



## **Tweeting Trump**

Political leadership as a factor for swagger in international relations and its possible implications for behavior online

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## Index

Index.....	2
1. Introduction.....	3
2. Studying the individual level in International Relations.....	5
3. Theoretical framework.....	9
3.1 Assessing political leadership.....	9
3.2 “Swagger”.....	11
3.3 Providing a linkage .....	12
3.4 Social Networking Sites (SNS) .....	13
4. Method.....	16
4.1 Quantitative study.....	16
4.2 Data and data selection.....	17
4.3 Qualitative study.....	18
5. Results.....	20
6. Explorative case: Donald J. Trump.....	24
7. Conclusion.....	26
8. Bibliography.....	28
Appendix A: Leadership Trait Analysis Scores of 284 world leaders and subgroups	
Appendix B: Sources for the Leadership Trait Analysis	
Appendix C: Tweets from the 45 <sup>th</sup> President from the United States of America, Donald J. Trump	

## 1. Introduction

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 2018, president Donald Trump trembled Twitter by posting a series of tweets concerning the Syria crisis which seemed to revive sleeping cold war-like tensions between the United States of America and Russia (Sweeney, 2018). His post reads:

Russia vows to shoot down any and all missiles fired at Syria. Get ready Russia, because they will be coming, nice and new and “smart!” You shouldn’t be partners with a Gas Killing Animal who kills his people and enjoys it! (Trump, 2018).

The president follows up by a new post, mentioning the current relationship with Russia: “worse now than it has ever been, and that includes the cold war” (Trump, 2018). Worried headlines made it to several papers, arguing that the world just might falter on the brink of a third world war, caused by only 140 characters (Sweeney, 2018; Chandler, 2018; Ward, 2018, Innes, 2018). Igniting a world war is not unimaginable since Trump is not only harming ongoing negotiations by tweeting things out, republican senator Corker states, but his posts are also full of false information (Reuters, 2017). Since Trump’s word carry out specific prestige when coming from the White House, it is therefore worrisome that some of Trump’s tweets might seem ill-considered (Shear, 2016). According to Mr. Axelrod, former senior adviser of President Obama, this power shouldn’t be underestimated: “when you have the man in the most powerful office, for whom there is no target too small, that is a chilling prospect. He has the ability to destroy people in 140 characters” (Shear, 2016).

However, Trump’s verbal bombast and challenging discourse online represents little incentives for the sole purpose of destruction, but rather resembles a concern about his relative status within the field of global politics: “Our military is building and is rapidly becoming stronger than ever before. Frankly, we have no choice!” , Trump posts on the April 16, 2017. “Today, I announced our strategy to confront the Iranian regime’s hostile actions and to ensure that they never acquire a nuclear weapon”, the president posts October 13 that year.

His tweets seem to fit rather neatly to the theory of “swaggering”, which entails the peaceful use of force and aims to glorify its nation or the individual ambitions of its statesman (Art, 1980). Expressions of swagger include acts such as arms racing, military national demonstrations or military interventions against a smaller power, as long as the goal is to

enhance the nation's image in the perceptions of the other (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017).

Only, the theory of swagger is applied as a function of and between states within the geopolitical competition and not for individual actors (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). Despite the former, Trumps personality could possibly influence US foreign policy more than the present structures of the state and international competition in which he operates do. An actor-centric approach to study Trump, whose online behavior resembles swagger, might provide more insight in his tweets on behalf of the United States of America. Therefore, this thesis centers around the following question:

*Is political leadership of influence on the expression of swagger in International Relations?*

