis.

consulates, and posts in over 180 countries convened at the State Department in Washington DC in January where then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton delivered an address on foreign policy priorities, with a specific priority on diplomats working in unstable countries.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Laura Rozen and Jennifer Epstein, “Clinton Calls Meeting of Ambassadors,” *Politico*, January 31, 2011, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.politico.com/story/2011/01/clinton-calls-meeting-of-ambassadors-048471>.

Conclusion

Diplomacy is a fundamental and essential element of international relations. This thesis explored the break in diplomatic relations, for which there is little protocol but large repercussions. The revocation of an ambassador can send a clear nonverbal signal of disapproval to both the receiving state and the wider international community. In this way, the sending state can use revocation as a way to achieve or advance its political aims in the sending state, whether through modifying its behavior or delegitimizing its status in the international community.

Diplomacy is both protocol and art. Highly visible in nature, the realm of diplomacy lends itself to public scrutiny. Ambassadors are important not only as conduits of information, but also for their presence and impression as representatives of the sending state in the receiving state. Ambassadors are both practically and symbolically important to negotiations between the sending and receiving states.

This thesis explains how a sending state can recall its ambassador for a myriad of reasons—political disapproval, security concerns, internal political transitions, and unsatisfactory ambassador conduct, to name a few. In conclusion, a majority of diplomatic revocations are not intended to be politically strategic. The diplomatic revocation index shows that diplomatic recalls do not usually correspond to higher political agendas. This tactic is not primarily used to advance political agendas or effect change. Over half of diplomatic revocations are initiated for non-political reasons, like ambassador conduct and internal political transition.

Level 1 revocations, which signal the highest level of disapproval in conjunction

with sanctions, multilateral actions, or overarching conflict, account for only 15.8% of all instances of revocation, according to the diplomatic revocation index. Such was the case when Iranian protesters breached the US embassy during the Iranian Revolution in 1979, a conflict that led to the eventual severing of all diplomatic, economic, and political relations between the United States and Iran.

30.30% of revocations fall into the Level 2 category. These are politically significant, but are insular in execution and have a more narrow scope. They are not accompanied by secondary political measures. Such was the case when Belarus recalled its ambassador to Sweden in 2012 after Swedish activists illegally entered Belarusian airspace to drop the teddy bears carrying pro-democracy messages. No further action was taken.

53.90% are not intended to persuade or dissuade the receiving state. Level 3 reasons for revocation include ambassador behavior, ambassador incompetence, political insults, internal political transitions, and security concerns. Such was the case in 2013 when France recalled its ambassador to Hong Kong after he allegedly attempted to smuggle over \$5000 in burgundy wine out of an exclusive Hong Kong nightclub in his suit.

In conclusion, the depth and breadth of diplomatic revocation proves the noteworthiness of nonverbal signaling in international relations. Revocation is a nuanced signal of disapproval dependent on political context, and its ramifications merit careful inspection.

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Sending State	Receiving State	Year	Reason	Notes	Source	Paired actions	Duration
Afghanistan	Canada	2010	Level 3- Positive	Positive	Lexis Nexis- Ottawa Citizen	.	..
Afghanistan	Qatar	2011	Level 2- Protest plan for Taliban to open an office in Qatar	Policy	http://www.rferl.org/content/afghanistan_recalls_ambassador_to_qatar/24422023.html	.	.
Albania	Greece	1994	Level 2- Greek forces illegally entered Albanian airspace and dropped leaflets critical of Albanian government	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1994/08/23/Albanian-ambassador-recalled-to-Tirana/998577614400/		
Algeria	Belgium	2014	Level 2- Algerian state plane detained in Brussels	Insult	http://en.africatime.com/toute_lafrique/articles/algeria-recalls-ambassadors-belgium-netherlands-consultations	.	.
Algeria	France	1992	Level 2- Express disapproval at Iran's criticism of the military-led takeover in Algeria	Insult	http://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/19/world/assailin-g-iran-algeria-recalls-its-envoy.html	..	..

Algeria	Iran	1992	Level 2- Express disapproval at Iran's criticism of the military-led takeover in Algeria	Insult	https://www.google.com/search?q=algeria+recalls+ambassador&oq=algeria+recalls+ambassador&aqs=chrome..69j57.4416j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#q=algeria+recalls+ambassador&start=10		
Algeria	Mali	2010	Level 2- Protest the release of AQIM combatants	Policy	https://sahelblog.wordpress.com/2010/02/24/mali-camatte-released-algeria-recalls-ambassador/	--	--
Algeria	Netherlands	2014	Level 2- Algerian state plane detained in Brussels	Insult	http://en.africatime.com/toute_lafrique/articles/algeria-recalls-ambassadors-belgium-netherlands-consultations	--	--
Argentina	Cuba	1962	Level 2- Argentinian President Julio Amodeo wanted to rid self of reputation of being soft on Cuba	Policy	https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1893&date=19620131&id=KcwFAA-AAIBAJ&sjid=u9gEAA-AAIBAJ&pg=3185,2315		

					304&hl=en		
Argentina	Cuba	2001	Level 2- Cuba criticized Argentina for supporting USA's criticism of Cuba's alleged Human Rights Violations	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1153581.stm	..	..
Argentina	Cuba	2008	Level 2- Fidel Castro criticized Argentina for supporting US condemnation of Cuba's human rights record	Insult	http://cnsnews.com/news/article/argentina-recalls- its-ambassador-cuba		
Argentina	France	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	· Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	·
Argentina	Italy	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-	· Coincides with	·

			Bolivian president		ambassadors-europe-030/	Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Argentina	Nicaragua	1982	Level 2- Allegations that Argentina is trying to topple the leftist sandinista government of Nicaragua	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Washington Post		
Argentina	Paraguay	2003	Level 3- Paraguayan Justice Minister called Argentinians scoundrels	Insult	http://en.mercopress.com/2003/07/31/argentina-recalls-ambassador-from-paraguay		
Argentina	Paraguay	2012	Level 1- Protest impeachment of Paraguayan president in coup	Policy	http://www.countrywatch.com/Content/pdfs/reviews/B3ZMM3M5.01c.pdf	Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay also recalled ambassadors from Paraguay for the same	

						reason	
Argentina	Portugal	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Argentina	Spain	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Armenia	Belgium	2013	Level 3-Armenian ambassador disclosed secret diplomatic information	Ambassador incompetence	http://news.am/eng/news/168709.html	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these	

					countries	
Australia	Indonesia	2015	Level 2- 2 Australian men executed in Indonesia for drug smuggling	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32508722	5 weeks; http://theconversation.com/ambassadors-return-to-indonesia-shows-his-recall-was-futile-43119
Azerbaijan	Argentina	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html	

Azerbaijan	Bolivia	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html	--	--
Azerbaijan	Bulgaria	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	http://en.apa.az/azerbaijan-politics/foreign-news/azerbaijani-ambassadors-to-kuwait-pakistan-bulgaria-italy-and-egypt-recalled.html		
Azerbaijan	Chile	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html	-	-
Azerbaijan	Colombia	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday). 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras,	-

					Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Costa Rica	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday): 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Egypt	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	http://en.apa.az/azerbaijan-politics/foreign-news/azerbaijani-ambassadors-to-kuwait-pakistan-bulgaria-italy-and-egypt-recalled.html		

Azerbaijan	Estonia	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		
Azerbaijan	Guatemala	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday). 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Honduras	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitions	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday). 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala,	

					Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Iran	2012	Level 2- Iran detained 2 Azeri poets, and prevented the entrance of an Irani official into Azerbaijan	Insult	http://www.rferl.org/content/azerbaijan-iran-recall-ambassador/24597902.html		
Azerbaijan	Italy	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://en.apa.az/azerbaijan-politics/foreign-news/azerbaijani-ambassadors-to-kuwait-pakistan-bulgaria-italy-and-egypt-recalled.html		
Azerbaijan	Kazakhstan	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		

Azerbaijan	Kuwait	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://en.apa.az/azerbaijan-politics/foreign-news/azerbaijani-ambassadors-to-kuwait-pakistan-bulgaria-italy-and-egypt-recalled.html	
Azerbaijan	Latvia	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday); 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru
Azerbaijan	Mexico	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday); 82 words.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica,

					LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Pakistan	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	http://en.apa.az/azerbaijan-politics/foreign-news/azerbaijani-ambassadors-to-kuwait-pakistan-bulgaria-italy-and-egypt-recalled.html		
Azerbaijan	Panama	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday). 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	

Azerbaijan	Paraguay	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		
Azerbaijan	Peru	2016	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	"BRIEF: Azerbaijani president recalls ambassadors from several countries." Trend News Agency (Baku, Azerbaijan). (January 28, 2016 Thursday). 82 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	Azerbaijan recalled from 8 states: Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Latvia, Mexico, Panama, and Peru	
Azerbaijan	Turkmenistan	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		

Azerbaijan	UAE	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		
Azerbaijan	Ukraine	2015	Level 3- Ukrainian ambassador criticized Azerbaijani officials	Insult	https://www.meydan.tv/en/site/news/6180/Azerbaijan-recalls-Ambassador-to-Ukraine-amid-controversy-around-Arif-Mammadov.htm		
Azerbaijan	Uruguay	2015	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://vestnikkavkaza.net/news/Azerbaijan-recalls-its-ambassadors-and-representatives-of-diplomatic-missions.html		
Azerbaijan	USA	2016	Level 2- Former US ambassador to Azerbaijan wrote article in Washington Post advocating for sanctions to be imposed on	Policy/in suit	http://news.am/en/news/345722.html		

			Azerbaijan			
Bahrain	Iran	2011	Level 2- Iran protested foreign troops (UAE and Saudi) who entered Bahrain by request to help stabilize state	Policy	http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2011/03/bahrain-iran-diplomacy-ambassador-recall.html	
Bahrain	Iran	2015	Level 2- Accuses Iran of encouraging sedition among the shia population of Iran; links Iran to bomb-making factor found in Bahrain	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/10/bahrain-recalls-ambassador-iran-meddling-151002032510372.html ; http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Bahrain-recalls-ambassador-from-Iran-after-bomb-factory-find-419725	
Bahrain	Iran	2015	Level 2- Hostile statements made by Iranian officials	Insult	http://www.businessinsider.com/iran-bahrain-recalls-its-ambassador-to-iran-citing-hostile-statements-2015-7	Happened in July the again in October


Bahrain	Iran	2016	Level 1 - Accuses Iran of meddling in Bahrainian politics	Policy	http://gulfnnews.com/news/gulf/bahrain/bahrain-withdraws-ambassador-from-tehran-1.1593728	Halts all flights to and from Iran	" "
Bahrain	Iran	2016	Level 3- Danger-same as Kuwait in 2016	Security	https://www.yahoo.com/news/qatar-recalls-ambassador-iran-state-media-182334336.html?ref=gs		
Bahrain	Qatar	2015	Level 2- Objection to Qatari interference in Egyptian affairs	Policy	http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/06/28/al-sisi-meets-11-new-ambassadors-to-cairo/	" "	" "
Bahrain	Syria	2015	Level 1- Sweden condemned SA's poor HR record	Policy	https://sputniknews.com/politics/201503181019687193/	Joins Swedenrain and Kuwait; Arab League and Gulf Cooperation Council also made	

						statements	
Bangladesh	Lebanon	2014	Level 3- Ambassador incompetence	Ambassador incompetence	http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/07/19/govt-recalls-ambassador-in-lebanon		
Bangladesh	Pakistan	2015	Level 2- Dispute over 1971 war crimes; retaliation for Pakistan recalling its own ambassador from Bangladesh	Policy	http://www.deccanchronicle.com/151231/world-neighbours/article/bangladesh-recalls-its-ambassador-pakistan	Tit for tat	
Bangladesh	Turkey	2016	Level 2- Turkey recalled Bangladeshi ambassador	Policy	http://www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/45095	Tit for tat; both say relations are normal, recalling amb. For consultation	

			Level 2- Israel announced it was going to close Belarusian embassy in Tel Aviv due to financial concerns and said that it wasn't worried because Belarus is not internationally significant	Policy	http://belarusdigest.com/story/closing-embassy-israel-engaging-exotic-organisations-belarus-foreign-policy-digest-24579	Tit for tat	
Belarus	Israel	2016					
Belarus	Kyrgyzstan	2010	Level 3- reported security reasons	Security	http://www.foisecurity.org/belarus-says-recalls-ambassador-kyrgyzstan		
Belarus	Latvia	2005	Level 3- Ambassador never sets up meetings properly	Ambassador incompetence	http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/11762/		
Belarus	Poland	1998	Level 2- Poland hosted 2 seminars about how to destabilize the legitimate	Policy	https://jamestown.org/program/belarus-recalls-ambassador-from-poland/		

			Belarusian government			
Belarus	Poland	2004	Level 2- Polish officials criticized Belarusian presidential election and detention of Polish citizens during opposition protests	Policy	http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-04/01/content_4370469.htm	
Belarus	Poland	2012	Level 2- EU just blacklisted 160 Belarusian officials for human rights violations	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17196078	
Belarus	Sweden	2012	Level 2- Swedish organization illegally entered Belarusian airspace and dropped hundreds of teddy bears carrying pro-democracy messages	Policy	"Russian paper details Belarus-Sweden diplomatic row." BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (August 10, 2012 Friday): 1270 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/06.	
Belgium	Congo	2013	Level 3- The ambassador only spoke Dutch and	Ambassador	http://dereadactie.be/cm/vrt	

			insulted Congo's president	incomplete	nieuws.english/News/1.15.19579		
Belgium	Romania	1989	Level 3- leading Belgian politician roughed up by Romanian police when he tried to contact Romanian dissident	Insult	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1989/05/19/Belgium-recalls-envoy-from-Romania/4149611553600/		
Belgium	Senegal	2011	Level 3- Senegal withdrew Belgian airline rights to operate flights via Dakar	Insult	http://www.reuters.com/article/uk-belgium-senegal-idUKLNE70R04J20110128	.	.
Belgium	Syria	1986	Level 3- Consultations before meeting	Consultations	Lexis Nexis- Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)	.	.
Belgium	Syria	2012	Level 1- Protest Syria's crackdown on political protesters	Policy	http://www.unian.info/politics/605384-belgium-recalls-ambassador-from-damascus-for-consultations.html	Joins France, Italy, Spain, Britain, Netherlands, and US	
Belize	Honduras	2009	Level 2- Protest coup	Policy	http://edition.channel5beli	.	.

				**	ze.com/archives/1274		
Benin	Ghana	2003	Level 3- Ambassador reportedly assaulted Ghanaian electrical worker	Ambassador behavior	http://www.mobile.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/economy/Benin-s-Ambassador-To-Ghana-Recalled-43706		
Benin	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=55 	MUTILATE RAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau, impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional	

						order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access	
						to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Benin	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.yoanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id	MULTILATE RAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOW AS members recall their	

						ban on	
						junta members. Sent in troops	
Bolivia	Brazil	2016	Level 1- Protest suspension of Brazil's democratically-elected President Dilma Rousseff; refuse to recognize interim President	Policy	https://www.rt.com/news/357827-rousseff- impeachment- reaction- criticism/ ; http://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil- impeachment-diplomacy-idUSKCN116341	Ecuador, El Salvador, Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia recalled ambassadors in response to Rousseff's impeachment and the resulting controversy	
Bolivia	France	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		

Bolivia	Israel	2008	Level 2- Protest massacre in Gaza	Policy	https://bdsmovement.net/news/round-israel%E2%80%99s-massacre-gaza-prompts-international-sanctions-and-boycott-action		
Bolivia	Israel	2009	Level 1- Israeli interference in Gaza Strip	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, El Salvador, and Peru all recalled for the same reason.	
Bolivia	Israel	2012	Level 1- Protest Israel's Operation Pillar of Defense which included strikes on the Gaza strip; wanted to display solidarity with Palestinians	Policy	http://www.preocupiedterritory.com/bolivia-reinstating-ambassador-to-israel-in-order-to-recall-him/	Joint recall among several Latin American countries	
Bolivia	Italy	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying		https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-		

			supposed Bolivian president	Insult	ambassadors-europe-030/		
Bolivia	Portugal	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying supposed Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
Bolivia	Spain	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying supposed Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
Botswana	Zimbabwe	2010	Level 2- Anger over 3 Botswanan soldiers being arrested for illegally entering Zimbabwe	Policy	http://www.sundaystandard.info/botswana-recalls-zimbabwean-diplomats		
Brazil	Bolivia	2016	Level 2- Protest Roussef Impeachment	Policy	https://insertbia.info/today/2016/09/brazil-bolivia-ecuador-and-venezuela-recall-ambassadors-after-rousseff-impeachment/	Brazil recalled ambassador from Bolivia and Ecuador	
Brazil	Ecuador	2008	Level 2- Ecuador delays	Insult	http://www.aljazeera.com/		

			repaying Brazilian loans	..	news/americas/2008/11/200811211952591273.html		
Brazil	Ecuador	2016	Level 2- Protest Rousseff Impeachment	Policy	https://insertbia.info/today/2016/09/brazil-bolivia-ecuador-and-venezuela-recall-ambassadors-after-rousseff-impeachment/	Brazil recalled ambassador from Bolivia and Ecuador	
Brazil	France	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying supposed Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Brazil	Indonesia	2015	Level 2- Protest execution of 2 of their citizens for drug offenses	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/18/brazil-netherlands-recall-ambassadors-indonesia-executes-drugs-offenders	Netherlands also recalled ambassador from Indonesia for same reason	

Brazil	Israel	2014	Level 1- Protest Israel's massacre of Palestinians in Gaza	Policy	https://bdsmovement.net/news/round-israel%E2%80%99s-massacre-gaza-prompts-international-sanctions-and-boycott-action	http://www.pr-terror.com/bolivia-reinstating-ambassador-to-israel-in-order-to-recall-him/
Brazil	Israel	2014	Level 2- Protest Israeli interference in Gaza Strip (against Hamas)	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	
Brazil	Italy	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying	Insult	https://www.rtl.com/news/mercotur-countries-	Coincides with Argentina and

			Bolivian president		ambassadors-europe-030/	Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Brazil	Portugal	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Brazil	Spain	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Brazil	Venezuela	2016	Level 1 - Protest Rousset	Policy	https://insertbia.info/today/2016/09/brazil-bolivia-ecuador-	Ecuador, El Salvador,	

			Impeachment		and-venezuela- recall-ambassadors-after- rousseff-impeachment/	Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia recalled ambassadors in response to Rousseff's impeachment and the resulting controversy	
Brazil	Paraguay	2012	Level 1- Protest impeachment of Paraguayan president in coup	Policy	http://www.countrywatch.com/Content/pdfs/reviews/B3ZMM3M5.01c.pdf	Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay also recalled ambassadors from Paraguay for the same reason	
Britain	Chile	1975	Level 2- Arrest and torture of British woman by Chilean authorities	Insult	https://books.google.com/books?id=FpfngxkTVMU C&pg=PA231&lpg=PA231&dq=chad+recalls+am		

					bassador&source=bl&ots=209KpYlbbz&sig=KFtrOXhuSKvuvm30F0FGZTmUgdU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwik7I60garQAhUEOyYKHcWXC9A4ChDoAQgaMAA#v=onenpage&q=chad%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Britain	DRC	1999	Level 2- Congo expelled 6 Western diplomats on suspicion of spying	Insult ..	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/294670.stm	Tit for tat	
Britain	Germany	2011	Level 3- Storming of British embassy in Iran	Security	https://www.rnw.org/archiv/holland-recalls-ambassador-tehran	Comes in wake of Britain imposing new sanctions on Iran largely out of fear for its nuclear program	

Britain	Hungary	1998	Level 3- Crisis in Budapest	Security	Lexis Nexis- Financial Times (London)	Comes in wake of Britain imposing new sanctions on Iran largely out of fear for its nuclear program	
Britain	Iran	2011	Level 3- Storming of British embassy in Iran	Security	https://www.rnw.org/archiv/holland-recalls-ambassador-tehran		
Britain	Iraq	1990	Level 2- Iraq hanged British journalist for alleged espionage	Policy	http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1990/Journalist-Hanged-For-Alleged-Spying-Britain-Recalls-Ambassador/id-74923dbbef10b0e0e7e414f614f7ea08	Amnesty International condemned Iraq	
Britain	Sweden	2011	Level 3- Storming of British embassy in Iran	Security	https://www.rnw.org/archiv/holland-recalls-ambassador-tehran	Comes in wake of Britain imposing new	

						sanctions on Iran largely out of fear for its nuclear program	
Britain	Syria	2012	Level 1- Unacceptable violence from Syrian Regime	Policy	https://www.rt.com/news/syria-obama-605/	Joins France, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Belgium, and US; closed entire embassy	
Bulgaria	Georgia	2011	Level 3- Ambassador Behavior- cooperation with communist regime	Ambassador behavior	http://www.georgiatimes.info/en/news/56265.html		
Bulgaria	Thailand	2010	Level 3- Sexual harassment complaint	Ambassador behavior	http://www.novinite.com/articles/117007/Bulgaria+Recalls+Ambassador+to+Thailand+over+Sex+Scandal		
Bulgaria	Turkey	2017					