## **2. Studying the individual level in International Relations (IR)**

Embedding theories about leaders and leadership into the more general field of theories within IR has been perceived unnecessary for a long time. From World War I on, when the discipline of international relations sprung, world affairs were shaped by two most dominant perspectives, the theories of realism and liberalism (Heywood, 2014). The realist approach believes in unending conflict in global politics, in which a state's position is based on the relative military power it possesses and expresses, especially during times of war (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Heywood, 2014). On the other hand, liberal theorists believe in possible harmony and balance which orients itself around norms, institutions and economic interdependence (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Heywood, 2014). Later on, the bipolar international system of the cold war was perceived crucial for understanding the dynamics of international affairs (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). The foreign policy strategies a leader could choose to maximize the state's goals were limited, since either anarchy or interdependence would dominate (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). However, the end of the cold war posed a challenge on conventional thinking. The omission of two supposedly rational acting blocks gave more room for interpretation and innovation of theories of IR (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). Through reducing international constraints on foreign policy, the importance of domestic political pressures grew and likewise, the domestic political leader grew in influence over the acts of its governments and over the role its state will play in the international arena (Hermann & Hagan, 1998).

If the behavior of leaders could function as the root cause for the behavior of nations, it will thus exist of two components. The leader defines the international and domestic constraints of a state and attempts to provide in a linkage between the "two level game" of politics on the domestic level on the one hand, and those on the international level on the other hand (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). Instead of assuming all states to behave, and being expected to behave, in the same way in given situations, an actor-centric approach is able to grasp the differences between the structure of the domestic level between states, as well as the differences in behavioral patterns of leaders (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). Especially when power is concentrated in the hand of a leader, in times of conflict between institutions or when a great change happens, individual personalities matter even more for the affairs of nations (Hermann & Hagan, 1998; Byman & Pollack, 2001). The actor-centric approach therefore provides insight in whose positions prevail and rule over the reactions of the state (Hermann & Hagan, 1998).

Nevertheless, a nuance has to be made. The study of the individual leader can only be part of a larger whole of study within IR. The role of leaders shouldn't be ignored like during the bipolar system of the cold war, but a full focus on leadership without a role for the – more classical – structural factors wouldn't complement the overall study of IR (Byman & Pollack, 2001). The actor-specific theory namely deals with decision makers, who are under influence of motivated and unmotivated biases, and are not as equally rational actors as states are (Hudson, 2005; Mintz, 2007). Often, leaders use the rule of thumb and therefore will not judge their decision in the most optimal way (Mintz, 2007). Leaders' decisions will also be influenced by their emotions, by the way information is presented to them and they will suffer from a “poliheuristic bias”, rejecting the best overall alternative and preferring the most beneficial one in the short term (Mintz, 2007).

Although decision makers can't be qualified as rational equivalent to the state, these actors acting solely or in groups are assumed to be the ground of all that happens in international relations following the subfield of foreign policy analysis (Hudson, 2005). An international constraint is only perceived as an international constraint and will have policy implications, when it is qualified as a constraint by a leader (Hermann & Hagan, 1998). A leader who is more in favor of a proactive foreign policy based on interventionist principles can be categorized as a “constraint challenger”, following the contingent monadic thesis by Keller (2005). In contrast to “constraint respecters”, democracies and autocracies led by constraint challengers are far more aggressive and want to take charge (Keller, 2005; Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998). The aggressive political leader is suspicious towards other leaders and will form an independent foreign policy to protect the individuality of its nation (Hermann, 1980). The domestic rules the leader set up, are in accordance to his own ideas and motives and only able to change when a leader's own goals or interests change (Hermann, 2005). The conciliatory leader, on the other hand, is likely to strive towards a more participatory form of foreign policy in which he searches for a wide range of solutions to tackle joint attacks on their territories (Hermann, 1980).