Bulgaria	USA	2009	Level 2- Alleged irregularities at voting stations in the US and Turkey during Bulgaria's July 2009 national parliamentary elections	Policy	http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bulgaria-recalls-ambassador-to-us		
Bulgaria	Finland	2006	Level 3- ran embassy with poor management and shoddy bookkeeping. Ran tax-free alcohol resale scheme.	Ambassador behavior	http://www.novinite.com/articles/66436/Sofia+Recalls+Ambassador+from+Finland		
Burkina Faso	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lf/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=57	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and	

						diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
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Burkina Faso	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=45	<p>MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's</p>	
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						border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Burkina Faso	UN	2015	Level 3- New leader recalls ambassador appointed by old leader	Transition	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-3008460/Burkina-Faso-recalls-10-ambassadors-linked-ousted-leader.html		
Burma	Canada	2004	Level 2- Arrest of Burmese Chief of Intelligence	Policy	http://www.cfob.org/news/New%20Burmese%20Ambassador%20to%20Canada%20-%20a%20messenger%20for%20new%20regime%20in%20Burma.html		

Burundi	Belgium	2016	Level 2- Belgian senate held conference about human rights abuses in Burundi	Policy/Insult	https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch	-	-
Burundi	Canada	2014	Level 3- Ambassador allegedly made pro-coup comments	Ambassador behavior	http://www.embassynews.ca/news/2015/08/05/burundi%E2%80%99s-ambassador-recalled-amid-political-crisis/47433	-	-
Cambodia	Philippines	2012	Level 3- Ambassador accused Vietnam of manipulating ASEAN	Ambassador incompetence	https://globalnation.inquirer.net/46783/cambodian-envoy-sent-home-over-west-philippine-sea-comments	-	-
Cambodia	Philippines	2012	Level 3- Insulted integrity of Filipino government	Ambassador behavior	http://globalnation.inquirer.net/46783/cambodian-envoy-sent-home-over-west-philippine-sea-comments	-	-
Cambodia	Thailand	2009	Level 2- decision of Phnom Penh to employ exiled Thai premier Thaksin Shinawatra as an	Insult	http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Cambodia-and-Thailand-recall-their-ambassadors-	Corresponds with ongoing border dispute	

			economic adviser.		16791.html		
Cameroon	Equatorial Guinea	2014	Level 3- Deportation of Cameroonian national from Equatorial Guinea	Insult	http://www.panapress.com/Cameroon-recalls-ambassador-to-Malabo--13-543217-18-lang4-index.html		
Canada	Denmark	2004	Level 3- Ambassador scandal	Ambassador behavior	http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/gagliano-recalled-from-denmark/article20427547/		
Canada	Iran	2003	Level 2- Iran buries Canadian journalist despite wishes to be buried in montreal	Insult	http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2003-07-24/news/0307240188_1_i_ran-ambassador-shiraz		
Canada	Iran	2012	Level 1- accuses Iran of providing military assistance to Syria	Policy, military	https://www.yahoo.com/news/canada-closes-embassy-iran-141421558.html	Closes entire embassy	
Canada	Iran	2013	Level 3- Protest body of slain Canadian journalist being buried in Iran	Insult	http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2003-07-24/news/0307240188_1_i_ran-ambassador-shiraz		

Canada	Israel	2016	Level 3- Transition of leadership when Trudeau assumed office; immediately replaced with career diplomat	Transition of Leadership	http://www.timesofisrael.com/canada-to-replace- outspoken-pro-israel- envoy- with-career- diplomat/		
Canada	Russia	2014	Level 2- Condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine	Policy	http://www.thebahamasweekly.com/publish/international/Canada_s_PM_recall_ ambassador_in_Russia 33518.shtml		
Cape Verde	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders- impose- sanctions-on- mali- 145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=65	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as	

						ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional	
						order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Cape Verde	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-	MULTILATE RAL AND	

			Bissau		sanctions-on- mali- 145801255/180314.html tp://www.mofa.gov.lf/ blic2/2press.php?news_ide =554&related=7&pg=sp &sub=54	SANCTIONS- All ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency.	
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						Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on	
						<p>junta members. Sent in troops</p>	
Chad	Israel	1972	Level 2- Pressure by neighbors Libya and Sudan	Policy	http://www.jpost.com/International/Following-Guinea-Chad-expected-to-be-next-African-state-to-renew-ties-with-Israel-462066		Reestablished in 2016
Chile	Honduras	2010	Level 1- Protest Military Coup	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Advertiser (Australia)	<p>France, Spain, Italy, Chile, and Colombia also recalled</p>	
Chile	Israel	2014	Level 1- Israeli	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/	Brazil,	

			interference in Gaza Strip		indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	Ecuador, Chile, El Salvador, and Peru all recalled for the same reason.	
Chile	Peru	2015	Level 2- military espionage; long history of disputes	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-31784336		
Chile	Philippines	1980	Level 3- President Marcos refused to receive President Pinochet	Insult	https://books.google.com/books?id=FpfhxgkTVMUC&pg=PA231&lpg=PA231&dq=chad+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=209KpY1bbz&sig=KFtrOXhusKvuvvM30F0FGZTmUgdU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwik7I60garQAhUEOYyKHcWXC9A4ChDoAQgaMAA#v=onepage&q=chad%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		

China	Australia	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Bahrain	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Belgium	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Egypt	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		


			suppression of student protestors for democracy				
China	Everyone	1989	Level 2- Fallout from crackdown on pro- democracy protestors	Policy	http://www.csmonitor.com/1989/0630/orecall.html		
China	Greece	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problem s	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Italy	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problem s	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Japan	2006	Level 2- Warning to Japanese PM against visiting controversial	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Straits Times (Singapore)		

			WWII shrine				
China	Latvia	1992	Level 1 - Latvia begins relations with Taiwan	Policy	http://liia.lv/en/publications/latvia-chinataiwan-triangle-or-circle-5	Coincides with pattern of China recalling ambassador from states that recognize Taiwan	
China	Myanmar	1990	Level 2 - Military gov't of Myanmar rejected election of Aung San Suu Kyi	Insult	http://www.atimes.com/article/chinas-relations-with-myanmar-does-an-old-government-mark-a-new-era/		1 year-replaced in 1991
China	Netherlands	1989	Level 3 - Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Philippine	1989	Level 3 - Need to attend internal conference at	Internal problem	Financial Times (London,		

	s		home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	s	England)		
China	Poland	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problem s	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Qatar	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problem s	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Spain	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student	Internal problem s	Financial Times (London, England)		

			protestors for democracy				
China	Switzerland	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	Turkey	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
China	USA	1995	Level 1- Protest Taiwan's president's visit to the US	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1995/06/17/world/angered-over-taiwan-china-recalls-its-ambassador-in-us.html	Coincides with pattern of China recalling ambassador from states that recognize	

						Taiwan	
China	USA	1995	Level 2- USA allowed for visit by Taiwanese president	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Independent (London)		
China	West Germany	1989	Level 3- Need to attend internal conference at home about China's image following suppression of student protestors for democracy	Internal problems	Financial Times (London, England)		
Colombia	Honduras	2011	Level 1- Protest Military Coup	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Advertiser (Australia)	France, Spain, Italy, Chile, and Colombia also recalled	
Colombia	Nicaragua	2013	Level 2- territorial maritime dispute	Policy	http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2013-11/28/c_132924004.htm		
Colombia	Venezuela	2015	Level 2- Retaliation for Venezuela closing borders and recalling	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/28/colombia-and-venezuela-recall-	Tit for tat	

			support for an array of Venezuelan policies		after-pro- maduro-statements		
Cote d'Ivoire	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.htmlhttp://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=56 	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau, impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held,	

						cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on	
						<p>" junta members. Sent in troops</p>	"
Cote d'Ivoire	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=spsp&sub=46	<p>MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau,</p>	

					junta members. Sent in troops	
Croatia	Serbia	2015	Level 3-Leader of Serbian Radical Party burned Croatian flag in meeting in Belgrade	Insult	http://www.foundationmaxvanderstoel.nl/nieuws/nieuws_item/told_nationalist_causes_new_rifts_between_serbia_and_croatia	
Cuba	Paraguay	2012	Level 2- protest presidential coup in Paraguay	Policy	http://www.havanatimes.org/?p=73167	
Czech Republic	Belarus	2012	Level 2- EU debacle with HR sanctions	Policy	http://ceskapozice.lidovky.cz/czechs-recall-ambassador-to-belarus-in-solidarity-with-eupmq-/tema.aspx?c=A120229_112434_pozice_58623	
Czech Republic	Canada	2009	Level 2- Canada imposed new visa requirements on Czech citizens to cut down on refugee claims	Policy	http://www.theglobecandmail.com/news/politics/czech-republic-recalls-ambassador/article1200111/	CR then imposed same restrictions on Canadian

						citizens doing business in the country	
Czech Republic	Canada	2009	Level 3- harsher visa requirements for Czech citizens in Canada	Insult	http://www.tcscanada.net/canada-immigration-news/news-out.php?ueid=233	..	..
Czechoslovakia	Albania	1961	Level 3- Protest Albanian ambassador's hostile behavior	Ambassador behavior	https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1300&date=19611214&id=yKsU/AAAIBAJ&sjid=HbQDAAAIBAJ&pg=4682,2184851&hl=en	Expelled Albanian ambassador in Prague	
Denmark	Malawi	2001	Level 3- Ambassador made insulting comments and kept suspicious funds	Ambassador behavior	https://books.google.com/books?id=gP_-8rXzQs8C&pg=PA2744&lpq=P_A2744&dq=mali+recall+ambassador&source=bl&ots=mTjmCUpqJc&sig=AKn0Sr83OZ7zFuyajTRnVjK8RpA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK		

					QKHV5bBPg4ChDoAQg6MAY#v=onepage&q=malawi%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Denmark	Malawi		Level 1 - Allegations of corruption and political intolerance in Malawi	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1794730.stm	Closed embassy; suspends financial aid to Malawi	
Djibouti	Eritrea	1999	Level 2- Eritrea accused Djibouti of siding with longstanding rival Ethiopia, while Djibouti counter-accused Eritrea of supporting rebels fighting its government	Policy	http://www.worldbulletin.net/world/150594/djibouti-fmhails-excellent-ties-with-neighbors-except-eritrea		Restored 2 years later in 2001
Djibouti	Iran	2016	Level 3- Iran repeatedly mocked the leadership of Djibouti	Insult	http://mgafrika.com/article/2016-01-06-somali-piracy-might-make-a-rerun-in-2016-why-africa-needs-to-watch-the-		

					saudi- iran-spat-closely		
Djibouti	Iran	2016	Level 3- Iran attacked Saudi Embassy	Security	[1] <i>BBC News</i> , Iran-Saudi Arabia Row: Kuwait Recalls Ambassador from Tehran".		
Dominican Republic	Haiti	2013	Level 2- Protest controversial Constitutional Court decision in the Dominican Republic in September, a ruling that could deprive hundreds of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent of their citizenship.	Policy	http://www.caribjournal.com/2013/11/27/dominican-republic-recalls-its-ambassador-to-haiti/#		20 days
Dominican Republic	Haiti	2015	Level 2- Protest Overland entry ban of 23 Dominican products into Haiti	Policy	http://sentinel.ht/2015/09/17/dominicans-recall-ambassador-haiti/	Lots of disputes between DR and Haiti	
DRC	Belgium	2004	Level 3- Belgian foreign minister made comments	Insult	http://www.irinnews.org/news/2004/10/22/kinshasa-		

			that the DRC had no real government, but unimpressive politicians		recalls-ambassador- belgium		
DRC	England	2012	Level 3- recalled three of their own ambassadors for their statements against the DRC gov, accusing it of terror, abductions, arrests, assassinations, and the militarization of the Republican Guard	Ambassador political behavior	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/20/congo-embassy-workers-asylum-uk	<p>Bigger conflict: disputed election, HR Watch reported 24 ppl killed by police after dispute, political suppression; the ambassadors resigned before being recalled.</p>	
DRC	Republic of Congo	2011	Level 2- Congo's refusal to extradite 2 DRC	Policy	http://www.congoplanet.com/news/1821/dr-congo-recalls-ambassador-brazzaville-		

			refugees who fled DRC		kinshasa- faustin-munene-udjani- enyele-denis-sassou- nguessou.jsp		
ECOW AS	Mali	2012	Level 1- Protest coup in Northern Mali	Policy	http://www.irinnews.org/report/95698/analysis-intervention-options-northern-mali	Comprehensive sanctions: suspended Mali from ECOWAS, closed borders, and put travel bans on coup leaders	
Ecuador	Brazil	2016	Level 1- Protest suspension of Brazil's democratically-elected President Dilma Rousseff	Policy	http://www.democracynow.org/2016/5/19/headlines/3_countries_recall_ambassadors_to_brazil_over_rousseff_s_ousting	Coincides with Bolivia and Venezuela	

Ecuador	Colombia	2006	Level 2- Protest Colombia's decision to resume aerial coca fumigation along the shared border	Policy	http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/15/AR2006121502257.html		
Ecuador	Colombia	2008	Level 2- Disapproval of Colombian military attack against FARC	Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN02368573		
Ecuador	Egypt	2013	Level 2- Egyptian security forces crushed protest camps of supporters of the deposed Islamist President Mohamed Mursi and killed 200	Policy	http://365informer.com/ecuador-recalls-ambassador-to-egypt-after-bloodshed-in-cairo		
Ecuador	Israel	2010	Level 2- Protest Israel's raid on Gaza-bound protest flotilla	Policy	http://www.jpost.com/Breaking-News/Ecuador-recalls-Ambassador-over-Flotilla-raid		

Ecuador	Israel	2014	Level 1 - Israeli interference in Gaza Strip	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, El Salvador, and Peru all recalled for the same reason.	
Ecuador	Peru	2013	Level 3- Ambassador got in brawl in supermarket	Ambassador behavior	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-22432485		Appointed new official the next week
Egypt	Algeria	2009	Level 2- Attacks on Egyptian fans at soccer game	Insult	http://www.haaretz.com/news/egypt-recalls-ambassador-to-algeria-over-soccer-game-1.3828		
Egypt	Algiers	2009	Level 3- Protest attacks against Egyptian soccer fans in Algiers	Insult	http://nation.com.pk/international/20-Nov-2009/Egypt-recalls-ambassador-from-		

					Algiers- for-consultations		
Egypt	Israel	1982	Level 2- Protest Israel's invasion of Lebanon	Policy	http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=82093&page=1		6 years until 1988
Egypt	Israel	2000	Level 2- Protest excessive force during the al-Aqsa infitada	Policy	http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4111263,00.html		
Egypt	Israel	2001	Level 2- Protest 2nd Intifada	Policy	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt%E2%80%93Israel_relations ; http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=82093&page=1		4 years until 2005
Egypt	Israel	2011	Level 1- Protest deaths of 5 Egyptian security forces in border incident, which it claims breached the 1979 peace treaty between the two states	Policy	http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4111263,00.html	Long history of revocation between Israel and Egypt	
Egypt	Israel	2012	Level 1- protest Israel's		https://www.rt.com/news/egypt-	Lots of	

			announcement of "terror targets" and bombing of Gaza	Policy-2SS	ambassador-un- israel-719/	countries protest Israeli aggression; also summoned the Israeli ambassador in Cairo	
Egypt	Israel	2016	Level 2- Protest Israeli aggression against Palestinians	Policy	http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=82093	Follows summit led by Mubarak which tried and failed to decrease tensions in the area	
Egypt	Serbia	1992	Level 1- Int'l disapproval of Serb offensive on Bosnia and Herzegovina	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/05/31/Egypt-recalls-belgrade-ambassador/3424707284800/	Accompanied by UNSC sanctions on Serbia	

Egypt	Syria	2012	Level 2- Arab League's call to halt diplomatic cooperation with Syria	Policy	http://gulfnnews.com/news/mena/syria/egypt-syria-in-tit-for-tat-recall-of-ambassadors-1.983353	Tit for tat, Arab League	
Egypt	UK	1951	Level 2- Protest against British aggression in the Suez Canal Zone	Policy	http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS19511214.2.7&c=-----en-20--1-1-txt-txIN-----	Transferred the technical office of the Egyptian Communications Ministry from London to Switzerland. London embassy will continue to operate under charge d'affaires.	
Egypt	Vatican	2011	Level 2- Pope urged Egypt to do more to protect its minority	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12164696		

			Christian population				
Egypt	Israel	2011	Level 2- Accidental shooting of three Egyptian security officers by Israeli warplane chasing suspected militants.	Policy	http://nation.com.pk/inter-national/20-Aug-2011/Egypt-recalls-Ambassador-to-Israel-over-shootings		
Egypt	Qatar	2015	Level 2- Objection to Qatari interference in Egyptian affairs	Policy	http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/06/28/al-sisi-meets-11-new-ambassadors-to-cairo/	Tit for tat	
Egypt	Yugoslavia	1992	Level 1- Protest persistent Serb offensive on the Muslim-dominated republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/05/31/Egypt-recalls-Belgrade-ambassador/3424707284800/	Paired with other Arab countries and UNSC sanctions on Yugoslavia	
El Salvador	Brazil	2016	Level 1- Protest suspension of Brazil's democratically-elected	Policy	http://www.democracynow.org/2016/5/19/headlines/3_countries_recall_ambassadors_to_brazil_over_r	1 of 6 countries to do so (Ecuador, Venezuela, El	

			President Dilma Rouseff		rousseff_s_ouster	Salvador, Nepal, Venezuela, Bolivia)	
El Salvador	Israel	1980	Level 1 - Moved embassy from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv in 1980 to protest enactment of the Jerusalem Law, which formally declared Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem and affirmed the city as the nation's capital.	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1984/04/14/world/salvador-r-moves-embassy-in-israel-to-jerusalem-joining-costa-rica.html	1 of 13 countries to do so	
El Salvador	Israel	1984	Level 1 - Moved embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1984/04/14/world/salvador-r-moves-embassy-in-israel-to-jerusalem-joining-costa-rica.html	Costa Rica and El Salvador recalled ambassador to Israel for same reason	

El Salvador	Israel	2014	Level 1 - Israeli interference in Gaza Strip	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, El Salvador, and Peru all recalled for the same reason.	
England	DRC	1999	Level 2 - DRC deported 5 Britons accused of spying	Insult	http://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticlePrintPage.aspx?id=986494&language=en	England also recalled them; DRC expelled American official as well	
Equatorial Guinea	Spain	2004	Level 2 - Spain grants political refugee status to exiled EG leader	Policy	http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/EG-recalls-ambassador-to-Spain-20040722	EG suppressed media coverage of incoming president's corrupt finances	
Eritrea	African Union/Eth	2003	Level 2 - Protest the ongoing border dispute	Policy	http://reliefweb.int/report/eritrea/eritrea-interview-		

	Eritrea						
	Eritrea	Sudan	2002	Level 3- Ambassador suspected of being sympathetic to the PFDJ, Eritrea's ruling Party	Ambassador behavior	http://www.sudantribune.com/Eritrea-s-former-ambassador-to,620	
	Eritrea	Uganda	1997	Level 3- Ambassador charged with corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://www.fithinews.com/index.php/special-features/211-silence-kills-sennat-is-my-sister	
	Estonia	Armenia	2016	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://www.president.ee/en/media/press-releases/12558-president-kaljulaid-signed-powers-of-authority-and-recall-letters-for-three-diplomatic-representatives/index.html	
	Estonia	Belarus	2016	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://www.president.ee/en/media/press-releases/12558-president-kaljulaid-signed-powers-of-authority-and-recall-letters-for-three-diplomatic-representatives/index.html	

					representatives/index.html		
Estonia	Philippines	2016	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://www.president.ee/en/media/press-releases/12558-president-kajulaid-signed-powers-of-authority-and-recall-letters-for-three-diplomatic-representatives/index.html		
Ethiopia	Germany	2000	Level 2- Accuses Germany of spreading propaganda painting Ethiopia in negative light; German Director of African Affairs criticized their funding of war w/Eritrea while ppl at home were starving from famine	Policy	http://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/ethiopia-recalls-ambassador-from-berlin-35272		
EU	Belarus	1998	Level 3- water and electricity shut off to EU diplomatic residence in Belarus	Security	http://articles.latimes.com/1998/jun/20/news/mn-61843		

EU	Eritrea	2001	Level 3- consultations	Consultations	http://www.africafocus.org/docs01/eri0110.php	Length of diplomatic mission in Eritrea is directly proportional to how much aid Eritrea receives from the EU.	
EU	Belarus	2012	Level 2- EU just blacklisted 160 Belarusian officials for human rights violations	Policy!	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17196078	.	.
Fiji	Australia	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	3 of many	
Fiji	China	2015	Level 3- Ambassador accused of bribery	Ambassador behavior	http://www.fijiileaks.com/home/cash-for-honorary-consul-post-esala-teleni-was-recalled-to-fiji-after-he-was-accused-of-accepting-200000-in-bribe-for-	.	.

					recommending- fiji's-new- honorary- consul-in-hong-kong- kubuabola-got-teleni-the- present-job		
Fiji	Japan	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	2 of many	
Fiji	Malaysia	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	5 of many	
Fiji	New Zealand	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	4 of many	
Fiji	Papua New Guinea	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	6 of many	
Fiji	USA	2007	Level 3- overhaul of public service; reappoint soon	Internal reshuffle	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific	1 of many	

Finland	Russia (Soviet Union)	1939	Level 1 - Protest Russian attacks on Finland.	Policy (International)	https://books.google.com/books?id=Z4nKtNn8dHQ&pg=PA278&lpq=PA278&dq=finland+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=6eEAAUmRQ&sig=7Bz8AljU9U0ss0DmpcK8iCn7gEk&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjEqj778nRAhVIZlMKHf-uAroQ6AEISDAJ#v=onepage&q=finland%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false (Small nations in times of crisis and confrontation)	Part of larger League of Nations efforts. Followed resolution by LON to expel Soviet Union and call on member states for solidarity: "Expressions of sympathy and identification flowed in from all over-- Abyssinia, Uruguay, Canada, Belgium. France shut down the	
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				Soviet Trade Delegation offices in Paris. In Rome there were mass demonstrations against the Soviet aggression; in their wake, Moscow recalled its Ambassador, and the Italian Ambassador was ordered in reaction to announce that he was going on vacation in Italy. The Pope conducted a	
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						mass for Finland. Statesmen and politicians	
						delivered fervent speeches advocating Finland's right to existence, independence, and security, while European and American newspapers vigorously expressed the position of world public opinion in support of the justice of	

						Finland's cause." (278).	
Finland	Sweden	2016	Level 3- Finnish ambassador accused of sexual harassment at Swedish embassy	Ambassa dor behavior	http://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/president_niinisto_officially_recalls_finnish_ambassador_from_sweden/9120352	Also accused Finnish embassy in Sweden of running tax- free tobacco scam	Named new ambassad or next week
France	Albania	1984	Level 3- French employee fatally shot in Albania	Insult	http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/28/world/arouind-the-world-paris-recalls-envoy-over-albania-shooting.html	..	..
France	Australia	1995	Level 2- France protested what it called "discriminatory measures" on the part of Australia, like delaying mail, trade, and economic partnerships in response to France's	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1995/08/01/France-recalls-ambassador-to-Australia/8697807249600/		

			decision to resume nuclear testing in the South Pacific			
France	Austria	1914	Level 2- protest Austrian troops taking part in Franco-German war	Policy	http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS19140811.2.7	
France	Chile	1983	Level 2- Accuses Chile of human rights violations against its own citizens	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1983/05/19/world/around-the-world-france-recalls-envoy-and-criticizes-chile.html	
France	Honduras	2009	Level 2- Protest coup in Honduras	Policy	Lexis Nexis - Financial Times (London)	
France	Hong Kong	2010	Level 3- "The French consul-general in Hong Kong has been recalled and suspended for allegedly stealing two bottles of high-priced wine from the territory's most exclusive club by	Ambassador behavior	Lexis Nexis- The Times (London)	


			stuffing them in his clothing"				
France	Iran	2011	Level 3- Attack on British embassy in tehran	Security	http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/30/iran-france-ambassador_n_1121442.html	Sarkozy recommends international embargoes to punish Iran for attack	
France	Mali	2013	Level 3- Ambassador had falling out with french foreign minister	Insult	http://77.246.170.50/english/details.php?fromval=2&cid=46&frid=22&seccatid=46&cid=86799		Immediate replacement
France	Romania	1989	Level 1- Protest Romania's human rights abuses	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Guardian (London)	Postponed next meeting of Franco-Romanian joint economic commission; Britain and Hungary made	

						statements	
France	Rwanda	2012	Level 3- Rwanda disapproves of French envoy	Insult	http://en.rfi.fr/africa/2012_0220-france-recalls-rwandan-ambassador-kigali		
France	Syria	2012	Level 2- Protest Assad's violence	Policy	http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/92129/france-recalls-syria-ambassador-vows-more-pressure		
France	Syria	2012	Level 3- Syrian army defectors attacked military bases	Security	http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/11/syria-france-ambassador/335416/	Joins Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Britain, Belgium, and US	
France	USA	1794	Level 2- Citizen Genet affair was threatening US- French Neutrality	Policy, also Ambassador Behavior	https://history.state.gov/milestones/1784-1800/citizen-genet		
France	Vatican	1904	Level 2- French citizens	Policy	http://archives.chicagotrib		

			protest President Loubet's visit to Rome		une.com/1904/05/23/page/1/article/vatican-authorities-agitated#text		
Gabon	France	1995	Level 3- Mad that France is prosecuting their president for his alleged solicitation of prostitutes	Ambassador behavior	http://www.nytimes.com/1995/04/23/world/prostitution-trial-upsets-france-gabon-ties.html		
Gabon	France	2015	Level 2- France seized President of Gabon's plane on runway in France	Policy	http://gabonenervant.blogspot.com/2015/03/ali-bongo-plays-paper-tiger-in.html	France sent verbal note on matter	
Gabon	France	2016	Level 3-French PM questioned legitimacy of Gabon's president's election	Insult	http://cctv-africa.com/2016/01/18/gabon-recalls-ambassador-to-france-after-french-pm-election-comments/		
Gambia	Belgium	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian	Transition	http://the-point.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-6		

			election				
Gambia	China	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-1		
Gambia	Cuba	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-8		
Gambia	Ethiopia	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-11		
Gambia	Guinea Bissau	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-9		

			election			
Gambia	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	<p>http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html</p> <p>http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=58</p>	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access

						to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Gambia	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.htmlhttp://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=47 	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and	

Gambia	Russia	2017	ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	n	http://www.africanews.com/2017/01/06/jammeh-sacks-gambia-s-ambassador-to-senegal/		
Gambia	Senegal	2017	Level 3- Transfer of power in Gambia	Transitions			
Gambia	Spain	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transitions	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-7		
Gambia	Turkey	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transitions	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-2		
Gambia	United Kingdom	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after	Transitions	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-2		

			the contested Gambian election		ambassadors-recalled-4		
Gambia	United Nations	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-3		
Gambia	USA	2016	Level 3- Transfer of power in Gambia	Transition	http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/12/20/gambia-us-ambassador-recalled-after-urging-power-handover.html		
Gambia	USA	2017	Level 3- These ambassadors recognized a different president after the contested Gambian election	Transition	http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/12-gambian-ambassadors-recalled-5		
Georgia	Austria	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	

Georgia	Azerbaijan	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
			policies				
Georgia	Belgium	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Bulgaria	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	China	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Czech Republic	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	


				Leadership			
Georgia	EU	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Germany	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Hungary	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Kazakhstan	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
			Level 3- replaced with	Transition	Lexis Nexis- Trend News	Recalled from	

Georgia	Latvia	2013	ambassadors loyal to new policies	n of Leadership	Agency (Azerbaijan)	18 countries	
Georgia	Lithuania	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Luxembourg	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	OSCE	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	Russia	2007	Level 2- Georgia alleges that violent anti-government protests are a result of Russia seeking	Policy	http://asbarez.com/56145/georgia-recalls-its-ambassador-from-russia-amid-clashes/		


			to destabilize Georgia				
Georgia	Russia	2008	Level 1- Russian invasion into Georgian airspace	Policy	http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=18751	Sought UN censure of Russia; asked NATO, EU, and OSCE to condemn act; http://www.reuters.com/article/us-georgia-ossetia-russia-idUSHO05105720080811	
Georgia	Turkey	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	UK	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	

				ip			
Georgia	Ukraine	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership ip	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Georgia	USA	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership ip	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 18 countries	
Germany	Iran	2008	Level 3- German ambassador attended high-ranking anti-Israel military parade in Tehran even though boycotted by	Ambassador behavior	http://www.payvand.com/news/08/sep/1313.html		
			the UN				
Germany	Iran	2011	Level 3- British diplomatic mission in Iran was stormed	Security	http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/86080/germany-recalls-ambassador-from-iran-		

Germany	Rwanda	2009	Level 2- Germany arrested Rwandan official, so Rwanda demanded German ambassador leave.	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2008-11-11-voa48/339092.html	Tit for tat	
Germany	USA	1938	Level 2- Worsening relations b/t US and Germany during the Holocaust, specifically after Kristallnacht	Policy	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_Ambassador_to_the_United_States	Tit for tat	
Ghana	Cote d'Ivoire	2011	Level 3- Security Concerns	Policy	http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Ghana-shuts-down-embassy-in-Cote-d-Ivoire-207195	Shuts down entire embassy	
Ghana	France	1960	Level 2-- French nuclear testing in Africa	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=O28ZBQAAQBAJ&pg=PT142&lpq=PT142&dq=ghana+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=tCLs6YjyAT&sig=skZ1C_YoEma802xCy_wy0l		

					IMWL4&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjysbqPg-HRAhVL6oMKHa8BBWMQ6AEIMDAG#v=onepage&q=ghana%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Ghana	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.htmlhttp://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=59 	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau, impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional	

					order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Ghana	Japan	2014	Level 3 - Ambassador rented property to gang of Japanese gamblers	Ambassa dor behavior	http://calvinayre.com/2014/03/26/business/ghana-ambassador-recalled-over-gambling-fiasco-in-japan/	--
Ghana	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-	MULTILATE RAL AND

					<p>sanctions-on- mali-145801255/180314.htmlhttp://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=48</p> 	<p>SANCTIONS-All ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency.</p>	
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						Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Ghana	Brazil	2010	Level 3- Sexual harassment allegations made against Ghanaian ambassador	Ambassador behavior	http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201010/54445.php		
Greece	Austria	2016	Level 2- Disagreement over Syrian refugee migration to Europe	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35658776		
Greece	Czech Republic	2015	Level 3- Czech president insulted Greece	Insult	http://www.ceskenoviny.cz/zpravvy/greece-recalls-ambassador-for-consultations-over-zeman-s-words/1295858		
Guatemala	Belize	2016	Level 3- BDF soldiers killed Guatemalan minor	Insult	http://edition.channel5belize.com/archives/128089		

			in farm raids				
Guatemala	USA	2002	Level 2- Senior American official accuses Guatemalan president's government of being involved in corruption and drug trafficking	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2321913.stm	Coincides with US push to stem flow of illegal drugs from Guatemala to USA	
Guinea	Algeria	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	AU	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Brazil	2009	Level 3- President	Transitio	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm		

			Camara seized power in 2008 coup	n	eb/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	China	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Cuba	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Egypt	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign	

						embassies	
Guinea	EU	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	France	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Gabon	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Ghana	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of	

			2008 coup	n	/www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Guinea-Bissau	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Iran	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Italy	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	

Guinea	Japan	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Liberia	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Libya	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Malaysia	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign	

					03.n46g3nv02632.htm	embassies	
Guinea	Morocco	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Nigeria	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Russia	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Senegal	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of	

			2008 coup		/www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Serbia	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Sierra Leone	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	South Africa	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	Switzerland	2009	Level 3- President	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm		

	d		Camara seized power in 2008 coup	n	eb/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	UAE	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	UN	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Guinea	United Kingdom	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transitio n	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3nv02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign	

						embassies	
Guinea	USA	2009	Level 3- President Camara seized power in 2008 coup	Transition	https://web.archive.org/web/20090512155101/http://www.ttc.org/200905061603.n46g3ny02632.htm	Blanket recall of almost all of Guinea's foreign embassies	
Haiti	Bahamas	2014	Level 2- Condemn the new immigration policy that requires foreigners to show evidence that they have permission to live or work in the Bahamas, or otherwise face deportation	Policy	http://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/haiti/article3651881.html	RFK Center for Justice and Human Rights also condemned	
Haiti	Dominican Republic	2013	Level 2- protest new Dominican law revoking citizenship ppl with Haitian parents who arrived after 1929	Policy	http://www.caribjournal.com/2013/10/01/haiti-recalls-its-ambassador-to-the-dominican-republic/		

Haiti	Dominican Republic	2015	Level 2- spate of anti-Haitian crime	Policy	http://www.hougansydney.com/whats-happening-in-haiti/haiti-recalls-its-ambassador-in-the-dominican-republic-after-recent-spike-of-anti-haiti-crimes		
Haiti	Jamaica	2004	Level 3- Protest Jamaica offering shelter to ousted Haitian leader	Insult ..	http://www.newsday.co.it/news/0,16216.html	.	.
Honduras	Colombia	2016	Level 3- Ambassador hosted rowdy holiday party at Colombian embassy	Ambassador behavior ..	http://www.euronews.com/2013/01/06/honduras-recalls-ambassador-to-colombia-over-party-scandal		
Honduras	Netherlands	1988	Level 2- Protest ICJ's decision to hear case brought by Nicaragua that Honduras is illegally sheltering Nicaraguan guerillas	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The New York Times		
Honduras	Nicaragua	1984	Level 2- Sandinista troops shot down	..	Lexis Nexis- Globe and Mail		

			Honduran helicopter, killing 8 ppl	Policy	(Canada)		
India	Croatia	2005	Level 3- Ambassador behavior	Ambassa dor behavior	http://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/a-much-roving-ambassador/229564		
India	Pakistan	2001	Level 2- Holds Pakistan accountable for Kashmiri militants who attacked Indian parliament	Policy	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/1366096/India-recalls-Pakistan-envoy-as-road-and-rail-links-are-cut.html	Severed road and rail links with Pakistan	
India	Pakistan	2015	Level 2- Protest alleged Pakistani support of terrorist attacks on Indian parliament building	Policy	http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/asia-july-dec01-india_pakistan_12-21/		
Indonesia	Australia	2006	Level 2- Australia granted temporary visas to 42 asylum seekers from West Papua	Policy	http://www.theage.com.au/news/editorial/turning-a-blind-eye-would-invite-another-east-timor/2006/03/24/114308398816.html		
Indonesia	Australia	2013	Level 2- leaked		http://www.abc.net.au/news	Demands	

			documents reveal Australia spied on Indonesian president	Policy	ws/2013-11-18/indonesia-angered-by-revelations-australia-spied-on-sby/5100264	Australia publicly promise to not do this anymore	
Indonesia	Brazil	2015	Level 2- executed 2 Indonesian citizens for drug offenses; Brazil recalls ambassador	Policy	http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-02-21/indonesia-withdraws-ambassador-to-brazil-in-a-sign-of-a-deepen/6176370	Tit for tat	
Indonesia	Malaysia		Level 2- formation of Malaysian federation	Policy	http://web.stanford.edu/group/tomzgroup/pmwiki/uploads/1070-1963-11-K-b-OEP.pdf		
Iran	Azerbaijan	2009	Level 2- Protest visit of Israeli president	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/23/world/middle-east/after-protests-iran-recalls-ambassador-from-azerbaijan.html?_r=0		
			Level 2- Bulgaria placed responsibility for Burgas	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/articles/0,7340,L-		

Iran	Bulgaria	2013	terrorist attack on Hezbollah		4343017,00.html		
Iran	Czech Republic	1998	Level 2- Protest CR allowing US to use its territory to make radio broadcasts to Iran	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/206988.stm	--	--
Iran	Iraq	2008	Level 2- Protest Iraq's support of UAE taking ownership of three Persian Gulf Islands	Policy	http://www.iranfocus.com/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15209:iran-recalls-ambassador-to-iraq&catid=7:iraq&Itemid=112	.	.
Iran	UK	1989	Level 1- UK recalls ambassador after Ayatollah calls for assassination of British author Salman Rushdie because of his controversial book.	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=UnOhCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT594&lpq=PT594&dq=united+kingdom+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=284Q-G5Jz3&sig=7prbnlRaU_9TQztZ2_5s1xbRwQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK_Ewi_t-3B5JHSAhUO3iYKHQA	Tit for tat; broke off all diplomatic relations with UK	

					dC7wQ6AEIUdA#v=on epage&q=united%20king dom%20recalls%20ambas sador&f=false		
Iran	Nigeria	2016	Level 2- Shiite crisis in Nigeria against government	Policy	http://www.trackpersia.com/iran-recalls-ambassador-to-nigeria/	.	.
Iraq	Egypt	2015	Level 2- Protest Sunno accusations that the Shia Forces have committed violations against Sunni Muslims	Policy	http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/03/19/iraq-recalls-ambassador-to-egypt-amid-shia-militias-violations-tensions/	Human Rights Watch also accuses Shia militants of this abuse	
Iraq	Jordan	2005	Level 2- Jordanian man carried out deadly suicide bombing in Iraq	Policy	http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2005-03-20-iraq-ambassador_x.htm	.	.
Iraq	Jordan	2014	Level 2- Sunni Iraqi leaders call Iraqi insurgency popular revolt- led by ISIS	Policy	http://www.albawaba.com/news/iraq-jordan-591246	.	.
Iraq	Portugal	2017	Level 3- Ambassador's	Ambassa	http://www.rudaw.net/eng	.	.

			sons assaulted Portuguese Teenager	dor behavior	lish/middleeast/iraq/2001 20171		
Iraq	Turkey	2016	Level 1 - Protest Turkish troops in Iraq	Policy	http://www.euronews.com/2016/10/05/iraq-and-turkey-recall-ambassadors-as-tension-mounts-over-bashiga-base	Iraq threatens war, turkey recalls ambassador tit for tat	
Iraq	Syria	2009	Level 2 - Iraq recalled envoy and demanded Syria give back 2 men accused of truck bombing	Policy	http://www.iraqinews.com/baghdad-politics/urgent-syria-rejects-iraq%E2%80%99s-remarks-recalls-ambassador/		
Ireland	UK	1972	Level 1 - Bloody Sunday attacks	Policy	http://www.history.com/th-is-day-in-history/bloody-sunday-in-northern-ireland	Irish protesters attacked British embassy; coincides overarching political and religious conflict during	

						the troubles	
Israel	Australia	2006	Level 3- Ambassador made racist comments	Ambassador behavior	http://www.jpost.com/print/article.aspx?id=37825		
Israel	Belgium	2003	Level 2- Belgium's highest court ruled that Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon can be sued for war crimes	Policy	https://www.irishtimes.com/news/israel-recalls-belgium-ambassador-after-sharon-ruling-1.461194		
Israel	El Salvador	2007	Level 3- Israeli ambassador found drunk and nude	Ambassador behavior	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-441784/Israel-recalls-El-Salvador-ambassador-bound-drunk.html		
Israel	New Zealand	2016	Level 2- Co-sponsored UN resolution describing Israeli settlements in occupied territories as major stumbling blocks to Middle East peace efforts, as they are built on land the Palestinians	Policy	http://nation.com.pk/inter-national/24-Dec-2016/new-zealand-defends-un-vote-as-israel-recalls-ambassador	Also recalled to Senegal	

			consider part of their future state			
Israel	New Zealand	2016	Level 2 - UN passed resolution condemning Israel's continued settlements	Policy	http://www.samoaplanet.com/israel-recalls-nz-ambassador/	
Israel	Senegal	2016	Level 2 - Co-sponsored UN resolution describing Israeli settlements in occupied territories as major stumbling blocks to Middle East peace efforts, as they are built on land the Palestinians consider part of their future state	Policy	http://nation.com.pk/inter-national/24-Dec-2016/new-zealand-defends-un-vote-as-israel-recalls-ambassador	Also recalled from NZ
Israel	Sweden	2014	Level 1 - Recognized Palestinian Statehood	Policy	http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Israel-recalls-ambassador-to-Stockholm-after-Swedens-decision-to-recognize	Long history of political tension between Israel and Palestine

					Palestinian-state-380351	over state legitimacy and international recognition	
Israel	Switzerland	2009	Level 1 - Swiss president met with Iranian leader Mahmoud Ahmelinejad, who advocates for destruction of Israel and believes Holocaust didn't happen	Policy-coincides with tumultuous history	http://www.voanews.com/a/13-2009-04-20-voa48-68799112/411970.html	USA also boycotted conference	
Israel	UNESCO	2016	Level 2 - UNESCO adopted resolution disregarding Jewish ties to Al Aqsa and endorsed Palestine instead	Policy	http://me-confidential.com/14118-israel-frowns-at-unesco-resolution-recalls-ambassador.html		
Israel	Venezuela	2006	Level 2 - Protest Hugo Chavez's comments on Israel's "genocide" in Lebanon	Policy	http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Israel-recalls-ambassador-from-Venezuela	Tit for tat	