The personal characteristics of leaders says something about the general response the leader will give to one's environment, which is in turn also applicable to the orientation towards foreign affairs (Hermann, 1980; Hermann & Preston 1994; Hermann & Hagan 1998; Hermann, 2005). At the basis for a leader's response lay his or her personal characteristics, that are labelled as “traits” (Hermann, 1980). Following Hermann's research “Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis” (2005), seven traits altogether can provide information on

whether a leader will respect or challenge constraints, will be open or closed to information from the environment and will focus more on solving problems or building relations (Hermann, 2005). Another study of political leaders within the political psychological approach, is the Operational Code (OC). The OC focuses on belief systems of leaders for a behavioral analysis of political decision-making and leadership style (George, 1969). George (1969) conceptualized this belief system with philosophical and instrumental beliefs, guiding the context for action on the one hand, and prescribing the most effective way to achieve their goals on the other hand (Walker & Schafer, 2006). The OC provides insight in the actor's perception of the political world, wherein he attempts to promote the interests that matter to him (George, 1969). Hermann's study differs from the OC and other at-a-distance assessments, because it doesn't assess the personality traits individually but relates the traits to other structural factors (Görener & Ucal, 2011). In doing so, Hermann places political psychology within the broader field of IR, which complements the overall study of IR (Byman & Pollack, 2001).

The influence of and the role political leaders play within IR is studied comprehensively following the Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) of Hermann. Putin's violence towards the Chechen rebels is for example studied with a focus on both his perception of the world, and the boundaries of his response to the political world (Dyson, 2001). Putin believes in non-conventional authoritarian leadership, wherein he promotes law-bound normative behavior. However, he sees his opponents as outside these norms and rules of 'normal' political life and therefore justifies dealing with them violently, as had happened to the Chechen rebels (Dyson, 2001). Similarly, prime minister Tony Blair's personality and leadership style shaped both the process and the eventual violence as a result of the British foreign policy towards Iraq (Dyson, 2006). A personality profile of Blair showed that in order for a profound understanding of why the British went to war, it is crucial to take into account Blair's personality (Dyson, 2006). His personality is characterized with a high belief in the ability to control what happens, a very black-and-white view of the world and a high need for power. This shows resemblance with the Turkish Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. His personality is also characterized with a high belief in the ability to control what happens, a very black-and-white view of international politics and a high need for power which portrays itself in insults towards other, rather than building consensus (Görener & Ucal, 2011). Furthermore, Putin, Erdoğan and Blair share a similarity in withdrawing themselves from the public gaze and being proponents of "behind the scenes" work in an inner circle (Dyson 2001; 2006; Görener



& Ucal, 2011). The cases Blair and Erdoğan, the latter especially for the Cyprus issue, show aggressiveness and a willingness to take charge. For all cases the following notions goes up: the leader's personality is of greater influence on what happens in their nation's foreign policy, than the structures arousing them.

### **3. Theoretical framework**

#### *3.1 Assessing political leadership*

One way to study the connection between leadership style and foreign policy behavior is the Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) by Margaret Hermann. The LTA focuses on leadership style traits by analyzing spoken content, consisting of speeches and interviews with the media, for an at-a-distance assessment of foreign leaders and groups (Levine & Young, 2014). Because of their degree of spontaneity, interviews are preferred for constructing a leadership profile (Hermann, 2005). Even though political leaders are still in a public setting during interviews with the media, they are less prepared and less in control of their utterances (Hermann, 2005). Furthermore, speeches contain a risk of speechwriters who wrote the content for the political leader (Hermann, 2005). Leadership style is defined as the way in which leaders interact in their political environment and how they structure and guide these interactions (Hermann, 2005, p. 181). This style knows three dimensions: how leaders react to constraints, how they process information and how leaders are motivated to deal with their political environment (Hermann, 2005). A trait analysis of seven personal characteristics will show whether the leader will respect or challenge constraints, will be open or closed to information from the environment and will focus more on solving problems or building community (Hermann, 2005). From the interrelation of these three dimensions, Hermann distinguishes eight possible leadership styles that are presented in Table 1.