Israel	Cyprus	2013	Level 2- Iranian national was extradited from Cyprus to US for suspicion of violation UN arms sanctions	Policy	http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4378481,00.html		
Italy	Brazil	2009	Level 2- Brazil grants political asylum to and refuses to extradite Italian man facing life in prison in Italy for deadly attacks	Policy	https://www.stratfor.com/situation-report/italy-recalls-ambassador-brazil		
Italy	Egypt	2016	Level 2- Egyptian officials failed to comply with investigation of murdered Italian Student	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36001416 ; http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/09/world/europe/italy-recalls-envoy-to-egypt-over-inquiry-into-students-death.html?_r=0	Paired with growing Western concerns about mounting human rights abuses in Egypt under new regime promoting censorship;	

					Italy wants European support, but hard to come by	
Italy	Honduras	2009	Level 2- Protest coup in Honduras	Policy	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Europe	==
Italy	India	2012	Level 2- 2 Italian Marines charged with murder of 2 Indian fishermen; Italy contends it happened on international waters and India has no jurisdiction	Insult/Policy	http://nation.com.pk/national/19-May-2012/italy-recalls-ambassador-to-india-after-marines-charged	
Italy	India	2013	Level 2- Piracy conflict	Policy	http://articles.chicagotribune.com/keyword/piracy/fetured/2	==
Italy	India	2014	Level 2- Protest India putting two Italian marines on trial	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/18/italy-recalls-ambassador-india-	==

					marine-trial-delays		
Italy	Syria	2011	Level 1 - Protest Syria's repression of anti-gov protests	Policy	http://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/italy-recalls-ambassador-to-syria/	EU imposes sanctions and travel bans on Syria, freeze assets; Rome suspended cooperative programs with Syria	
Italy	Syria	2012	Level 1 - Protest Syria's crackdown on political protesters	Policy	https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/netherlands_recalls_ambassador_from_syria	Joins France, Italy, Spain, Britain, Belgium, and US	
Italy	Zimbabwe	2008	Level 2 - Protest Zimbabwe's aggression against political protesters	Policy	https://africanpress.wordpress.com/2008/07/03/italy-recalls-ambassador-from-zimbabwe/		

Japan	China	2012	Level 2- Disputed island group	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/16/world/asia/japan-recalls-ambassador-to-china.html		
Japan	Moscow	2010	Level 2- Russian president pays visit to disputed Kuril islands	Policy	http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Japan-recalls-its-ambassador-in-Moscow-after-Medvedev-visits-Kuril-Islands-19879.html		
Japan	South Korea	2012	Level 2- South Korean president visited disputed island of Takeshima	Policy	http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/video/2012-08/11/c_131777791.htm		
Japan	South Korea	2017	Level 3- Protest Korean statue honoring women forced into military prostitution in Japan during WWII	Insult	https://www.neweurope.eu/article/japan-recalls-ambassador-s-korea-comfort-woman-statue/		
Japan	Russia	2010	Level 2- Protest Russian president's visit to disputed island chain	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/japan-recalls-ambassador-from-russia-in-island-dispute-		

					106529118/166579.html		
Jordan	Iran	2016	Level 2- Nimir al nimir execution; Iran interfering in Arab Affairs	Policy and Security	http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/04/jordan-recalls-ambassador-iran-160418092647934.html	.	.
Jordan	Israel	2009	Level 2- Protest the IDF's offense in Gaza	Policy	https://bdsmovement.net/news/jordan-recalls-ambassador-israel	.	.
Jordan	Qatar	2002	Level 2- Protest attacks on the Jordanian government and monarchy by an Arab American professor on Al Jazeera	Policy	http://www.arabianbusiness.com/jordan-recalls-ambassador-qatar-because-of-al-jazeera-show-139835.html		
Jordan	Qatar	2006	Level 2- Doha did not back Jordanian candidate to succeed UN secretary general	Insult	http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/10/2008410101416190700.html	.	.
Jordan	Iran	2016	Level 2- Oil talks in Doha to discuss a	Policy	http://www.wsj.com/articles/jordan-recalls-ambassador-	.	.

			freezing of production failed		from-iran- 1460979410		
Jordan	Israel	2014	Level 2- protest continued Israeli violations of holy sites in Palestine	Policy	http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/05/jordan-recalls-ambassador-israel_n_6108564.html	Jordan threatens to lodge formal complaint with UNSC	
Kazakhstan	Austria	2007	Level 3- Faces abduction and illegal business charges	Ambassador behavior	http://www.rferl.org/a/1347574.html		
Kenya	Ethiopia	2013	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Kenya	Leadership Transition	http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000091425/envoys-recalled-as-kenya-begins-to-restructure-foreign-missions		
Kenya	Uganda	1987	Level 2- Escalating political and military tensions between Kenya and Uganda	Policy	https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/12/19/kenya-expels-ugandas-ambassador/d0e1a7f3-617a-4589-b4fe-	Tit for tat	

					59063f56558e/?utm_term=.3c69b5ef2f35		
Kuwait	Bhutan	2011	Level 3- Kuwaiti ambassador called advocated for policies contrary to Kuwait's agenda, namely, withdrawing the Peninsula shield forces from Bahrain	Ambassador incomplete	http://gulfnwews.com/news/gulf/kuwait/kuwait- recalls-its-ambassador-to- bhutan-1.801577		
Kuwait	Iran	2016	Level 2- Iranian protesters attack Saudi embassy	Policy	http://www.wsj.com/articles/kuwait-recalls- ambassador-from-tehran- as-iran-saudi-row-tensions-spread- 1451989716	Kuwaiti deputy foreign minister gave letter of protest to Iranian ambassador; Gulf Cooperation Council called emergency meeting (Bahrain, Kuwait,	


						Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE; Turkey also condemns Iran; part of ongoing Iran-Saudi conflict; Saudi Arabia and Sudan also downgrades	
Kuwait	Syria	2015	Level 1 - Sweden condemned SA's poor HR record	Policy	https://sputniknews.com/politics/201503181019687193/	Joins Bahrain and Sweden Arab League and Gulf Cooperation Council also made statements	-
Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	2014	Level 2 - Batken incident	Policy	http://rass.com/world/714504	-	-

Kyrgyzstan	Belarus	2012	Level 2- Lack of reaction from Belarusian authorities after Bishkek questioned the presence in the country of the former president's brother, who is accused of numerous crimes; extradition requests	Policy	http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/content/kyrgyzst-an-recalls-ambassador- belarus-over-extradition- request		
Latvia	Belarus	2006	Level 2- Protest Belarus raiding home of Latvian ambassador accusing him of distributing pornography	Policy	http://www.rferl.org/a/1070298.html	Tit for tat	
Lebanon	USA	2006	Level 2- Protest USA's statement that it will work with Israel, who Lebanon considers the committer of terrorist acts; President Bush criticized Hezbollah	Policy	http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2006/Jul-13/41630-us-president-pledges-to-work-with-israel-lebanon-recalls-ambassador-to-us-france-calls-israeli.ashx		

Lesotho	India	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	India	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	Italy	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	Italy	2017	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	Switzerland	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		

Lesotho	Switzerland	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	UK	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Lesotho	United Kingdom	2016	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://lestimes.com/govt- recalls-diplomats/		
Liberia	Guinea	2001	Level 2- Allegations of Guinean troops encroaching on Liberian Territory	Policy	http://www.irinnews.org/report/16774/liberia- monrovia-recalls- ambassador-guinea		
Liberia	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders- impose-sanctions-on- mali-145801255/180314.html	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS	

				http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=61	<p>members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze</p>	
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						<p>malis assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops</p>	
Liberia	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	<p>http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=49</p> 	<p>MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau, impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return</p>	

						to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on	
						' junta members. Sent in troops	
Liberia	USA	2010	Level 3- Ambassador criticized Sirleaf gov't, and might run for	Ambassa dor	http://www.newstimeafrica.com/archives/13541		

			president	behavior			
Liberia	Belgium	2015	Level 3- Alleged financial mispractice	Ambassador behavior	http://gnliberia.com/2014/01/03/liberia-recalls-ambassador-to-the-netherlands/		
Liberia	EU	2014	Level 3- Alleged financial mispractice	Ambassador behavior	http://gnliberia.com/2014/01/03/liberia-recalls-ambassador-to-the-netherlands/		
Liberia	Luxembourg	2016	Level 3- Alleged financial mispractice	Ambassador behavior	http://gnliberia.com/2014/01/03/liberia-recalls-ambassador-to-the-netherlands/		
Liberia	Netherlands	2014	Level 3- Alleged financial mispractice	Ambassador behavior	http://gnliberia.com/2014/01/03/liberia-recalls-ambassador-to-the-netherlands/		
Libya	Belarus	2014	Level 1- Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan,	

					1969719682	Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Libya	Egypt	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy ..	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-1969719684	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Libya	Jordan	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-1969719679	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	

Libya	Kuwait	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-1969719681	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Libya	Serbia	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-1969719683	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Libya	Sudan	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recognising-islamist-government-1969719681	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	

					1969719680	Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Libya	Turkey	2014	Level 1 - Protest these countries' recognition of the Islamist-controlled GNC government	Policy	http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/libya-recalls-7-ambassadors-recoignising-islamist-government-1969719678	Libya also recalled from Turkey, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, Belarus, Serbia, and Egypt	
Lithuania	Austria	2011	Level 2- Ex-KGB general's release	Insult	https://www.stratfor.com/situation-report/austria-lithuania-recall-ambassador		
Lithuania	Azerbaijan	2013	Level 3- Ambassadors disclosed sensitive material	Ambassador behavior	http://lithuaniantribune.com/48903/lithuanian-president-recalls-ambassadors-to-azerbaijan-and-hungary-201348903/		
Lithuania	Georgia	2009	Level 3- Unprofessional	Ambassador	https://news.am/en/news		

			ambassador behavior	dor behavior	/11183.html		
Lithuania	Hungary	2013	Level 3- Ambassadors disclosed sensitive material	Ambassa dor behavior	http://lithuaniantribune.com/48903/lithuanian-president-recalls-ambassadors-to-azerbaijan-and-hungary-201348903/		
Lithuania	Latvia	1996	Level 1- Dispute over sea frontier	Policy	Lexis Nexis- Moscow News (Russia)	Other sanctions, like establishment of sea frontier	
Lithuania	Russia	2014	Level 1- Protest Russia's invasion of Ukrainian Sovereignty	Policy	http://www.novinite.com/articles/158612/Lithuania+Recalls+Ambassador+to+Russia+over+Ukraine+Crisis	Other countries who take action against Russia: Czech Republic, Canada, UK, US	
Macedonia	Switzerland	2002	Level 3- Macedonian	Ambassa dor	http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/macedonian-ambassador-	.	.

	d		ambassador found drunk	behavior	recalled/2538746		
Macedonia	USA	2006	Level 3- undiplomatic behavior	Ambassador behavior	http://www.vmacedonianews.com/2006/10/macedonian-president-recalls.html	-	-
Malawi	China	2012	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://mwntation.com/malawi-recalls-5-more-diplomats/	-	-
						-	-
Malawi	Ethiopia	2016	Level 3- Malawi ambassadors accused of defrauding gov't of over \$30,000	Ambassador behavior	http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/malawi-recalls-deputy-ambassador-in-ethiopia-over-graft-allegations-20160407		
Malawi	Germany	2012	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://mwntation.com/malawi-recalls-5-more-diplomats/	-	-
Malawi	Japan	2016	Level 3- Ambassador behavior- fraud, false checks	Ambassador behavior	http://allafrica.com/stories/201604190439.html	-	-
Malawi	Kenya	2016	Level 3- Ambassador behavior- fraud, false	Ambassador	http://allafrica.com/stories/201604190439.html	-	-

			checks	behavior			
Malawi	Kuwait	2014	Level 3- Retaliation for his brother's resignation	Internal Retaliati on	http://www.orakonews.com/malawi-ambassador-to-kuwait-younos-abdul-karim-pays-price-brothers-sins/		
Malawi	Mozambique	2012	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://mwntation.com/malawi-recalls-5-more-diplomats/		
Malawi	Zambia	2016	Level 3- Ambassador behavior- fraud, false checks	Ambassador behavior	http://allafrica.com/stories/201604190439.html		
Malawi	Zimbabwe	2012	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://mwntation.com/malawi-recalls-5-more-diplomats/		
Malaysia	North Korea	2017	Level 2- Protest mysterious death of Kim Jong-Un's half brother	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39024570		
Malaysia	UN	2009	Level 2- Malaysia supports Iran's nuclear program as peaceful;	Policy	http://www.trackpersia.com/malaysia-iran-foreign-		

			disapproves of UN disapproval		relations/		
Maldives	Iran	2016	Level 1 - Disapprove of Iran's destabilizing policies	Policy	http://maldivesindependents.com/politics/maldives-severs-diplomatic-ties-with-iran-124284	Saudi Arabia, Djibouti, Bahrain, Sudan, Kuwait, and Qatar also recalled for same reason	
Mauritania	Israel	2009	Level 1 - Protest invasion of Gaza	Policy	http://www.haaretz.com/news/mauritania-recalls-ambassador-from-israel-in-wake-of-gaza-offensive-1.267492	Accompanied by several other countries	
Mauritania	Mali	2010	Level 2 - Protest the release of AQIM combatants	Policy	https://sahelblog.wordpress.com/2010/02/24/mali-cannate-released-algeria-recalls-ambassador/		

Mauritania	Morocco	2011	Level 2- History of tensions over buffer zone and possible separatist movement	Policy	http://moroccanoftheworld.com/morocco-and-mauritania-is-it-just-a-tug-of-war-or-a-real-one/		
Mauritania	Senegal	1989	Level 2- Ethnic conflict	Policy	http://articles.latimes.com/1989-06-03/news/mn-831_1_senegal-river-mauritanian-president-abdou-diouf		
Mauritius	UN	2002	Level 2- Didn't convey Mauritius's pro-American stance in the UNSC on Iraq disarmament	Policy/ambassador incompetence	http://articles.latimes.com/2002/nov/06/world/fg-mauritius6		
Mexico	Costa Rica	1997	Level 3- Ambassador gave scathing interview about Costa Rica	Ambassador behavior	http://www.nacion.com/ln_ee/1997/junio/09/english.html		
Mexico	Cuba	1998	Level 2- Castro criticized Mexico's trade relations with the USA	Insult	http://www.christusrex.org/www2/fe/mexicomiffed.html		
Mexico	Cuba	2004	Level 2- Fidel Castro	Policy/in	http://staugustine.com/sto	Peru recalled	

			criticized their support of a UN resolution criticizing Cuba's human rights record	sult	ries/050404/wor_2304488.shtml#.WEenxKlrKb8	as well	
Mexico	Ireland	1996	Level 3- Ambassador suspected of meeting with former Mexican president and left-wing extremists	Ambassador behavior	http://www.irishtimes.com/news/mexico-recalls-ambassador-to-ireland-1.60011	" "	" "
Mexico	USA	1982	Level 2- Signal disapproval of change in US immigration policy that makes many Mexicans in US vulnerable to deportation	Policy	http://www.csmonitor.com/1982/0107/010727.htm		
Mexico	Venezuela	2005	Level 3- Venezuelan president called Mexican president a "Puppy of US imperialism"	Insult	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4437024.stm	" Tit for tat	" "
Mexico	USA	1845	Level 2- Conflict over forthcoming US	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=qtdARoLA6vI	Tit for tat	

			annexation of Texas		C&pg=PA263&lpg=PA263&dq=mexico+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=U-04TMU4_T&sig=O1mLB Bjktb6KPKNdNWbpZuAAk4Y&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjM-6mVjIHSAhWjIjQKHT63CBt4ChDoAQgcMAE#v=onepage&q=mexico%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Moldova	Albania	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	1 of 29	.
Moldova	Azerbaijan	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	2 of 29	.
Moldova	Belgium	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	3 of 29	.
Moldova	Brazil	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	4 of 29	.

Moldova	Bulgaria	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	5 of 29	
Moldova	Council of Europe	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	6 of 29	
Moldova	Czech Republic	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	7 of 29	
Moldova	Denmark	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	8 of 29	
Moldova	Estonia	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	9 of 29	
Moldova	Finland	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	10 of 29	
Moldova	France	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	11 of 29	
Moldova	Georgia	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	12 of 29	

Moldova	Germany	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	13 of 29	
Moldova	Kazakhstan	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	14 of 29	
Moldova	Latvia	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	15 of 29	
Moldova	Lithuania	2009	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	16 of 29	
Moldova	Lithuania	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	17 of 29	
Moldova	Macedonia	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	18 of 29	
Moldova	Mexico	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	19 of 29	
Moldova	Monaco	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition n	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	20 of 29	

Moldova	Montenegro	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	21 of 29	
Moldova	Morocco	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	22 of 29	
Moldova	Norway	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	23 of 29	
Moldova	Portugal	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	24 of 29	
Moldova	Romania	2009	Level 2- Accuse Romania of stoking Moldovan protests	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7989360.stm	Tit for tat	
Moldova	Romania	2015	Level 3- Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	25 of 29	
Moldova	Russia	2012	Level 2- Moldovan ambassador made statements in support of keeping Russian troops	Insult	http://www.rferl.org/a/moldova_recalls_ambassador_to_russia/24560088.html		

			in the separatist region of				
			Transdniester			.	.
Moldova	Serbia	2015	Level 3 - Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	26 of 29	.
Moldova	Sweden	2015	Level 3 - Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	27 of 29	.
Moldova	Ukraine	2015	Level 3 - Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	28 of 29	.
Moldova	USA	2015	Level 3 - Transition, expired mandate	Transition	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Kiev	29 of 29	.
Montenegro	Slovenia	2008	Level 3 - Disagreements over how to celebrate Montenegro's National Day in Slovenia	Ambassador behavior	http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/montenegro-recalls-envoy-over-party-plans	.	.
Morocco	Algeria	2013	Level 2 - Algerian president encouraged the UN to monitor human rights violations in	Policy	https://www.issafrika.org/iss-today/morocco-recalls-its-ambassador-to-algeria	History of tension over Moroccan occupation of	

			Western Sahara			Western Sahara	
Morocco	Cote d'Ivoire	2005	Level 2- Cote d'Ivoire denied that it had asked king of Morocco for help in mediation efforts in its own country	Insult	http://www.wafin.com/wafinnews.php?newsid=7126		
Morocco	Ireland	2012	Level 2- Protest Irish meeting with leaders of Western Sahara, which Morocco claims as its own	Policy	http://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/22437		
Morocco	Nigeria	2015	Level 3- Allegations of Nigerian president trying to use King of Morocco to win over Muslim voters before Nigeria's upcoming elections	Insult	http://blogs.reuters.com/faiteworld/2015/03/12/morocco-recalls-ambassador-to-nigeria-over-phone-pitch-to-muslims-ruse/		
Morocco	South Africa	2004	Level 2- Protests South Africa recognizing the Sahrawi Arab	Policy	https://www.google.com/search?q=morocco+recalls+ambassador+to+South+	Overarching Western Sahara	

			Democratic Republic		Africa&oq=morocco+recalls+ambassador+to+South+Africa&ags=chrome..69i57.6467j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8	Conflict	
Morocco	Spain	2007	Level 2- dispute over the sovereignty of Ceuta and Melilla, enclaves in North Africa	Policy	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Europe		
Morocco	Spain	2007	Level 2- Protest proposed visit of King of Spain to disputed cities of Ceuta and Melilla, claimed by Morocco	Policy	http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-11-03-1005010517_x.htm		
Morocco	Spain	2013	Level 2- Protest president's visit to disputed territory of Ceuta	Policy	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/10235205/The-battle-over-Ceuta-Spains-African-Gibraltar.html		
Morocco	Syria	2011	Level 3- Safety; attacks on Moroccan embassy in	Security	http://bna.bh/portal/en/news		

			Damascus		ws/480796?date=2012-01-14		
Morocco	Ireland	1975	Level 2- Leaders of Morocco's disputed territory of the Sahrawi Arab Republic met with Irish President	Policy	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_the_Republic_of_Ireland		
Myanmar/Burma	Thailand	1993	Level 3- Unknown	Unknown	http://www.burmalibrary.org/docsBA/BA1993-V04-N09.pdf		
Namibia	All countries	2013	Level 3- Blanket recall	Blanket recall	http://allafrica.com/stories/201305250151.html		
Nepal	China	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://www.upi.com/Defense-News/2006/05/08/Nepal-recalls-12-ambassadors/37061147087504/	11 of 12	
Nepal	France	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://www.upi.com/Defense-News/2006/05/08/Nepal-recalls-12-ambassadors/37061147087504/	1 of 12	

Nepal	Germany	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	"Envoy recalled." EKantipur.com. (November 4, 2008 Tuesday 1:07 PM EST): 278 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.		
Nepal	India	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring South Asia	10 of 12	
Nepal	India	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis		
Nepal	India	2016	Level 2- Cancellation of presidential visit and political situation in Nepal	Policy	http://www.hindustantimes.com/world/nepal-recalls-its-ambassador-from-india/story-QmeV7u05iW7B65Q8wAaJOP.html		
Nepal	India	2016	Level 2-Protest alleged Indian attempts to topple	Policy	http://www.ibtimes.co.in/nepal-cancels-presidents-india-visit-	Canceled	