Furthermore, a leader's personal characteristics interrelate directly with the foreign policy behavior a state carries out (Hermann, 1980). On the one hand, a president's leadership style influences the organization and imbeds certain characteristics within his or her advisory system (Hermann & Preston, 1994). On the other hand, whether the personality of a political leader affects their governments' choices for foreign policy, depends on the leader's interest in foreign affairs and the training in foreign affairs (Hermann, 1980). Supposedly, the effect of a leader's personality is higher, when the interest in foreign affairs is higher (Hermann, 1980). The effect of personality on government's foreign policy is however thought to be lowered, when one knows what will succeed or fail in the international arena due to gained knowledge when one followed training in foreign affairs (Hermann, 1980). The aforementioned theories about foreign policy decision making are not just applicable to the top domestic level, but have a wider range and can also cover the differences in characteristics of prime ministers in parliamentary systems (Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998).

**Table 1.** Leadership style as a function of responsiveness to constraints, openness to information and motivation

		Motivation	
Responsiveness to constraints	Openness to information	Problem focus	Relationship focus
Challenges constraints	Closed to information	<i>Expansionistic</i> (Focus of attention is on expanding leader's, government's, and state's span of control)	<i>Evangelistic</i> (Focus of attention is on persuading others to join in one's mission, in mobilizing others around one's message)
Challenges constraints	Open to information	<i>Actively Independent</i> (Focus of attention is on maintaining one's own and the government's maneuverability and independence in a world that is perceived to continually try to limit both)	<i>Directive</i> (Focus of attention is on maintaining one's own and the government's status and acceptance by others by engaging in actions on the world stage that enhance the state's reputation)
Respects constraints	Closed to information	<i>Incremental</i> (Focus of attention is on improving state's economy and/or security in incremental steps while avoiding the obstacles that will inevitably arise along the way)	<i>Influential</i> (Focus of attention is on building cooperative relationships with other governments and states in order to play a leadership role; by working with others, one can gain more than is possible on one's own)
Respects constraints	Open to information	<i>Opportunistic</i> (Focus of attention is on assessing what is possible in the current situation and context given what one wants to achieve and considering what important constituencies will allow)	<i>Collegial</i> (Focus of attention is on reconciling differences and building consensus— on gaining prestige and status through empowering others and sharing accountability)

Sources: Margaret G. Hermann, “Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis” in Jerold M. Post (ed.), *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p. 185.

### 3.2 “Swagger”

Deriving as a purpose for military power, “swaggering” entails the peaceful use of force in which it aims to glorify its nation or the individual ambitions of its statesman (Art, 1980). Swagger links closely to the concept of status within IR. Status is about the standing, or rank, of a state within a community based on a set of collective beliefs on valued attributes (Wolforth et. al, 2017). Furthermore, status seeking refers to acts depending on social comparison: maintain or better one’s position in comparison to another (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). Within foreign policy, such acts are covered by what Larson and Shevchenko refer to as ‘social competition’. The status seeking actions can be largely symbolic, aimed at influencing the perceptions of others (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). Swagger is a form of expression within IR and could include acts such as arms racing, military national demonstrations or military interventions against a smaller power, as long as the goal is to enhance the nation’s image in the perceptions of the other (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017).

Within the social hierarchy of these processes, there is an intrinsic link to the concept of recognition (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). Status claims are based on the so-called ‘circle of recognition’(Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). This means that when a state is not satisfied with its status, the set of collective beliefs is the source of the problem but, when a state is satisfied with its status, his strategy is aimed at these collective beliefs (Wolforth et. al, 2017)

Especially when states are not directly communicating with each other about their feelings of affect there is, however, room for sending out signals to one another. In a news conference of the president of the United States Donald Trump with Amir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah of Kuwait a determination of swagger from the American side could be made:

Military action would certainly be an option. Is it inevitable? Nothing is inevitable. It would be great if something else could be worked out. We would have to look at all of the details, all of the facts. But we've had Presidents for 25 years now—they've been talking, talking, talking—and the day after an agreement is reached, new work begins in North Korea, continuation on nuclear. So I would prefer not going the route of the military, but it's something certainly that could happen. Our military has never been stronger. We are in a position now—and you know the new orders. You see the new numbers just like I see the new numbers. It's been tens of billions of dollars more in investment. And each day, new

equipment is delivered, new and beautiful equipment, the best in the world, the best anywhere in the world, by far. Hopefully we're not going to have to use it on North Korea. If we do use it on North Korea, it will be a very sad day for North Korea (Donald J. Trump, 2017).