			Nepali gov't		recalls- ambassador-india-over-domestic-disputes-677786	president's visit	
Nepal	India	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffle	Internal problems	http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Nepal-recalls-envoy-says-it-wont-impact-India-ties/articleshow/52214706.cms		
Nepal	Israel	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis	--	--
Nepal	Japan	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday): 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	9 of 12	

Nepal	Myanmar/ Burma	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday) : 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	2 of 12	
Nepal	Pakistan	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition of Leadership	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday) : 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	8 of 12	
Nepal	Pakistan	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis		

Nepal	Qatar	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership in Nepal	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday): 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	12 of 12	
Nepal	Qatar	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Lexis Nexis		
Nepal	Qatar	2013	Level 2- Nepali ambassador criticized Qatari treatment of Nepali nationals	Insult/Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nepal-qatar-ambassador-idUSBRE98P10020130926		
Nepal	Russia	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership in Nepal	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday): 203	5 of 12	

					words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.		
Nepal	Saudi Arabia	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday): 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	4 of 12	
Nepal	Thailand	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday): 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	3 of 12	
Nepal	Thailand	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis		

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Nepal	UK	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership ip	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday) : 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	7 of 12	
Nepal	USA	2006	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership ip	"Nepal gives 12 ambassadors 45 days to return." BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political Supplied by BBC Worldwide Monitoring. (May 11, 2006 Thursday) : 203 words. LexisNexis Academic. Web. Date Accessed: 2017/03/07.	6 of 12	
Nepal	USA	2008	Level 3- Transition of Leadership in Nepal	Transition of Leadership ip	Lexis Nexis		

Nepal	India	2011	Level 3- Ambassador involved in company; conflict of Interest	Ambassador behavior	Lexis Nexis		
Netherlands	China	2016	Level 3- Ambassador's illicit personal affairs	Ambassador behavior	http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/dutch-ambassador-to-beijing-suspended-over-affair-amid-honeytrap-fears-1.2833167		
Netherlands	Indonesia	2015	Level 2- executed 2 of their citizens for drug offenses	Insult	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/18/brazil-netherlands-recall-ambassadors-indonesia-executes-drug-offenders		
Netherlands	Iran	2011	Level 3- Storming of British embassy in Iran	Security	https://www.rnw.org/archieve/holland-recalls-ambassador-tehran		
Netherlands	Iran	2007	Level 2- Allegations that Iran tortured and killed Dutch-Iranian woman	Policy	http://www.dw.com/en/netherlands-recalls-ambassador-from-iran/a-14822453-1		

Netherlands	Suriname	1982	Level 2- Attempted coup in Suriname	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1982/03/17/The-Netherlands-said-today-it-had-recalled-its-ambassador/9453385189200/	Tit for tat, Dutch officials confirm they won't impose any sanctions or interfere with development aid (https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/suriname)	
Netherlands	Suriname	2012	Level 2- Suriname pardons ex-dictator of his crimes	Policy	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/dutch-recall-suriname-ambassador-after-amnesty-7621169.html		
Netherlands	Syria	2012	Level 1- Protest Syria's crackdown on political protesters	Policy	https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/netherlands_recalls_ambassador_from_syria	Joins France, Italy, Spain, Britain, Belgium, and	

						US	
Nicaragua	Costa Rica	2005	Level 2- Costa Rica filed suit against Nicaragua in the ICJ, demanding rights to run police patrols across the San Juan river, which Nicaragua says falls within its borders	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4309418.stm	Same dispute since 1998. CR argues Nicaragua is restricting CR boats and passengers, violating an 1858 treaty between the two countries ; Nicaragua	
						threatened economic sanctions	
Nicaragua	Honduras	1992	Level 2- Protest escalatory acts on the part of Honduras to increase raids into	Policy	Lexis Nexis- Globe and Mail (Canada)		

			Nicaragua				
Nicaragua	Israel	2010	Level 2- Protest Israel's raid on the Mavi Marmara Flotilla	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html		
Nicaragua	Panama	2016	Level 3- conflict over the inviolability of the ambassador's residence	Security	http://www.panamatoday.com/panama/nicaragua-temporarily-recalled-his-ambassador-panama-801		
Nicaragua	USA	1981	Level 2- US makes statements deemed threatening to Nicaragua; possible naval blockade	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The New York Times		
Nigeria	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp	MULTILATE RAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOW AS members recall their	

					<div> <div></div> <div>&sub=63</div> </div>	<p>ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial</p>	
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					ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Nigeria	Kenya	2011	Level 3- Ambassador beat his wife	Ambassador behavior	http://saharareporters.com/2011/05/30/nigeria-recalls-wife-battering-ambassador-kenya	
Nigeria	Libya	2010	Level 2- Insulted that Gaddafi suggested Nigeria be divided into 2 states, one christian and one muslim	Insult	https://panafrikanews.blogspot.com/2010/03/nigeria-recalls-libya-ambassador.html	
Nigeria	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lf/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=50	MULLTILATE RAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau;

						in troops	
Nigeria	Seychelles	2011	Level 3- Ambassador beat his wife	Ambassador behavior	http://saharareporters.com/2011/05/30/nigeria-recalls-wife-battering-ambassador-kenya		
Nigeria	South Africa	2015	Level 2- Protest attacks on foreigners in South Africa	Policy	http://en.africatime.com/articles/nigeria-recalls-diplomats-south-africa-over-attacks		
Nigeria	Togo	2005	Level 1- Protest transition of leadership in Togo to president's son	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4243477.stm	Nigeria and South Africa threaten sanctions	
Nigeria	USA	2009	Level 3- Insubordination	Ambassador behavior	http://allafrica.com/stories/200902140001.html		
North Korea	Cuba	2014	Level 3- Kim Jong Un purges all ambassadors when he takes office	Transition of Leadership	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/19/north-korea-pyongyang-announces-new-ambassador-cuba		

North Korea	Iceland	2013	Level 3- Internal reshuffle	Internal problems	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iceland%E2%80%93North_Korea_relations#cite_note-10		
North Korea	Indonesia	2015	Level 2- Several human rights events in Indonesia condemn North Korea	Policy	http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2015/09/21/2015092100911.html		
North Korea	Malaysia	2013	Level 3- Transition of leadership in North Korea	Transition of Leadership	http://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2013/12/06/north-korea-recalls-ambassador-to-malaysia/	Executed	
North Korea	Sweden	2013	Level 3- Transition of leadership in North Korea	Transition of Leadership	http://www.thelocal.se/20131227/north-korea-recalls-sweden-envoy-	Executed	
North Korea	UN	2008	Level 3- Suspected money laundering in the US	Ambassador behavior	http://www.newsmax.com/t/newsmax/article/323235		
North Korea	USA	2016	Level 1- Retaliation for	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/	“Because the	

			US sanctions on North Korea in response to human rights abuses	2016/07/12/world/asia/nor-th-korea-missile-defense-thaad.html?_r=0	United States did not accept our demand that the sanctions be retracted, we are taking concrete actions one by one, the first of which is to completely cut off the New York channel of communication, the only official point of contact that has existed between the two sides,” K.C.N.A. said, citing the	
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					notice; US imposes additional sanctions on Kim for human rights violations; NK threatens physical retaliation; cuts of all diplomatic ties; US blacklists top NK officials	
Pakistan	Bangladesh	2015	Level 3- Ambassador's suspected links to Islamic terrorists	Ambassador behavior	http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/south-asia/Pakistan-recalls-woman-diplomat-in-Bangladesh-amid-terror-link-row/articleshow/50312222.cms	Tit for tat
Pakistan	Denmark	2006	Level 3- Danish newspaper published	Insult	http://web.international.uc	Denmark

			cartoons offensive to Muslims		la.edu/institute/article/394 56	temporarily closed its embassy in Pakistan	
Palestine	Chile	2015	Level 3- Anti-semitic remarks	Ambassador behavior	http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/news/1.665308	-	-
Panama	Cuba	2004	Level 2- Cuba threatened to sever diplomatic ties with Panama should its president pardon the man convicted of planning to assassinate Fidel Castro	Policy	http://www.caribbeannewsnow.com/caribnet/2004/08/24/ambassador.htm		
Panama	Ecuador	2013	Level 2- Protest Ecuador's refusal to return Panamanian fishing vessel Doria	Policy	http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/832572.shtml	-	-
Papua New Guinea	China	2007	Level 3- Ambassador issued illegal visas to	Ambassador	http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/167759/png-recalls-	--	--

			immigrants	behavior	ambassador-to-china		
Papua New Guinea	Indonesia	2012	Level 2- Indonesian jets interfered with PNG jets	Insult/Policy	http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/201903/png-recalls-ambassador-to-indonesia-amid-falcon-jet-dispute		
Papua New Guinea	USA	1987	Level 3- drunk ambassador caused car crash	Ambassador behavior	http://www.nytimes.com/1987/06/05/us/washington-talk-diplomatic-immunity-a-cornerstone-can-be-burdensome.html?pagewanted=all		
Paraguay	Uruguay	1999	Level 2- Uruguay refused to extradite former Paraguayan defense minister accused of embezzling because it considers him a political refugee	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/437012.stm		
Paraguay	Venezuela	2016	Level 2- Venezuelan president accused	Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/us-paraguay-venezuela-		

			Paraguay of being part of an extreme right wing alliance aimed at blocking Venezuela from assuming its role as head of South America's Mercosur trade bloc		idUSKCN10G1W9		
Peru	Bolivia	2008	Level 2- Bolivian president accused Peru of preparing to open its door to permanent US army base	Policy	http://laht.com/article.asp?CategoryId=14095&ArticleId=337311		
Peru	Chile	2015	Level 2- Accusations of espionage	Policy	http://izardlive.com/regional-news/peru-recalls-ambassador-to-chile/		
Peru	Cuba	2004	Level 2- Fidel Castro criticized their support of a UN resolution criticizing Cuba's human rights record	Policy/in suit	http://staugustine.com/stories/050404/wor_2304488.shtml#.WEnxKlKb9	Mexico recalled theirs as well	

Peru	Ecuador	2013	Level 3- Ecuador's ambassador to Peru caused a tiff w/women in a Peruvian supermarket.	Ambassador behavior	http://www.as-coa.org/articles/weekly-roundup-obamas-mexico-stop-brazils-arms-exports-and-argentinass-teen-vote ; http://www.peruviantimes.com/03/peru-calls-back-ambassador-to-ecuador-for-consultation/18966/		
Peru	Israel	2014	Level 1- Israeli interference in Gaza Strip	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html	Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, El Salvador, and Peru all recalled for the same reason.	
Peru	Japan	2005	Level 2-Protest Japan's intervention in the detention in Chile of disgraced former Peruvian President	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2005/11/11/Peru-withdraws-ambassador-from-Japan/UPI-62021131700745?st_rec		

			Alberto Fujimori		=55191028058786		
Peru	Uruguay	1997	Level 2- Uruguay's ambassador is released after his country frees two Tupac Amaru rebels held there	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Toronto Star		
Peru	Venezuela	2006	Level 2- Accusations of election interference	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4959220.stm		
Peru	Venezuela	2017	Level 3- Venezuelan foreign minister called Peruvian president "coward" and "dog"	Insult	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-39188482	Sent formal letter of protest	
Philippines	Argentina	2012	Level 3- Attack on Filipino boxer	Insult	http://www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Nation&title=senate-to-recall-ambassador-to-argentina-over-attack-on-filipino-boxer&id=46835		
Philippines	China	2013	Level 2- Territory- Accused china of	Policy	http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1304260/manila-		

			developing beyond borders on South China sea		recalls-beijing- ambassador- amid-row- over-scarborough-shoal		
Philippines	Cuba	1995	Level 3- Ambassador behavior	Ambassador behavior	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1995/12/08/Manila-recalls-Cuban-envoy/5880818398800/	**	**
Philippines	Cuba	1995	Level 3- Sexual misconduct allegations	Ambassador behavior	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1995/12/08/Manila-recalls-Cuban-envoy/5880818398800/	*	*
Philippines	Kuwait	2012	Level 3- Sexual misconduct allegations	Ambassador behavior	http://www.spot.ph/newsfeatures/52307/philippines-recalls-ambassador-accused-of-sexual-harassment		
Philippines	Libya	2011	Level 3- Former ambassador was appointed to Gaddafi, but new ambassador will be appointed to interim NTC government	Transition of Leadership	http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/231593/news/pinoyabroad/phl-recalls-ambassador-to-libya		Reappointed new ambassador or right away
*	*	**	Level 2- Hanging of	Policy	http://articles.latimes.com/1995-	Tit for tat	*

Philippines	Singapore	1995	Philippine maid who killed another Philippian maid and Singaporean boy		03-23/news/mn-46274_1_philippines-and-singapore	.	
Poland	Belarus	2005	Level 2- Erosion of Democracy in Belarus and harassment of ethnic poles	Policy	http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D00E4DD113FF93AA15754C0A9639C8B63	Tit for tat-many back and forth actions following harassment of ethnic poles in Belarus	
Poland	Belarus	2005	Level 3- Protest Belarussian police storming Union of Poles in Belarus	Insult	https://sputniknews.com/world/2005072840990558/		
Poland	Lithuania	2006	Level 3- Ambassador suspected of plotting to murder Polish Police chief	Ambassador behavior	http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/16752/		

Qatar	Austria	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Bahrain	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Belgium	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Egypt	2015	Level 2 - Protest Egypt's airstrikes on jihadist targets in Libya following Libya's beheading of 21 Egyptian copts	Policy	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2959532/Qatar-recalls-ambassador-Egypt-Libya-strikes.html	Tit for tat	
Qatar	France	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Germany	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-	Recalled from	

			collusion with ISIS		return-to-qatar/ https://dohanews.co/emi- instructs-17-ambassadors-	17 states	
Qatar	Hungary	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emi- instructs-17-ambassadors-	Recalled from 17 states	
			collusion with ISIS		to-return-to-qatar/ to-return-to-qatar/		
Qatar	Iran	2016	Level 3 - Safety - Attack on Saudi Arabian embassy in Tehran	Security	http://www.middleeasteye .net/news/qatar-recalls- ambassador-iran-wake- saudi- execution-crisis- 778447703	Multilateral actions - Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have severed diplomatic relations with Iran and Kuwait recalled its ambassador	
Qatar	Kenya	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emi- instructs-17-ambassadors- to- return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Netherlan	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emi- instructs-17-ambassadors- to-	Recalled from	


	ds		collusion with ISIS		return-to-qatar/ https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	17 states	
Qatar	Paraguay	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Portugal	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Romania	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Russia	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	South Africa	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	
Qatar	Spain	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	

Qatar	Tunisia	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	.
Qatar	United Nations	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	.
Qatar	USA	2016	Level 1 - Qatar bristles against allegations of collusion with ISIS	Policy	https://dohanews.co/emir-instructs-17-ambassadors-to-return-to-qatar/	Recalled from 17 states	.
Romania	Armenia	2014	Level 3 - Ambassador made anti-semitic comments	Ambassador behavior	http://jewishnews.com.ua/en/publication/romania_recalls_ambassador_to_armenia_for_anti_semitic_statement		
Romania	Belgium	2016	Level 3 - deadly terrorist attacks in Belgium injure 4 Romanians	Security	http://www.romaniajournal.ro/romanian-ambassador-to-belgium-recalled/	.	.
Romania	Bosnia	2016	Level 3 - Allegations of advocating for anti-Romanian policies	Ambassador incompe	http://www.romaniajournal.ro/another-7-romanian-ambassadors-recalled/	.	.

				tence			
Romania	Chile	2010	Level 3- Ambassador's involvement in car crash	Ambassador behavior	http://actmedia.eu/daily/romanian-president-basescu-recalls-ambassador-to-chile-recently-involved-in-car-crash/28671		
Romania	Moldova	2009	Level 2- Accuse Romania of stoking Moldovan protests	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7989360.stm	Tit for tat	
Romania	Portugal	2009	Level 3- Ambassador collaborated with communist-era secret police in Romania	Ambassador behavior	http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2009/05/31/Romania-recalls-its-Portugal-ambassador/70761243782034/	.	.
Russia	Finland	2001	Level 2- Strategic move by Russia to apt ambassador with better ties to Ukraine	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Moscow Times	.	.
Russia	Georgia	2006	Level 1- Georgia detained five Russian officers as spies	Policy-coincides with	http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/0	Huge controversy: Evacuated all	4 months; https://www.

			tumultuous history; also security	9/28/AR2006092800658. html	diplomats and complained to UN; history of tension over Georgia's bid to join NATO and Russia's ties to Georgia's breakaway province. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Georgian%E2%80%99s Russian espionage controversy	kyivpost.com/article/comment/world/after-4-month-recall-russian-ambassador-to-return-25886.html
Russia	Hungary	2001	Level 2- Strategic move by Russia to appoint ambassador with better	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Moscow Times	

			ties to Ukraine				
Russia	Iceland	1991	Level 1- Iceland recognized Lithuania as independent state	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1991/02/14/Kremlin-recalls-ambassador-to-Iceland/4362666507600/	Delivered strong note of protest; part of larger USSR break up and creation of new states	
Russia	Iceland	1991	Level 2- Iceland established diplomatic ties with Lithuania	Policy	Lexis Nexis- St. Louis Post Dispatch (Missouri)	--	--
Russia	Italy	2001	Level 2- Strategic move by Russia to apt ambassador with better ties to Ukraine	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Moscow Times		
Russia	Latvia	2016	Level 2- Accuse Latvian media of disseminating threats from Russia	Policy	http://europetoday.info/en/russian-ambassador-russia-latvia-need-to-overcome-negative-period-in-relations/#.WJTnGrYrKCQ	--	--

							
Russia	Mauritius	1983	Level 2- Mauritius refused to receive Russian ambassador to prove itself "a staunch ally of the West"	Insult	https://books.google.com/books?id=CEYsAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA73&lpg=PA73&dq=mauritius+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=0cgSQIRW3G&sig=YbBIzRdeUZ2ne32ckrFW2hi2c0k&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjAmeSrgIHSAhUCiIQKHc57BH04ChDoAQgfmAE#v=onepage&q=mauritius%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Russia	NATO	2014	Level 2- Tension over Russia's claim to Crimea in Ukraine	Policy	http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/03/world/europe/ukraine-crisis/	Also recalled ambassador to Ukraine	
Russia	Turkmeni	2004	Level 2- Ambassador tries to quell Russian	Policy	http://www.rferl.org/a/105		

	stan	''	press covering negative stories about Turkmenistan		3977.html		
Russia	UK	1998	Level 2- Protest continuing US-British Raids against Iraq	Policy	http://old.themoscowtimes.com/sitemap/free/1998/12/article/russia-recalls-ambassadors-over-iraq/282064.html		
Russia	Ukraine	2001	Level 2- Strategic move by Russia to apt ambassador with better ties to Ukraine	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Moscow Times		
Russia	Ukraine	2014	Level 1- NATO suspended cooperation with Russia over Ukraine crisis	Policy	http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/03/world/europe/ukraine-crisis/	Part of larger crisis in which Russia moved to annex the Crimea region from Ukraine	
Russia	Ukraine	2014	Level 1- Ukraine tries to	Policy	Lexis Nexis- Al-Arab	Freezed \$15	

			assert more sovereignty			billion Ukrainian bailout loan	
Russia	USA	1986	Level 3- Ambassador bungled timing of Gorbachev's visit to US	Ambassador incompetence	Lexis Nexis- The New York Times		
Russia	USA	1999	Level 2- Protest continuing US-British Raids against Iraq	Policy	http://old.themoscowtimes.com/sitenap/free/1998/12/article/russia-recalls-ambassadors-over-iraq/282064.html		
Russia	UK	1943	Level 1- Stalin was angry at the postponement of the second front by the Allies during WWII	Policy	https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwii/104430.htm	Reflective of the political climate of World War II	
Russia (Soviet Union)	Finland	1939	Level 2- Finnish attacks on Soviet territory	Policy	http://www.histdoc.net/history/NKID1939-11-29.htm	Prompted resignation of Finnish	

						President	
Rwanda	Burundi	2013	Level 3- Disagreements with embassy staff; allegations of affair	Ambassador behavior	http://www.therwandan.com/blog/augustin-habimanaformer-rwandas-ambassador-in-burundi-arrested-in-kenya/		
Rwanda	France	2006	Level 2- French judge accused Rwanda's president of ordering the assassination of a former president that led to genocide	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/nov/24/france.rwanda		
Rwanda	Germany	2009	Level 2- Germany arrested Rwandan official, so Rwanda demanded German ambassador leave.	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2008-11-11-voa48/339092.html	Tit for tat	
Rwanda	Tanzania	2014	Level 2- Unresolved tension ever since Tanzania expelled 910 Rwandan refugees in	Policy	http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania--Rwanda-quietly-mending-fences-after-cold-war/2558-2653016-	Tit for tat	Reappointed within the year

			2003		b0u7t9z/index.html		.
San Marino	Bahamas	2007	Level 3- "In 2007, San Marino had to recall its ambassador to the Bahamas during the fourth year of his diplomatic stint after discovering that the two countries did not have diplomatic ties"	No diplomatic ties	Lexis Nexis- South China Morning Post		
San Marino	Montenegro	2014	Level 3- Illegal betting charges	Ambassador behavior	Lexis Nexis- South China Morning Post		.
Saudi Arabia	Denmark	2006	Level 3- Danish newspaper published cartoons offensive to Muslims	Insult	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4651714.stm		
Saudi Arabia	Egypt	2012	Level 3- Egyptians were protesting violently outside the Saudi	Security	http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/99440/saudi-recalls-ambassador-shuts-		.

			Embassy		embassy-in-egypt		
Saudi Arabia	Egypt	2016	Level 2-protest the way Egypt voted on 2 UNSC resolutions about Syrian conflict.	Policy	http://egyptianstreets.com/2016/10/13/saudi-arabia-recalls-ambassador-to-egypt/		3 day recall
Saudi Arabia	Iran	2016	Level 3- Iranian protestors set fire to Saudi Arabian Embassy	Security	http://www.wsj.com/articles/kuwait-recalls-ambassador-from-tehran-as-iran-saudi-row-tensions-spread-1451989716	Severed all diplomatic ties with Iran and lodged a formal complaint with the UN about the attacks on its diplomatic missions; stopped all flights to Iran; SA pairs with Turkey (both Sunni) to counter Shiite power in Iran;	

						Shite Iran angered by execution of Nemer al Nemer	
Saudi Arabia	Libya	2004	Level 2- Suspected Libyan plot to assassinate Saudi Arabian crown Prince	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/23/world/middle-east/seeing-a-plot-saudis-recall-ambassador-from-libya.html	USA recently lifted sanctions on Libya, largely helped by Saudi Arabia.	
Saudi Arabia	Qatar	2015	Level 2- Objection to Qatari interference in Egyptian affairs	Policy	http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/06/28/al-sisi-meets-11-new-ambassadors-to-cairo/		
Saudi Arabia	Sri Lanka	2013	Level 2- Sri Lanka recalled their ambassador after SA executed Sri Lankan nanny accused of murder	Policy	http://www.barbadosnews.net/index.php/sid/212695359	Tit for tat	

Saudi Arabia	Sweden	2015	Level 1 - Sweden condemned SA's poor HR record	Policy	https://sputniknews.com/politics/201503181019687193/	Joins Bahrain and Kuwait; Arab League and Gulf Cooperation Council also made	
				..		statements	.
Saudi Arabia	Syria	2011	Level 1 - Protest Assad's brutality towards protesters	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/09/world/middleeast/09syria.html	Joins Bahrain and Kuwait; Arab League and Gulf Cooperation Council also made statements	
Scotland	USA	2006	Level 3 - Personal behavior	Ambassa dor behavior	Lexis Nexis- Daily Mail (London)	..	..

Senegal	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=64	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border,	
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						seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members.	
						Sent in troops	
Senegal	Iran	2010	Level 2- Protest illegal arms shipment	Policy	http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2010-12-16/senegal-recalls-ambassador-to-iran-over-concerns-about-arms-shipment		
Senegal	Mali	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors	

						and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Senegal	Guinea	1971	Level 2- Accused Guinea of plotting coup	.. Policy ..	http://web.stanford.edu/group/tomzgroup/pmwiki/updates/1385-Keesings- 1971-04-a-RRW .pdf		
Serbia	Canada	2008	Level 1- Canada recognizes Kosovo	Policy ..	http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/canada-recognizes-kosovo-serbia-pulls-ambassador-1.745469	Serbia recalls from all countries who recognize Kosovo's independence	Reinstated all 8 months later
Serbia	Croatia	2008	Level 1- Croatia Recognizes Kosovo	Policy	http://en.trend.az/world/other/1160516.html	Serbia recalls from all countries who recognize Kosovo's independence; gave formal note of protest	

						to Croatian foreign ministry	
Serbia	Czech Republic	2008	Level 1 - recognized Kosovo's independence	Policy	http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2008-05/23/content_6707648.htm	Serbia recalled ambassadors from all countries recognizing Kosovo	
Serbia	EU	2016	Level 3 - Ambassador incompetence to act on exhibition regarding Croatian Cardinal	Ambassa dor incompe tence	https://europeanwesternbalkan.com/2016/06/21/serbian-government-recalls-ambassador-to-eu/		
Serbia	Finland	2008	Level 1 - Finland recognizes Kosovo	Policy	http://en.trend.az/world/other/1152267.html	Serbia recalls from all countries who recognize Kosovo's independence	Reinstated all 8 months later

Serbia	France	2008	Level 1- France recognizes Kosovo	Policy	http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1715206,00.html	Serbia recalls from all countries who recognize Kosovo's independence	Reinstated all 8 months later
Serbia	Hungary	2008	Level 1- Hungary recognizes Kosovo	Policy	http://budapesttimes.hu/2008/03/19/serbia-protests-hungarys-kosovo-recognition/	Serbia recalls from all countries who recognize Kosovo's independence	Reinstated all 8 months later
Serbia	Montenegro	2010	Level 1- Montenegro recognizes Kosovo	Policy	https://montenegro.blogactiv.eu/2010/01/16/montenegro-launches-diplomatic-ties-with-kosovo-serbia-recalls-ambassador-from-montenegro/	Serbia always recalls ambassadors from countries that recognize Kosovo	Reinstated all 8 months later
Serbia	Norway	2008	Level 1- Norway		http://www.icenews.is/2008/02/28/serbia-to-recall-	Serbia recalls from all	Reinstated all 8

			recognizes Kosovo	Policy	ambassador-to-norway/#axzz4Xe5pRXnJ	countries who recognize Kosovo's independence	months later
Serbia	Slovenia		Level 1 - Slovenia recognized Kosovo's independence	Policy	https://english.sta.si/1264502/serbia-recalls-ambassador-after-slovenia-recognises-kosovo	Serbia recalled ambassadors from all countries recognizing Kosovo	
Serbia	Turkey	2013	Level 3- Ambassador violated Serbian law by issuing messages to the press	Ambassador income tence	http://www.novinite.com/articles/151016/Serbia+Recalls+Ambassador+to+Turkey+over+Unrest+Comments		
Serbia	USA	2008	Level 1 - Protest US recognition of Kosovo's independence	Policy/Scurity	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7251802.stm	Pulled from other states for similar reasons, petitioned UNSC to reject	

						sent in to quell protests	
Seychelles	South Africa	2009	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Seychelles	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.sc/article.html?id=224194		
Sierra Leone	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=62	MUL TILATE RAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOW AS members recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return	

						to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Sierra Leone	Liberia	2002	Level 3- Unauthorized policy note sent to UN	Ambassador income tence	http://www.sierra-leone.org/Archives/slnews1102.html		

Sierra Leone	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html tp://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=52	<p>MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's</p>	
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					border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Sierra Leone	USA	2008	Level 3- Ambassador initiated visa fraud	Ambassador behavior	http://www.thepatrioticvanguard.com/former-sierra-leone-ambassador-nailed-in-visa-fraud	
Singapore	Philippines	1995	Level 2- Hanging of Philippine maid who killed another Philippine maid and Singaporean boy	Policy	http://articles.latimes.com/1995-03-23/news/mn-46274_1_philippines-and-singapore	Tit for tat
Slovakia	Czech	1997	Level 3- Insulting Remarks	Insult	Lexis Nexis- Financial Times (London)	

	Republic						
Slovakia	Ethiopia	2011	Level 1- Protest Ethiopia's imprisonment of the Slovakian ambassador for taking photos in restricted area.	Policy	http://nomaffairs.com/en/2011/11/16/ethiopia-slovakia-recalls-ambassador-demands-apology/	Appeals to VCDR protections in Slovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement; Ethiopia issues half-apology	Slovak diplomatic mission in Ethiopia remained run by the Slovakian charge d'affaires
Slovakia	Hungary	2010	Level 2- Hungary passes law allowing foreign Hungarians to gain citizenship	Policy	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Europe		
Slovenia	Bulgaria	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 6 countries	

Slovenia	Estonia	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	* Recalled from 6 countries	
Slovenia	Finland	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	* Recalled from 6 countries	
Slovenia	Hungary	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 6 countries	
Slovenia	Latvia	2006	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 6 countries	
Slovenia	Moldova	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	* Recalled from 6 countries	

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Slovenia	Sweden	2013	Level 3- replaced with ambassadors loyal to new policies	Transition of Leadership	Lexis Nexis- Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan)	Recalled from 6 countries	
Solomon Islands	Taiwan	1998	Level 3- Planned unsanctioned business meeting	Ambassador incompetence	http://www.pireport.org/articles/1998/07/28/early-recall-taiwan-ambassador-solomon-islands		
Solomon Islands	UN	2012	Level 3- Diplomatic blunder- ambassador failed to secure funding for Solomon Island students	Ambassador incompetence	http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/radio/onaithighlights/solomons-recalls-ambassador-to-un?autoplay=322445		
Somalia	Iran	2016	Level 2- Accuses Iran of establishing secret sects threatening Somalian national security	Policy	http://mgafrika.com/article/2016-01-06-somali-piracy-might-make-a-rerun-in-2016-why-africa-needs-to-watch-the-saudi-iran-spat-closely		
Somalia	Kenya	2014	Level 2-Kenyan police	Policy	http://allafrica.com/stories		

			arrested Somali ambassador		/201404280630.html		
Somalia	Kenya	2015	Level 3- Ambassador misappropriated funds	Ambassador behavior	http://www.wardheernews.com/the-un-monitoring-group-report-on-somalia-and-eritrea/		
South Africa	Britain	1984	Level 2- Four South Africans and a Briton are charged in Coventry with illegally exporting military equipment to South Africa.	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=oVrVK2EiINMCC&pg=PA488&lpg=PA488&dq=swaziland+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=r0_5bX1IDS8&sig=RokJom_7atfv7BGYG_bhPEPGWRk&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjc5p3KsovSAhVBIWMKHQFmAcQ4ChDoAQgnMAM#v=onepage&q=swaziland%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
South Africa	Israel	2010	Level 2- Protest Israeli attack on Gaza aid	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2010/06/		

			convoy		201063132526897233.ht ml		
South Africa	Norway	2016	Level 3- Ambassador drove while drunk	Ambassador behavior	http://www.newsenglish.no/2016/01/13/south-africa-recalls-oslo-diplomat/	.	.
South Africa	Rwanda	2010	Level 2- Shooting of exiled Rwandan general in Johannesburg	Policy	http://www.sanews.gov.za/africa/sa-recalls-its-ambassador-rwanda	.	.
South Africa	Singapore	2016	Level 3- Ambassador convicted of smuggling drugs	Ambassador behavior	http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2016/10/02/SA-high-commissioners-past-as-drug-smugler-exposed	.	.
South Africa	Taiwan	1996	Level 1- South Africa will now recognize Beijing instead of Taipei as legitimate Chinese government	Policy	http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9612/05/safrica.taiwan/	Coincides with pattern of China recalling ambassador from states that recognize Taiwan	

South Africa	USA	1985	Level 1- Protest US criticism of SA human rights abuses	Policy	http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1985-07-31/news/8502200095_1_black-townships-south-africa-funerals	Tit for tat, history of tension between US and South Africa; coincides with economic sanctions	
South Sudan	Ethiopia	2014	Level 3- claimed recall was protocol, but allegations of ambassador being involved with Sudanese opposition forces	Reshuffle or ambassador behavior	http://www.satenaw.com/south-sudan-asks-ambassador-ethiopia-return-within-72-hours/		
South Sudan	UN	2016	Level 3- Internal Identity Politics	Internal problems	http://www.nyamile.com/2016/01/27/president-salva-kiir-recalls-south-sudan-ambassador-to-new-york/		
South Sudan	USA	2016	Level 2- Internal identity	Internal problem	http://www.nyamile.com/2016/01/27/president-salva-kiir-		

			politics	s	recalls-south-sudan-ambassador-to-new-york/		
Spain	Belgium	2016	Level 3- Ambassador was often absent from his post	Ambassador behavior	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36010964		
Spain	Equatorial Guinea	1968	Level 1- EQ president demands withdrawal of Spanish troops after civil war; 7,000 Spanish citizens leave EQ; Pres demands spanish flags be reduced to normal levels; ambassador refuses	Policy	https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/24169/ASC-075287668-3443-01.pdf?sequence=2	Part of bigger struggle for EQ to slough off Spanish rule after independence	
Spain	Equatorial Guinea	1993	Level 2- Equatorial Guinea expelled Spain's consul; Spain critical of newly-elected Equatorial Guinean President Obiang's human rights record	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1993/12/12/Spain-recalls-ambassador-in-Equatorial-Guinea/7268755672400/	Tit for tat; human rights	

Spain	Honduras	2009	Level 1 - Protest Military Coup	Policy	Lexis Nexis- The Advertiser (Australia)	France, Spain, Italy, Chile, and Colombia also recalled	
Spain	Syria	2012	Level 1- Protest Syria's crackdown on political protesters	Policy	https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/netherlands_recalls_ambassador_from_syria	Joins France, Italy, Netherlands Britain, Netherlands, and US	
Spain	UK	2017	Level 3- Mishandled post- plane crash relations with families of the deceased	Ambassador incompetence	https://www.xaninews.com/news/yak-42-crash-spain-recalls-ambassador-to-uk-over-links-with-air-crash-that-killed-62?uid=557728		
Spain	United Kingdom	2015	Level 3- Corrupt ambassador finances	Ambassador behavior	http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/576160/Foreign-Secretary-Philip-Hammond-Gibraltar-job-ad		

Spain	Venezuela	2016	Level 1 - Venezuelan president accused Spanish Prime Minister of being racist, colonialist, and corrupt trash	Insult/Policy	http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/04/08/spain-recalls-venezuela-ambassador-over-maduro-insults.html	Tit for tat; 5th time ambassador to Venezuela has been recalled in recent years	
Spain	Argentina	2012	Level 2 - Protesting Argentina's decision to nationalize oil companies	Policy	http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-repsol-spain-idUKBRE83G0DU20120417		
Spain	Morocco	2002	Level 1 - Disputed territory of Perejil	Policy	http://www.islamweb.net/ehajj/article/17544/spain-recalls-envoy-in-island-dispute	EU calls Morocco to withdraw; diplomatic note, threatened sanctions	
Spain	Venezuela	2015	Level 2 - Venezuelan president accuses Spain of supporting terrorism in Venezuela and hatching a conspiracy to overthrow	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/22/spain-in-venezuela-as-row-deepens	Tit for tat	

			the government			
Sri Lanka	Afghanistan	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled	
Sri Lanka	Australia	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled	
Sri Lanka	Brazil	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled	
Sri Lanka	Iran	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to	Internal	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled	

			reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	reshuffle	om/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Israel	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Italy	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Japan	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		

					recalled		
Sri Lanka	Jordan	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Maldives	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Myanmar	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	New	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of	Internal	http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/political/266786/sri-lanka-		

	Zealand		Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	reshuffle	recalls-ambassador		
Sri Lanka	Oman	2011	Level 2- Ambassador ordered research into alleged federal support for forced abortions for foreign employees	Policy	http://m.icma.md/news/ambassador-recalled-after-exposing-abortion-scandal-in-oman-2022.html		
Sri Lanka	Pakistan	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Philippines	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Poland	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of	Internal	https://www.theguardian.c om/australia-		

			Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	reshuffle	news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Qatar	2016	Level 3- Interfered with affairs of Sri Lankans living in Qatar	Ambassador behavior	http://dailynews.lk/2016/10/13/local/95820		
Sri Lanka	Russia	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Saudi Arabia	2013	Level 2- SA executed Sri Lankan nanny convicted of murder	Policy	http://www.babadosnews.net/index.php/sid/212695359	Tit for tat	
Sri Lanka	Saudi Arabia	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		

					recalled		
Sri Lanka	South Africa	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	South Korea	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Sweden	2009	Level 3- Sri Lankan Ambassador rejected Swedish ambassador's participation in joint mission with French and UK colleagues	Insult	http://in.reuters.com/article/sweden-lanka-idINLS79467720090428		
Sri Lanka	Sweden	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of	Internal	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-		

			Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Thailand	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	The Hague	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Turkey	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		

					recalled		
Sri Lanka	Uganda	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	UN	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	UNESCO	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	Internal reshuffle	https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sri Lanka	Vietnam	2015	Level 3- Blanket recall to reduce politicization of	Internal	https://www.theguardian.c		

			Sri Lanka's diplomatic force	reshuffle	news/2015/feb/18/sri-lankas-high-commissioner-to-australia-among-50-diplomats-recalled		
Sudan	Iran	2016	Level 1- Oppose Iran's interventionist policies	Policy	http://mgafrika.com/article/2016-01-06-somali-piracy-might-make-a-rerun-in-2016-why-africa-needs-to-watch-the-saudi-iran-spat-closely	Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Maldives also recalled ambassadors to Iran for the same reason	
Sudan	Iran	2016	Level 3- Danger-same as Kuwait in 2017	Security	http://www.wsj.com/articles/kuwait-recalls-ambassador-from-tehran-as-iran-saudi-row-tensions-spread-1451989716		
Sudan	Kenya	2011	Level 2- Kenyan court issued arrest warrant for Sudanese president for crimes against humanity	Policy	http://www.panapress.com/Sudan-recalls-Ambassador-from-Kenya-over-Bashir-arrest-warrant--15-807607-30-lang4-	Involved ICC and ICJ	

			and genocide		index.html		
Sudan	Uganda	2012	Level 2- Suspicion that Uganda was holding Sudanese rebels	Policy	http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/2558-2285486-view-printVersion-3f0r15z/index.html		
Sudan	Uganda	2014	Level 1- Suspicion Uganda was harboring Sudanese rebels	Policy	http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/2558-2285486-tu07lmz/index.html	Recalled before for this suspicion	
Sudan	UK	1998	Level 2- UK supported bombing attacks by the US on a Sudanese factory suspected of terrorist activities	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=UnOhCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT594&lpq=PT594&dq=united+kingdom+recalls+ambasador&source=bl&ots=284Q-G5Jlz3&sig=7prbn1RaU_9TQzfZ2_5s1xtbRwQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK_Ewi_t-3B5JHSAhUO3iYKHHQA dC7wQ6AEIU DAJ#v=onepage&q=united%20kingdom%20recalls%20ambas		

					sador&f=false		
Suriname	Netherland	1982	Level 1- government overthrow and instability in Suriname	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=iC_VBQAAQBAJ&pg=PA1374&lpg=PA1374&dq=french+guiana+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=S7PY1G0UE&sig=DWOnN3Px2qEC8zJNVkYeZBGZotS&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjAmMjKxM_RAhVF04MKHW9sBSs4ChDoAQgjMAI#v=onepage&q=french%20guiana%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false	Withdrawal of Dutch aid (\$1.5 billion)	
Swaziland	Ethiopia	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.times.co.sz/news/95618-king-appoints-5-new-ambassadors.html		Immediately replaced
Swaziland	EU	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10	Internal	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-	Reshuffled 10	

			Ambassadors	reshuffle	ten- diplomats.html	Ambassadors	
Swaziland	Kuwait	2010	Level 3- Illicit monetary activities	Ambassador behavior	http://allafrica.com/stories/201202230769.html		
Swaziland	Kuwait	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	Malaysia	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	Mozambique	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.times.co.sz/news/95618-king-appoints-5-new-ambassadors.html		Immediately replaced
Swaziland	Mozambique	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	Singapore	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	

			Ambassadors		ten-diplomats.html		
Swaziland	South Africa	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.times.co.sz/news/95618-king-appoints-5-new-ambassadors.html	**	Immediately replaced
Swaziland	South Africa	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	Switzerland	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.times.co.sz/news/95618-king-appoints-5-new-ambassadors.html	**	Immediately replaced
Swaziland	Switzerland	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	UAE	2014	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.times.co.sz/news/95618-king-appoints-5-new-ambassadors.html		Immediately replaced

Swaziland	UK	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	
Swaziland	UN	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	*
Swaziland	USA	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	Internal reshuffle	http://www.observer.org.sz/news/83938-king-reshuffles-ten-diplomats.html	Reshuffled 10 Ambassadors	**
Sweden	Romania	1987	Level 2- Protest Romania's refusal to let Romanian man leave to see his wife in Sweden	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1987/11/03/Sweden-recalls-ambassador-to-Romania/3229562914000/		
Sweden	Saudi Arabia	2015	Level 1- Protest Saudi Arabia's human rights abuses	Policy	http://www.dw.com/en/saudi-arabia-recalls-ambassador-to-sweden/a-18308127	* Tit for tat; Sweden cancels defense ties	**