In essence, swaggering is aimed at receiving respect and prestige (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). A state or statesmen swaggers in order to look and feel powerful and important, and to improve the image of its nation in comparison to his reference group as well (Art, 1980). If swaggering works out and enhances the nation's prestige, there is a possibility that its foreign policy will also increase in effectiveness (Art, 1980).

### *3.3 Providing a linkage*

Linking the theory of swagger with Hermann's three dimensions, composed of seven traits, could provide insights in specific traits or a specific leadership style that might lead to acts of swagger. Firstly, one would expect leaders with a high need for pursuing acts of swagger as eager to exert certain forms of control and influence over the environment they find themselves in. Within the first dimension of responsiveness to constraints, such behavior is labelled as 'challenges constraints' (Hermann, 2005). This is contrary to 'respects constraints', in which a leader positions itself adaptable to the situation and remains open to the domestic and international demands (Hermann, 2005).

Linking Hermann's second dimension regarding the openness to information, a leader in high need for swagger is likely to be very self-confident. Self-confidence says something about the importance the leader assigns to itself in a particular context (Hermann, 2005). The self-other orientation says something about his or her ability to cope with inputs of the political environment arousing him (Hermann, 2005). Leaders high in self-confidence are less open to information from its environment than leaders with a low score on self-confidence, because they have a certain level of satisfaction of themselves and their performances (Hermann, 2005). However, it will benefit a leader when he is able to estimate the situation of competition in order to compete in the geopolitical arena (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). Therefore, a closer look has to be made to the other trait regarding openness to information, conceptual complexity, and even more towards the relationship these two traits entail . Donald Trump scores more than one standard deviation above the mean for conceptual complexity. Conceptual complexity is the ability of nuanced thinking or, the other way around, thinking in a very black-and-white view (Hermann, 2005). Political leaders with a

high score in conceptual complexity are more stimulated by what happens in their environment, than political leaders who are low in conceptual complexity (Hermann, 2005). Before making a decision, leaders high in conceptual complexity gather as much information as possible (Görener & Ucal, 2011). Political leaders low in conceptual complexity have a strong black-and-white view of the world and base their trust on their own institution (Hermann, 2005). ). Leaders whose self-confidence scores are higher than the scores on conceptual complexity can be defined as closed ideologues, whereas leaders whose conceptual complexity scores are higher than their self-confidence scores are generally more responsive and seem interested in what happens around them, thus classifying as open to information (Hermann, 2005).

Thirdly, leader's motivation for seeking their position could follow an internal focus on problems or a focus on building relationships (Hermann, 2005). Leaders in high need for swagger are captured in a social hierarchy of this process, intrinsically linking itself to the concept of recognition (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). Since status seeking refers to acts depending on social comparison, to maintain or better one's position in comparison to another, a leader in high need for swagger is likely to be driven by a relational focus (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). The trait task orientation gives information about the reasons of a leader for seeking their positions (Hermann, 2005). To specify, a leader can act in two ways within a group. On the one hand, it can focus on solving problems by means of moving the group towards completion of a task (Hermann, 2005). On the other hand, it can strive to build relationships and maintain the collective spirit (Hermann, 2005). Leaders with a task focus score high on the trait, whereas leaders who strive for group-maintenance score low on the trait (Hermann, 2005).

#### *2.4 Social Networking Sites (SNS)*

Social Networking Sites (SNS), such as Facebook and Twitter, can be defined as “virtual collections of user profilers which can be shared with others” (Hughes et. al, 2011). The growth of the internet affects the way people communicate and duplicates the function of traditional mass media due to its capability of streaming endless quantities to a grand, even a worldwide, audience (Amiel & Sargent, 2004; Hughes et. al, 2011). Furthermore, the internet and SNS both provide in a network for social interaction (Hughes et. al, 2011; Amiel & Sargent, 2004; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000). This internet network could even function as an alternative for users to fulfill interpersonal communication (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000).

Because of the invisibility of the other in an online dialogue and different social norms in cyberspace, this alternative allows more freedom in personal utterance and makes the overall interaction less demanding (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000).

Several works studied the influence of differences in personality for the differences displayed in internet use on a micro individual-level (Ahmadian et. al, 2016; Hughes et. al, 2011; Amiel & Sargent, 2004; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000). Internet users that find face-to-face contact less rewarding are more prone to using the online alternative for social interaction (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Amiel & Sargent, 2004). Furthermore, the safeness and comfort of speaking without any direct restraint, could lead to a more swiftly start of offending others or starting an argument (Amiel & Sargent, 2004).

The link between behavior and the desire for swaggering could follow a standard model. This model assumes that when one actor wins, on whatever the competition was about, he receives social responses that solve its status problem at the cost of 'the loser' (Wolforth et. al, 2017). However, as seen in the previous section, various kinds of behavior following from a various selection of traits, might express a high need for swagger. A high need for swagger in the 21<sup>st</sup> century therefore might be enhanced by SNS, due to the lack of face to face communication. This is contrasting against the formal diplomatic protocol, which includes state visits and summits, as traditional mean of showing a state's relative status in international relations (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010).

Drawing forth on a pioneering thought of Winter (2018), tweets could stand at the basis for an assessment of content analysis. Although only 140-characters in length, they are rich in motives and show little difference of the diplomatic telegrams and reports of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Winter, 2018). The differences between then and now seem small: "*The kaiser was a tweeter before his time, firing off letters, telegrams and orders without pausing to wonder about contradictions or policy or even common sense*" (Cohen, 2017). Wilhelm would, especially in times of a crisis, swiftly scabble messages often accompanied with a xenophobic tone such as: "[British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward] Grey is a false dog who is afraid of his own cheapness and false policy" (Montgelas & Schücking in Winter, 2018). The impressiveness of speech, a bullying character, fluctuations in temperament and a childish language are obvious characteristics both political leaders possess (Winter, 2018). Furthermore, the blame of their failures will not rest on themselves, but will rest on others, such as the media (Winter, 2018). A state's disproportionate reaction to humiliations

functions as indirect evidence of concern for status (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). A passage of a Q&A during the president's news conference with chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany represents the frustration and blame on others for Trump's failures:

*Q.* And by the way, my second question, are there, from time to time, tweets that you regret in hindsight——

*President Trump.* Very seldom.

*Q.* Very seldom. And you have—so you never would have wished not to have tweeted something?

*President Trump.* Very seldom. Probably wouldn't be here right now—but very seldom. We have a tremendous group of people that listen, and I can get around the media when the media doesn't tell the truth, so I like that (Donald J. Trump, 2017).

Stepping even further back in time, Trump's seditious tweets could also be compared to the way primate's display their social power following the psychology of dominance (McAdams, 2017). If political leadership is of influence on the expression of swagger on SNS, fear and intimidation in the (online) environment are linked to a dominance-oriented leader (McAdams, 2017). The dominance-oriented leader is repeatedly displaying social dominance for achieving status in primate groups (McAdams, 2017). The constant intimidation for being on top as the alpha male pursues, could - by ways of evolutionary speaking - also be applicable to Trump (McAdams, 2017).