Switzerland	Germany	2002	Level 3 - Ambassador's extramarital affairs and financial fraud	Ambassador behavior	http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/11/world/swiss-ambassador-is-recalled-after-a-scandal-too-many.html		
Switzerland	Syria	2011	Level 2 - Protest Human rights violations	Policy	http://www.arabtoday.net/37/switzerland-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-for-consultations		
Syria	Denmark	2006	Level 3 - Danish newspaper published cartoons offensive to Muslims	Insult	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/syria-recalls-ambassador-from-denmark.aspx?pageID=438&n=syria-recalls-ambassador-from-denmark-2006-02-02		
Syria	Egypt	2012	Level 2 - Egypt had withdrawn ambassador to Syria following the Arab League's call to halt diplomatic cooperation with Syria	Policy	http://gulfnnews.com/news/mena/syria/egypt-syria-in-tit-for-tat-recall-of-ambassadors-1.983353	Tit for tat	


Syria	Iraq	2009	Level 2- Iraq recalled envoy and demanded Syria give back 2 men accused of truck bombing	Policy	http://www.iraqinews.com/baghdad-politics/urgent-syria-rejects-iraq%E2%80%99s-remarks-recalls-ambassador/		
Syria	USA	2011	Level 2- Protest the US withdrawal of their ambassador and US meetings with opposition leaders	Policy	http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4164686,00.html	Tit for tat	
Taiwan	Grenada	2004	Level 1- Grenada considers switching recognition to China	Policy	http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A03E5D71439F932A05751C1A9629C8B63	Coincides with pattern of China recalling ambassador from states that recognize Taiwan	
Taiwan	Philippines	2013	Level 3- Protest killing of Taiwanese fishermen and Taiwan's insufficient	Insult	http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2013/05/20135154		

			apology		4057410475.html		
Taiwan	South Africa	1996	Level 1 - Protest South Africa recalling its ambassador from Taiwan and its decision to recognize Beijing as legitimate Chinese government	Policy	http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9612/05/safrica.taiwan/	Freezes aid projects and sever diplomatic ties; tit for tat; coincides with pattern of China recalling ambassador from states that recognize Taiwan	
Tanzania	Japan	2017	Level 3 - Transition	Transition of Leadership	http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/Ambassadors-to-lose-plum-postings/1840340-3049606-fwvdd44z/index.html		
Tanzania	Rwanda	2014	Level 2 - Unresolved tension ever since Tanzania expelled 910 Rwandan refugees in	Policy	http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania--Rwanda-quietly-mending-fences-after-cold-war/2558-2653016-	Tit for tat	Reappointed within the year

			2004		b0u7t9z/index.html		
Tanzania	Zimbabwe	2005	Level 2- Reappointed new ambassador to help with internal Zimbabwean crisis	Policy	https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2005/03/24/tanzania-recalls-harare-envoy/		
Thailand	Cambodia	2009	Level 3- Employment of fugitive as economic advisor	Insult	http://burmadd.blogspot.com/2009/11/thailand-recalls-ambassador-to-cambodia.html		
Timor-Leste	Australia	2012	Level 3- corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		
Timor-Leste	Australia		Level 3- Accused of sexual harassment	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		
Timor-Leste	Unknown	2012	Level 3- corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		

Timor-Leste	Unknown	2012	Level 3- corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		
Timor-Leste	Unknown	2012	Level 3- corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		
Timor-Leste	Unknown	2012	Level 3- corruption	Ambassador behavior	http://thediplomat.com/2013/12/timor-leste-%E2%80%A8an-unsustainable-nation/		
Togo	DRC	2000	Level 3- Suspicious financial actions	Ambassador behavior	http://www.irinnews.org/report/13051/drc-togo-recalls-ambassador		
Togo	Guinea-Bissau	2012	Level 1- Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/pu	MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- ALL ECOWAS members	

					<p>blic2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=60</p> 	<p>recall their ambassadors to Mail and Guinea Bissau; impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order. Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel</p>	
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						and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Togo	Mali	2012	Level 1 - Protest military coup in Mali and Guinea Bissau	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/west-african-leaders-impose-sanctions-on-mali-145801255/180314.html http://www.mofa.gov.lr/public2/2press.php?news_id=554&related=7&pg=sp&sub=53 	<p>MULTILATERAL AND SANCTIONS- All ECOWAS members recall their ambassadors to Mali and Guinea Bissau, impose financial and diplomatic sanctions as ECOWAS calls for return to constitutional order.</p>	

						Emergency ECOWAS summit held, cut off access to Mali's border, seaports, and currency. Froze mali's assets and imposed travel and financial ban on junta members. Sent in troops	
Trinidad and Tobago	UN	2012	Level 2- Recalled for consultations	Policy	http://newsday.co.tt/news/0,164561.html		
Trinidad and Tobago	UN	2016	Level 3- Alleged slacking	Ambassador behavior	http://www.caribflame.com/2017/01/trinidad-and-tobago-dismissed-ambassador-sues-pm/		

Tunisia	Egypt	1965	Level 2- Tunisian ambassador's residence was set on fire by demonstrators in response to Tunisia's president suggesting Arab states engage in peace talks with Israel	Policy and Security	http://archive.jta.org/1965/04/30/archive/tunisia-recalls-ambassador-from-egypt-anti-bourguiba-riot-in-madrid	.	.
Turkey	Argentina	2008	Level 1- Argentina recognized Armenian genocide	Policy	http://www.armeniandiaspora.com/showthread.php?p=132849 -ANKARA- Ankara-to-recall- ambassador-from-Argentina-after-rulings	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Austria	2015	Level 1- Austria recognized Armenian genocide	Policy	http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3051093/Turkey-recalls-ambassador-Austria-genocide-remarks.html	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize	

						the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Austria	2016	Level 2- Austria banned Turkish citizens living in Austria from holding an anti-coup rally	Policy	http://www.qatar-tribune.com/Latest-News/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-austria-for-consultations-4	..	..
Turkey	Austria	2016	Level 2- Protest Austria's Islamophobia	Policy	http://www.dw.com/en/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-austria-as-row-deepens/a-19493812	Accuse Austria of supporting Kurdish terrorist groups (PKK); recall charge d'affaires as well; extended conflict- Austria criticized Turkish coup and bid for EU membership	

Turkey	Austria	2016	Level 2- Protest that Austrian authorities allowed the outlawed PKK supporters to stage a demonstration in Vienna	Policy	https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-austria-after-rows/		
Turkey	Bangladesh	2016	Level 2-Protest Jamaat leader's execution	Policy	http://www.dawn.com/news/1257938	Accusations of unfair trials to quell opposition	
Turkey	Brazil	2015	Level 1- Brazil recognized Armenian genocide	Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-brazil-genocide-idUSKBN0002EH20150608	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Canada	2009	Level 1- Canadian PM speaks at Armenian	**	http://ca.reuters.com/article/domesticNews/idCA120090601	Turkey habitually	

			genocide vigil	Policy	E53L3AU20090422	recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Egypt	2013	Level 3- violence following the coup of Morsi; Muslim Brotherhood	Security	http://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/turkey-egypt-recall-ambassadors/		
Turkey	Eritrea	2016	Level 3- Internal reshuffle, many other Turkish ambassadors changed	Internal reshuffle	http://www.caperi.com/turkeys-first-resident-ambassador-to-eritrea-returns-to-ankara/		
Turkey	France	2011	Level 1- Criminalization of Armenian genocide denial	Policy	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/8973189/Turkey-recalls-French-ambassador-over-Armenian-genocide-bill.html	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian	

						genocide	
Turkey	Germany	2016	Level 1- German MPs recognize Armenian genocide	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/02/germany-braces-for-turkish-backlash-as-it-votes-to-recognise-armenian-genocide	<p>Turkey also summoned German charge d'affaires to the foreign ministry; Erdogan threatened that their relationship would be affected; possibly linked to tensions over many Turkish refugees arriving in Greece, then</p>	

						Germany.	
Turkey	Iran	2016	Level 3- Iran attacked Saudi Embassy	Security	[1] "Iran-Saudi Arabia Row: Kuwait Recalls Ambassador from Tehran - BBC News."		
Turkey	Iraq	2016	Level 2- Protest Turkish troops in Iraq	Policy	http://www.euronews.com/2016/10/05/iraq-and-turkey-recall-ambassadors-as-tension-mounts-over-bashiga-base	Tit for tat	
Turkey	Luxembourg	2015	Level 1- recognized Armenian genocide	Policy	Lexis Nexis- BBC Monitoring Europe	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Russia	2015	Level 2- Russia violated Turkish airspace twice	Policy and Security	http://www.euronews.com/2015/10/06/ankara-recalls-russian-ambassador-over-turkish-airspace-violations		

Turkey	Sweden	2010	Level 1 - Sweden recognizes Armenian genocide	Insult/Policy	https://en.wikinews.org/wiki/Turkey_recalls_ambassador_to_Sweden_over_%22genocide%22_vote	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Syria	2012	Level 3- more than 8,000 killed after 1st year of Assad's crackdown	Security	http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/turkey-recalls-ambassador-to-syria-and-closes-embassy-7585329.html	Closed entire embassy; Erdogan met with US officials to discuss sending help, medical aid, and other "non-lethal" assistance to Syrian rebels.	
Turkey	USA	2007	Level 1 - House resolution that would		http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/10/11/us.turk	Turkey habitually	

			recognize Armenian genocide	Policy	ey.armenians/	recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide	
Turkey	USA	2010	Level 1 - Congress votes to recognize Armenian genocide	Policy	http://www.politico.com/story/2010/03/turkey-pulls-ambassador-from-us-033939	Sanctions; Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from all states that recognize the Armenian genocide; ceased political, military, and economic relations	
Turkey	Vatican	2015	Level 1 - Pope Francis recognizes Armenian	Policy	http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2015/04	Turkey habitually	

			genocide		/12/pope-armenia/25667197/	recalls ambassador from states that recognize Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Vatican	2016	Level 1 - Pope Francis recognizes Armenian genocide during visit	Policy	https://www.catholicculture.org/news/headlines/index.cfm?storyid=28697	Turkey habitually recalls ambassador from states that recognize Armenian genocide	
Turkey	Austria	2015	Level 3 - Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=512	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and	

						Yemen	
Turkey	Egypt	2015	Level 3- Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=514	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen	
Turkey	Israel	2015	Level 3- Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=515	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen	
Turkey	Libya	2015	Level 3- Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=516	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen	

					wsCatID=510	Israel, and Yemen	
Turkey	Syria	2015	Level 3 - Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=513	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen	
Turkey	Vatican	2015	Level 3 - Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=511	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen	Until 2016 after positive progress was reached https://www.dailySabah.com/diplomacy/

						2016/02/03/turkey-sends-back-recalled-vatican-ambassador
Turkey	Yemen	2015	Level 3 - Increasing security woes between these countries and Turkey	Security	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/seven-world-capitals-now-without-turkish-ambassadors.aspx?PageID=238&NID=81488&NewsCatID=516	Also recalled from Syria, Libya, Vatican, Austria, Egypt, Israel, and Yemen
UAE	Iran	2016	Level 1 - Disapproves of Iranian interference in Gulf States	Policy	http://www.zerohedge.com/news/2016-01-04/mid-east-melee-sectarian-showdown-looms-bahrain-cuts-ties-iran-uae-recalls-ambassador	Paired with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain
UAE	Iraq	2014	Level 2 - Protest Iraq's discrimination against its	Policy	http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/uae-recalls-	

			Sunni Minority		ambassador-over-baghdadx2019s-sectarian-policies		
UAE	Ireland	2014	Level 3- forced his domestic workers to work long hours without pay	Ambassador behavior	http://www.khaleejtimes.com/nation/government/uae-recalls-ambassador-to-ireland		
UAE	Qatar	2015	Level 2- Objection to Qatari interference in Egyptian affairs	Policy	http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/06/28/al-sisi-meets-11-new-ambassadors-to-cairo/		
UAE	Sweden	2015	Level 2- Swedish Foreign Minister denounces UAE's treatment of women and rights activists	Policy	http://www.dw.com/en/united-arab-emirates-recalls-ambassador-to-sweden-after-saudi-spat/a-18324241	Tit for tat	
UAE	Sweden	2015	Level 2- To show solidarity with Saudi Arabia	Policy	https://sputniknews.com/politics/201503181019687193/		

UAE	Tunisia	2013	Level 3- Consultations	Consultations	http://gulfnnews.com/news/uae/government/uae-recalls-ambassador-to-tunisia-1.1236337		
UK	Iran	1989	Level 1- Ayatollah announces death of British author Salman Rushdie.	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=UnOhCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT594&lpq=PT594&dq=united+kingdom+recalls+ambasador&source=bl&ots=284Q-G5Jz3&sig=7prbnlRaU_9TQzfZ2_5s1xtbRwQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK_Ewi_t-3B5JHSAhUO3iYKHHQA dC7wQ6AEIU DA#v=onepage&q=united%20kingdom%20recalls%20ambasador&f=false	Closed entire embassy; Tit for tat	
UK	Liberia	1991	Level 2- Liberian civil	Policy	http://www.liberianobserv	.	..

			crisis		er.com/politics/reflections - Iberia%E2%80%99s- external- relations-2013	Restored in 2013; entire embassy had closed	
UK	Libya	2012	Level 3- Assassination attempt on ambassador and attack on officer convoy	Security	https://en.wikipedia.org/w iki/2012_Benghazi_attack #U.S._government_respo nse	..	..
UK	Syria	2012	Level 1- Protest Assad's brutality towards protesters	Policy	http://www.telegraph.co.u k/news/worldnews/middle east/syria/9065056/Syria- Britain-recalls- ambassador-as- US-closes- Damascus- embassy.html	Joined by Saudi Arabia and US; UK joins "Friends of Syria" international coalition with France and Germany "to coordinate intensified diplomatic and economic pressure on the	

						regime"	
UK	USA	1809	Level 1 - Recalled when compromise he negotiated with President Madison to end Anglo-American shipping disputes in the Atlantic Ocean was rejected by King George III	Policy	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_ambassadors_of_the_United_Kingdom_to_the_United_States	Failed negotiation contributed to start of War of 1812	
UK	Uzbekistan	2004	Level 3 - Criticized own government for allegedly obtaining intelligence through torture; allegedly traded visas for sexual favors	Ambassador incompetence and behavior	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3750370.stm	*	*
UK	Zimbabwe	2000	Level 1 - Zimbabwe violated sanctity of diplomatic bags	Policy	http://www.ipsnews.net/2000/03/politics-zimbabwe-britain-britain-recalls-ambassador-over-diplomatic-bags/	Violated provisions of VCDR	**

Ukraine	Armenia	2014	Level 1- Armenia accepted referendum in Crimea leading to its annexation by Russia	Policy	http://asbarez.com/120951/ukraine-recalls-ambassador-to-armenia-over-crimea-recognition/	Ukraine recalled ambassadors from other countries who supported Russia/Crimea	
Ukraine	Belarus	2014	Level 1 - Belarus recognized Crimea as Part of Russia	Policy	http://rass.com/world/725_113	Ukraine recalled ambassadors from other countries who supported Russia/Crimea	
Ukraine	Belarus	2015	Level 3- New belarusian regime after coup is purging old officials in a mysterious way, lots of suicides and assassinations	Security	https://sputniknews.com/europe/2015042510213822_83/		

Ukraine	Moldova	2015	Level 2- Moldovan politician Dodon declared that Crimea belongs to Russia	Policy	https://www.foi.se/download/18.3bca00611589ae798788a4c/1481189090091/FOI_Memo_5914.pdf	2 of 3	
Ukraine	Romania	1995	Level 2- Protest Romania's claim to disputed island	Policy	https://jamestown.org/program/ukraine-recalls-ambassador-from-romania/		
Ukraine	Russia	2014	Level 2- Dispute over Crimea	Policy	http://www.interpressnews.ge/en/world/55737-ukraine-recalls-ambassador-from-russia.html?ar=A	Tit for tat	
Uruguay	Cuba	2002	Level 1- Uruguay sponsors UN human rights vote targeting the Castro administration, and Cuba insults Uruguay	Policy	http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/news/671766/poists?page=2	UN human rights vote	
Uruguay	France	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil	

						recalling ambassador from these countries	
Uruguay	Italy	2013	Level 3 - Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	* Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	*
Uruguay	Paraguay	2012	Level 1 - Protest impeachment of Paraguayan president in coup	Policy	http://www.countrywatch.com/Content/pdfs/reviews/B3ZMM3M5.01c.pdf	Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay also recalled ambassadors from Paraguay for the same reason	
Uruguay	Portugal	2013	Level 3 - Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-	* Coincides with	*

			Bolivian president		ambassadors-europe-030/	Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
Uruguay	Spain	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/	Coincides with Argentina and Brazil recalling ambassador from these countries	
USA	Afghanistan	1979-1989	Level 1- Assassination of ambassador	Security	http://www.nytimes.com/1979/02/15/archives/slain-ambassador-a-career-diplomat-dubs-developed-soviet-expertise.html	Ambassador was murdered; US downgraded relations, withdrew nonessential personnel; US cut	

					humanitarian aid to Afghanistan in half and withdrew military aid; later terminated all	
					economic support, and withdrew peace corps missions	
USA	ALL	2011	Level 3- Recalled from all 260 US embassies for large foreign policy conference	Conference	All 260 US ambassadors	
USA	Argentina	1846	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina	

USA	Argentina	1854	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina		
USA	Argentina	1858	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina		
USA	Argentina	1869	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina		
USA	Argentina	1871	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina		
USA	Argentina	1944	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Argentina		
USA	Azerbaijan	2006	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://able2know.org/topic/73394-1		
USA	Belarus	1996	Level 2- Referendum expanded power of	Policy	http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5371.htm		

			Belarusian president white				
			weakening parliament	="			"
USA	Belarus	2008	Level 2- US disapproval of Belarus's supposedly nondemocratic and isolationist reforms	Policy	http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C04EFDA1E3FF936A15750C0A96E9C8B63		As of present, no ambassador or
USA	Belgium	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=6	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Blanket Recall	2017	Level 3- Political Transition of Donald Trump	Transition	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors, including Belgium, Germany, India, China, UK, Canada,	

					Japan, Saudi Arabia	
USA	Bosnia	1995	Level 3-Current US ambassador to Bosnia opposes direct talks with Bosnian Serbs until they accept the peace plan, but Clinton administration wants to engage in direct negotiations	Ambassador behavior	http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1995-01-23/news/1995023037_1_jackovich-bosnian-serbs-pale	
USA	Britain	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-appoints-ambassadors.html?_r=3	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors
USA	Bulgaria	1989	Level 2- Protest Oppression of Turks	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1989/08/30/world/us-recalls-bulgaria-envoy-plight-of-turks-is-protested.html	

USA	Burkina Faso	1989	Level 2- Burkina Faso President denounced US downing of two Libyan planes	Policy	http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/World-Leaders-2003/Burkina-Faso-FOREIGN-POLICY.html	Relationship strained due to Burkina Faso's ties with Libya	
USA	Burkina Faso	1992	Level 2- Believes Burkina Faso is supplying weapons to Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor during Liberia's civil war	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/06/world/us-recalls-envoy-to-burkina-faso.html?n=Top/Reference/Times%20Topics/Organizations/U/United%20States%20foreign%20Service		
USA	Canada	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=2	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Chile	1979	Level 2- Chilean judge refused to extradite 3 Chilean military officials accused of assassinating	Policy	https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2706&date=19790516&id=CwhKAAAIBAJ&sjid=eh4NA		

			exile leader in 1976 in DC		AAAI&pg=5260,1279694&hl=en		
USA	China	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=8	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Costa Rica	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=4	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Cuba	1960	Level 1- Long history of tension; Cuba agreed to sell sugar to USSR, Cuba nationalized American-owned businesses, US embargoed most US exports to Cuba. Castro called for a reduction in US embassy staff	Policy	http://adst.org/2015/08/turning-out-the-lights-at-the-u-s-embassy-in-havana-1961/	USA severed all formal relations with Cuba soon after; EMBARGOES and international dispute over COMMUNIS	

						M	
USA	Cyprus	2015	Level 3- Inappropriate tweets linking Cyprus president to assassination of Boris Nemtsov	Ambassador behavior	http://www.zerohedge.com/news/2015-03-04/us-ambassador-cyprus-withdrawn-after-diplomatic-blunder-involving-nemtsov-murder		
USA	Czech Republic	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=5	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	El Salvador	1980	Level 1- US accused Salvadoran gov't of planning killing of Archbishop Romero and 3 American nuns	Policy	http://adst.org/2015/01/resigning-over-the-conflict-in-el-salvador/	Part of a overarching conflict between US-supported right-wing leaders against leftist socialist guerillas usually supported by	

						Soviet Union or Cuba	
USA	England	1985	Level 3- Ambassadors tried to	Ambassador income tence	http://www.nytimes.com/1987/06/05/us/washington-talk-diplomatic-immunity-a-cornerstone-can-be-burdensome.html?pagewanted=all		
USA	Fiji	2000	Level 2- Coup in Fiji, 18 hostages taken	Security	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/jul/13/fiji	USA, Australia, and New Zealand urged their citizens to leave Fiji	
USA	France	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=0	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	