However, not only just Trump might use SNS for swaggering in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. "We've got the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped military in history, and as Commander-in-Chief I'm going to keep it that way", former president Barack Obama tweeted out on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July, 2012. Furthermore, European Commissioner Timmermans could also function as an example: "People who criticise #TTIP think that we are the weak party in the trade negotiations with the USA. This is totally wrong." (F. Timmermans, 2015). Both messages by political leaders seem largely symbolic actions of status seeking and aimed at influencing the perceptions of others.



## 4. Method

### 4.1 Quantitative study

Leadership style is operationalized by conducting a Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA). For an at-a-distance assessment of foreign leaders, the LTA employs frequency counts of the use of words and phrases and is therefore quantitative of nature (Hermann, 2005). The more often certain words are used, the more salient certain content is to the political leader (Hermann, 2005). Hermann (2005) distinguishes eight possible leadership styles<sup>1</sup> from the interrelation of the answers to three questions or dimensions:

1. How do leaders react to political constraints in their environment – do they respect or challenge such constraints?
2. How open are leaders to incoming information – do they selectively use information or are they open to information directing their response?
3. What are the leaders' reasons for seeking their positions – are they driven by an internal focus of attention within themselves or by the relationship that can be formed with salient constituents?

A trait analysis of seven personal characteristics will show whether the leader will respect or challenge constraints, will be open or closed to information from the environment and will focus more on solving problems or building community (Hermann, 2005). These seven traits consist of: the belief that one can control what happens (BACE), the need for power and influence (PWR), conceptual complexity (CC), self-confidence (SC), the tendency to focus on problem solving versus maintenance of the group (TASK), general distrust of others (DIS) and the intensity with which a person holds an in-group bias (IGB) (Hermann, 2005).

I will conduct the LTA of Trump by using the latest version available of the computer software ProfilerPlus. ProfilerPlus is an automated text analysis service that codes specific scores for the seven traits of Hermann per text (Levine & Young, 2014). A minimum of fifty responses, of minimum hundred words in length is requested to make use of the analysis (Hermann, 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> See table 1, p. 10

#### *4.2 Data and data selection*

The interviews used for analyzing Trump's leadership style are retrieved from the American Presidency Project (APP) by John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters and count up for fifty responses of a minimum of hundred words in length. The interviews span Trump's tenure in office from his start of presidency in February 2017, for the following twelve months onwards and are included in Appendix B.

Different types of interviews settings are selected, which makes the interviews differ in their degree of spontaneity. On the one hand a choice is made for 'scheduled' interviews on the radio network, that could have been somehow prepared which makes them less spontaneous. On the other hand, Q&A's after news conferences with other world are chosen. These sources account for a question by a journalist and a quick respond demanded from the political leader, that accounts more for spontaneous material in which preparation or any aid is less likely (Hermann, 2005).

At last, the fifty responses should focus on a variety of topics. Since the APP makes in most of its available interviews an overview per topic throughout the text with headings, there has been chosen that in order to maximize the variety of topics available, responses of minimum a hundred words in length per question and heading were used for the analysis. Examples of such headings, present in one source, are: 'Gun Control/School Safety/Arming Teachers With Firearms', 'Trans-Pacific Partnership/Trade', 'North Korea/China' and so forth. The name of the topic is included if that is of relevance for the source in Appendix B. I acknowledge that there is a possibility that due to this choice the LTA is not fully comprehensive. However, since a greater variation on topics is one of the criteria of Hermann to contribute to a non-context-specific leadership style, this choice is made in order to benefit the overall analysis of leadership style (Hermann, 2005).

By selecting fifty interview responses which span Trump's tenure in office for twelve months, in where he occurs in different types of interview settings that vary on topics, I ensured that the analysis of leadership style is not context specific according to the criteria of Hermann (2005).

### *4.3 Qualitative study*

This study is characterized with exploratory research: a small and first step for content analysis in the online environment of SNS. Therefore, the study is only focused on one leader with verbal bombast who serves as an explorative case, namely Donald J. Trump.