USA	Germany	1938	Level 2- Worsening relations b/t US and Germany during the Holocaust, specifically after Kristallnacht	Policy	http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1938/11/19/page/14/article/diplomatic-relations-with-germany	Tit for tat	
USA	Germany	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=1	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Ghana	1964	Level 2- Protest anti-US demonstrations/campaigns in Ghana	Policy	http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/protest-against-anti-us-campaigns-ghana-us-recalls-its-ambassador		
USA	Guatemala	1949	Level 1- Guatemala angry that ambassador meddled in internal affairs	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=ObzinhWiz30C&pg=PA16&lpg=PA16&dq=guatemala+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=mEpy_nIPuY&sig=1KvQyqbAEc_GkF0kxm4	Coincided with Economic Sanctions	

					TTbBMJKl&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjnxZrOlu7RAhWp24MKHUtlCQs4HhDoAQgoMAM#v=onepage&q=guatemala%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
USA	Guatemala	1980	Level 3- Ambassador disagreed strongly with national policies	Ambassador incompetence	https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1980/07/06/how-realpolitik-undid-one-diplomat/084cf20b-7faf-41a9-9248-31793b09162f/?utm_term=.20f9bf3873f3		
USA	Guatemala	1990	Level 1- Guatemalan government's failure to curb politically motivated killings	Human Rights	http://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/06/world/us-recalls-its-ambassador-in-guatemala-over-slayings.html	FBI sent forensics experts to investigate perpetrators	
USA	Haiti	1992	Level 2- protest Haitian attack on politician	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/01/27/US-recalls-		

			nominated to be Haiti's PM	..	ambassador-to-Haiti/9732696488400/		
USA	Hungary	2015	Level 3- Ambassador thought to be too soft on Hungarian officials	Ambassador incompentence	http://dailynewshungary.com/us-ambassador-to-hungary-colleen-bell-recalled-for-consultation-she-is-too-soft-on-the-hungarian-government/		
USA	India	1998	Level 1- Protest India's nuclear tests	Policy	http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/asiapcf/9805/12/clinton.india/	US to impose economic and military sanctions on India; urges India to sign test ban treaty	
USA	India	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=9	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Iran	1979	Level 1- Iranian revolutionary group protesting	Policy and	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americalexperience/features/general-article/carter-	US permanently	Ongoing (37+

			American liberal ideologies took over US embassy in Tehran and held US diplomats hostage for 444 days	Security	hostage-crisis/	severed all relations with Iran - closed embassy, enacted economic, nuclear sanctions, banned Iranian oil imports and froze billions of dollars in assets	(years)
USA	Japan	2017	Level 3 - Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-appoints-ambassadors.html?_r=10	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Laos	1975	Level 2 - Protest establishment of Communist government	Policy	https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2770.htm		Headed by chargé d'affaires until 1992

						(17 years)
USA	Libya	1972	Level 1 - Protest Muammar Gaddafi nationalized the oil industry, shutting out American oil companies	Policy	Gebriil, Mahmoud. <i>Imagery and Ideology in US Policy Toward Libya 1969-1982</i> . University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988. 90.	US enacted export controls on military and civilian planes
USA	Libya	1980	Level 3- Libyan mob attacked and burned US embassy in Tripoli	Security	https://libya.usembassy.gov/about-us.html	US designates Libya as a state sponsor of terrorism and withdraws US embassy staff members from Tripoli
USA	Libya	2012	Level 3- Libyan extremists attacked US consulate in Benghazi and killed US ambassador	Security	https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/ambassador-j-christopher-stevens-recalled-as-beloved-champion-of-libya/2012/09/14/08597d22-fe86-11e1-b153-	9 months

					218509a954e1_story.html?utm_term=.5c4918229d68		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1861	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1865	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1869	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1876	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1881	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		

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USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1885	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1889	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1893	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1897	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1901	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		

	erland			n	sador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1903	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1905	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1911	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein/Switzerland	1913	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		
USA	Liechtenstein	1927	Level 3- Transition	Transition	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Switzerland_and_Liechtenstein		

	ein/Switze rland				sador_to_Switzerland_and Liechtenstein		
USA	Mexico	1845	Level 2- Conflict over forthcoming US annexation of Texas	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=qtdARoLA6vIC&pg=PA263&lpg=PA263&dq=mexico+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=U-04TMU4_T&sig=O1mLB Bjkfb6KPKNdNWbpZuAAk4Y&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjM-6mVjHSAhwJlQKHT63CB14ChDoAQgcMAE#v=onepage&q=mexico%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false	Tit for tat	
USA	Mexico	1913	Level 1- Spanish American war, and US ambassador was implicated in plot to overthrow Mexican president	Policy/ Ambas sador behavior	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_Mexico	Corresponds to Spanish American conflict; closed entire US embassy in	Reappointed in 1917 after Spanish American War

						Mexico	
USA	Mexico	1988	Level 2- Protest Mexico's decision to release a Puerto Rican nationalist wanted by the US for terrorist activities	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1988/06/29/world/us-recalls-mexico-envoy-over-militant-s-release.html		
USA	Panama	1989	Level 2- Protest Panamanian dictator Noriega's refusal to cede power after an election	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1989/05/16/Recalled-US-ambassador-leaves-Panama/5038611294400/		Restored in 1990 following US invasion of Panama and capture of Noriega
USA	Russia	1814	Level 3- John Quincy Adams recalled to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent	Negotiations, needed at home	https://www.raabcollection.com/john-q-adams-autograph/john-q-adams-signed-ambassador-john-quincy-adams-informs-secretary-state		

USA	Russia	1980	Level 1 - Protest Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan	Policy-coincides with tumultuous history	http://www.history.com/th is-day-in-history/u-s- russia-detente-ends	Postpones SALT II nuclear weapons treaty; DÉTENTE ENDS	
USA	Russia	2016	Level 1 - Russian interference in US election	Policy	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/russia-plans-retaliation-and-serious-discomfortoverus-hacking-sanctions/2016/12/30/4efd3650-ce12-11e6-85cd-e66532e35a44_story.html?utm_term=.5c3e65702784	Accompanied by sanctions; largest diplomatic expulsion	
USA	Russia	2016	Level 2 - Continuing Russian aggression in Syria	Policy	NBC- Article In Thesis folder		
USA	Russia	2016	Level 3 - Protest Russia's refusal to allow American diplomat to	Insult	http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/08/politics/russia-attack-us-		

			enter US embassy in Moscow		diplomat/		
USA	Saudi Arabia	1988	Level 3- King Fahd's wrath	Security	http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12250-2004Jul24.html		
USA	Saudi Arabia	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=11	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed ambassadors	
USA	Serbia	1992	Level 2- Protest against Serb-led aggression and establishment of SRBiH military	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=mllCCwAAQBAJ&pg=PR39&lp=PR39&dq=croatia+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=wPN2bIOcTh&sig=E6Hp3aB60b4CHNYJcENCgMYhQVg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi2IobwmuHQAhWDlRoKHe6ZB2c4FBD0AQg0MAU#v=onepage&q=croatia%20		

					recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
USA	Serbia	1992	Level 2- Protest Serb aggression	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=mIcCwAAQBAl&pg=PR39&lp=PR39&dq=montenegro+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=wPN7hdQ6Za&sig=a5bwKrNs7-2GcVdlrU2nMlwGP2w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjY16jy84HSAhVC22MKHUCLCSU4ChDoAQhHMAg#v=onepage&q=montenegro%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
USA	Somalia	1991	Level 2- Collapse of Somali government	Policy	http://allafrica.com/stories/201601131088.html		
USA	South Africa	1985	Level 2- Protest murder of 16 guerilla fighters	Policy	http://articles.latimes.com/1985-06-15/news/mm-12331_1_south-african		

USA	South Africa	1985	Level 2- Protest raid in Botswana	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1985/06/15/world/us-recalls-south-africa-envoy-response-raid-botswana-cycle-violence-assailed.html		
USA	South Sudan	2014	Level 3- claimed internal reshuffle; allegations of miscommunications on USA/Sudanese policies	Reshuffle or ambassador incomeptence	http://www.washingtonpost.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12234:south-sudans-new-ambassador-vows-young-nation-can-overcome-fighting&catid=1534:aug-ust-2015&Itemid=558		
USA	Spain	1794	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1801	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1804	Level 3- Diplomatic	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		

			transition	n	ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1825	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1836	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1846	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1849	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1853	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1855	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		

USA	Spain	1859	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1861	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1869	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1874	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1880	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1881	Level 3 - Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1885	Level 3 - Diplomatic	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		

			transition	n	gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1893	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1902	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	1905	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://madrid.usembassy.gov/ru/bilateral-issues/former-ambassadors.html		
USA	Spain	2014	Level 2- NSA wiretapping revealed in Spain	Policy	http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/04/07/ambassador-james-costos-hillary-clinton_n_5107052.html		
USA	Sweden	1968	Level 2- Protest Swedish government's critical stance against war in Vietnam; Sweden also granted asylum to 20	Policy	http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1968/03/09/page/5/article/u-s-recalls-ambassador-in-stockholm#text		

			deserters from the US military			
USA	Syria	2005	Level 2 - Assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri and allegations of Syrian involvement	Policy	Maller- Diplomacy Derailed 2010	
USA	Syria	2009	Level 2- Protest Syria's execution of independent politician Hariri	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2005-02-15-voa58-67523322/386985.html	
USA	Syria	2011	Level 3- Targeted regime- led effort to paint US ambassador to Syria in negative light, causing threats to his safety	Security	http://www.voanews.com/a/diplomatic-collision- course- leads-to-recalls-of- us-syrian- ambassadors-132501898/147150.html	
USA	Syria	2012	Level 1 - Unacceptable violence from Syrian Regime	Policy	https://www.rt.com/news/ syria-obama-605/; https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/netherlands_re calls_ambassador_from_s_yria	Britain, Netherlands, France, Italy, Belgium, and Spain also recalled their

						ambassadors	
USA	Syria	2012	Level 3- Syrian army defectors attacked military bases	Security	http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/11/syria-france-ambassador/335416/	* France also recalled	*
USA	UK	1796	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	** Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1803	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	** Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1807	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1817	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	*	*
USA	UK	1825	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		

USA	UK	1826	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1841	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-
USA	UK	1846	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-
USA	UK	1852	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-
USA	UK	1856	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-
USA	UK	1861	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-
USA	UK	1868	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1870	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/	-	-

USA	UK	1877	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1879	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1885	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1893	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1898	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1905	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UK	1925	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	https://uk.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/rcambex/		
USA	UN	2017	Level 3- Blanket recall following inauguration of Donald Trump	Transition of Leadership	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/05/us/politics/trump-ambassadors.html?_r=7	Blanket recall- 80 politically appointed	

				ip		ambassadors	
USA	Uruguay	1898	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	http://archives.uruguay.us.embassy.gov/usaweb/paginas/01-010EN.shtml	-	-
USA	Uruguay	1905	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transitio n	http://archives.uruguay.us.embassy.gov/usaweb/paginas/01-010EN.shtml	-	-
USA	Vatican	1867	Level 2- Increasing anti-Catholic sentiment in the US	Anti-Catholic sentiment	http://www.huffingtonpost.com/adst/establishing-relations-wi_b_8129614.html	-	-
USA	Venezuela	2006	Level 2- Protest Venezuela recalling its ambassador and accusing US of fueling protests against Bolivian president	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7611705.stm	Tit for tat	-
USA	Yugoslavia	1992	Level 1- protest Yugoslavia's attack on Bosnia following the	Policy	http://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/13/world/us-summons-ambassador-to-yugoslavia-over-	Tensions Results from the breakup of	

			breakaway of former Yugoslav republics: Slovenia, Croatia, and BH		bosnia.html	the former Yugoslavia; Sanctions considered	
Uzbekistan	Russia	2015	Level 2- Disapprove of Russia's actions in Ukraine and Syria	Policy	http://www.silkroadreporters.com/2015/12/11/karim-ov-plays-double-game-with-russia/		
Vanuatu	China	2013	Level 3- Ambassador's extravagant spending	Ambassador behavior	http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/211285/vanuatu-recalls-ambassador-to-china-over-extravagance		2 years until 2015
Vanuatu	UN	2011	Level 2- Dispute over recognition of Abkhazia	Policy	http://www.transparency.org/en/node/1321		
Vatican	Dominican Republic	2013	Level 3- accused of sexually abusing children	Ambassador behavior	http://www.euronews.com/2013/09/05/vatican-recalls-ambassador-in-dominican-republic-amid-accusations-of-child-abuse		
Vatican	Dominican	2015	Level 3- Ambassador		http://www.wsj.com/article		

	Republic		behavior; accused of sexual assault	Ambassador behavior	es/vatican-indicts-ex-ambassador-to-dominican-republic-1434371671		
Vatican	Ireland	2011	Level 1 - Ireland reported Vatican had tried to cover up sex abuse scandal	Policy	http://www.sltoday.com/news/national/vatican-recalls-ambassador-to-ireland-over-abuse-report/article_0ae58c53-10a7-553a-80a9-16a0065a8bc8.html	CLOSED ITS ENTIRE EMBASSY TO THE VATICAN	.
Venezuela	Brazil	2016	Level 1 - Protest suspension of Brazil's democratically-elected President Dilma Rousseff	Policy	http://www.democracynow.org/2016/5/19/headlines/3_countries_recall_ambassadors_to_brazil_over_rousseff_s_ouster	6 states recalled their ambassador to Brazil to protest Rousseff's suspension: Ecuador, El Salvador, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Brazil	

Venezuela	Colombia	2005	Level 2- protest kidnapping Colombian rebel leader	Policy	http://www.ielfr.com/content/venezuela-recalls-ambassador-protest-kidnapping-colombian-rebel-leader		
Venezuela	Colombia	2015	Level 2- Socialist-run Venezuela closed two border crossings and deported more than a thousand Colombians following a shootout between smugglers and troops that wounded 3 soldiers	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/28/colombia-and-venezuela-recall-ambassadors-amid-border-crisis	Tit for tat	
Venezuela	France	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
Venezuela	Guyana	2015	Level 2- Conflict over oil exploration in disputed offshore territory	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/venezuela-recalls-ambassador-guyana-amid-territory-dispute/2851654.html		

Venezuela	Israel	2006	Level 2- Protest military offense in Lebanon	Policy	http://www.jpost.com/print/article.aspx?id=30607		
Venezuela	Israel	2008	Level 2- Protest massacre in Gaza	Policy	https://bdsmovement.net/news/round-israel%E2%80%99s-massacre-gaza-prompts-international-sanctions-and-boycott-action		
Venezuela	Israel	2009	Level 1- Israeli interference in Gaza Strip	Policy	http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/israel-gaza-losing-latin-america-2014731111846443951.html		
Venezuela	Italy	2013	Level 3- Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercotur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
Venezuela	Mexico	2005	Level 3- Backlash over "Puppy of US imperialism" comments	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4437024.stm	Tit for tat	
Venezuela	Panama	2009	Level 2- Criticized president's decision to	Policy	http://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-a-2004-08-28-18-1-		

			pardon 4 men accused of plot to assassinate Fidel Castro		66893757/262042.html		
V enezuela	Peru	2006	Level 2- Accusations of election interference	Policy	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4972158.stm	Tit for tat	
V enezuela	Peru	2009	Level 2- Protest Peru's support of opponent to Hugo Chavez	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/apr/28/venezuela-peru-ambassador-asylum-chavez		
V enezuela	Portugal	2013	Level 3- Level Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
V enezuela	Spain	2013	Level 3- Level Grounding of Bolivian Plane carrying Bolivian president	Insult	https://www.rt.com/news/mercosur-countries-ambassadors-europe-030/		
V enezuela	Spain	2014	Level 2- Spanish prime minister voiced support for jailed Venezuelan	Policy	http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-29816222		

			opposition leader				
Venezuela	Spain	2015	Level 2- Spain called on Venezuela to release jailed opposition leaders	Policy	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/22/spain-in-recalls-ambassador-to-venezuela-as-row-deepens	Tit for tat	
Venezuela	USA	2016	Level 1- US renewed sanctions against Venezuela	Policy	https://www.google.com/search?q=argentina+recalls+ambassador&oq=argentina+recalls+ambassador&aq=chrome..69i57.67832j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#q=argentina+recalls+ambassador&start=10	Sanctions are the reason for the recall	
Vietnam	UN	1978	Level 3- Ambassador named as spy in US grand jury investigation	Ambassador behavior	Lexis Nexis- The Globe and Mail (Canada)		
West Germany	Guinea	1960	Level 2- Show disapproval for Guinea's alleged support of	Policy	https://books.google.com/books?id=rkIBXMTyNYC&pg=PA110&lpg=PA1		

			communism		10&dq=guinea+recalls+ambassador&source=bl&ots=4de1fYwwGI&sig=6k6CqtBK795s9XYP84tUqE13MBY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj12Izmi-_RAhWJ7IMKHc_cDIc4ChDoAQgtlMAQ#v=onepage&q=guinea%20recalls%20ambassador&f=false		
Yemen	Iran	2007	Level 2- In Sunni-dominated Yemen, protest Iran and Libya's support for Shiite Muslim rebels involved in clashes with government	Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-iran-libya-idUSL1210936520070512		
Yemen	Libya	2007	Level 2- In Sunni-dominated Yemen, protest Iran and Libya's support for Shiite Muslim rebels involved in clashes with	Policy	http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-iran-libya-idUSL1210936520070512		

			government				
Yemen	Qatar	2011	Level 2- Qatar called for Yemeni president to step down	Insult	http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/04/09/yemen.unrest/		
Yemen	Iran	2015	Level 2- Iranian ship refused to be searched in Yemeni port	Insult	http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/05/14/Yemen-recalls-Iran-envoy.html		
Yugoslavia (Serbia)	Vatican	1992	Level 2- Vatican recognizes Croatia and Slovenia as two different states	Policy	http://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/01/14/Yugoslavia-recalls-ambassador-from-Vatican/2103695365200/	Serbia recalled ambassadors from all countries recognizing Kosovo	
Zaire	Burundi	1989	Level 3- Alleged embezzling	Ambassador behavior	http://www.chr.up.ac.za/index.php/browse-by-subject/260-drc-gedumbecongo-2002-ahrh-3-hrc-2002.html		

Zaire	France	1996	Level 3- Ambassador Behavior- killed 2 French citizens in car accident	Ambassador behavior	http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9612/01/briefs/france.ambassador/		
Zambia	AU	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Botswana	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Canada	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Ethiopia	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	

Zambia	Kenya	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Malawi	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Malaysia	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Mozambique	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Namibia	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	

				ip	6ubdq9z/index.html		
Zambia	Tanzania	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership ip	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	UK	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership ip	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zambia	Zimbabwe	2011	Level 3- Transition of leadership in Zambia	Transition of Leadership ip	http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Sata-recalls-12-ambassadors-/1066-1257778-6ubdq9z/index.html	Recalls from 12 countries	
Zimbabwe	Australia	2013	Level 3- Ambassador was a member of the opposition party when new leadership was elected	Transition	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianoccean/zimbabwe/10544046/Zimbabwe-ambassador-to-Australia-1-cannot-go-back-I-fear-for-my-	Ambassador sought asylum	

					safety.html		
Zimbabwe	Australia	2014	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://www.zimbabweupdate.net/president-robert-mugabe-recalls-six-ambassadors/#sthash.AYcvVMvL.dpbs		
Zimbabwe	Germany	2013	Level 3- Ambassador was a member of the opposition party when new leadership was elected	Transition	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocan/zimbabwe/10544046/Zimbabwe-ambassador-to-Australia-I-cannot-go-back-I-fear-for-my-safety.html		
Zimbabwe	Germany	2014	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://www.zimbabweupdate.net/president-robert-mugabe-recalls-six-ambassadors/#sthash.AYcvVMvL.dpbs		
Zimbabwe	Japan	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.chronicle.co.zw/president-appoints-3-		Immediately

					ambassadors/		replaced
Zimbabwe	Mozambique	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.chronicle.co.zw/president-appoints-3-ambassadors/		Immediately replaced
Zimbabwe	Nigeria	2014	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://www.zimbabwelatestnews.net/president-robert-mugabe-recalls-six-ambassadors/#sthash.AYcvVMvI.dpbs		
Zimbabwe	Russia	2015	Level 3- Transition	Transition	http://www.chronicle.co.zw/president-appoints-3-ambassadors/		Immediately replaced
Zimbabwe	Senegal	2014	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://www.zimbabwelatestnews.net/president-robert-mugabe-recalls-six-ambassadors/#sthash.AYcvVMvI.dpbs		

Zimbabwe	Sudan	2014	Level 3- Diplomatic transition	Transition	http://www.zimbabweelatestnews.net/president-robert-mugabe-recalls-six-ambassadors/#sthash.AYcvVMvI.dpbs		
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