Various kinds of behavior that follow from certain leadership style traits might express a high need for swagger. A high need for swagger in the 21<sup>st</sup> century therefore might be enhanced by SNS, due to the lack of face to face communication which brings safeness and comfort of speaking without any direct restraint (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Amiel & Sargent, 2004). Building forth on a pioneering thought of Winter (2018), Tweets could stand at the basis for an assessment of content analysis. Although only 140-characters in length, they are rich in motives and show little difference in comparison to the diplomatic telegrams and reports of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century from Kaiser Wilhelm (Winter, 2018). Conducting a representative case study of Trump's tweets is qualitative in nature and will show whether SNS like Twitter is possible to function as a new form of expression within the field of international relations.

In order to assess the Twitter discourse of Trump, the object of study is his Twitter account, @realDonaldTrump. The tweets under assessment will span Trump's tenure in office from his start of presidency in February 2017, for the following twelve months onwards, and are included in Appendix C. In order to account for the transparency of my study, I systematically analyzed Trump's tweets concerning foreign policy from every third week of the month, for twelve months long. Foreign policy could be defined as acts from a national government to influence or manage events outside the state's borders (Heywood, 2014). In order for a tweet to qualify as concerning foreign policy, two criteria are required. Firstly, the message must come from the American national government in the embodiment of Donald J. Trump and secondly, it must be aimed at another country.

The aim of swagger is to enhance the nation's image in the perceptions of the other (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolfarth et. al., 2017). In order to do so, swagger will lead to challenging behavior such as arms racing, military national demonstrations or military interventions against a smaller power (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolfarth et. al., 2017). Therefore, a provocative kind of language could function as an illustration for online swagger. Within such challenging language, the leader makes use of provocative statements and shows no fear for the consequences of using them. This is contrasting towards a moderate way of tweeting, in which challenging language is absent and the leader

emphasizes the good relationship it entails with others instead. The latter category could, however, also function as a form of swagger, by lifting up its relative status concerning dogoodism (Wolforth et. al, 2017). Summarizing, the mentioned requirements show that the objects of study are Trump's tweets which aimed at another country every third week of the month, from February 2017 up to February 2018. Either the presence or the absence of provocative statements is the kind of language under assessment.

## 5. Results

**Table 2.** Donald Trump Personality Traits in Comparison to Reference Group

LTA characteristics	Donald Trump Score		World Leaders N=284
BACE (Belief can Control Events)	0,38	<i>Average</i>	0,35 Low <0,30 High > 0,40
CC (Conceptual Complexity)	0,68	<i>High</i>	0,59 Low <0,53 High > 0,65
DIS (Distrust of Others)	0,27	<i>High</i>	0,13 Low <0,7 High > 0,15
IGB (In-Group Bias)	0,12	<i>Average</i>	0,15 Low <0,10 High > 0,20
PWR (Need for Power)	0,29	<i>Average</i>	0,26 Low <0,21 High > 0,31
SC (Self-Confidence)	0,53	<i>High</i>	0,36 Low <0,26 High > 0,46
TASK (Task Orientation)	0,45	<i>Low</i>	0,63 Low < 0,56 High > 0,70

*Note:* low and high scores for Trump are determined on the basis of his scores falling at least one standard deviation lower or higher than the mean of the comparison group (Hermann, 2005).

In this exploring research I applied the Leadership Trait Analysis of Hermann to Donald Trump, wherein providing in a detailed account of his personality facets which differentiates the president from world leaders in the reference group. Table 2 presents the mean score of Trump on a particular trait for the sample of world leaders and the scores for that trait one standard deviation above and below that mean (Hermann, 2005).

### 5.1 Trump's personality traits

In comparison with world leaders, Trumps scores high on conceptual complexity (CC), distrust of others (DIS) and self-confidence (SC), whereas he scores low on task orientation (TASK). His scores on the belief that he can control what happens (BACE) and need for power (PWR) fall within the standard deviations but can be considered slightly closer to the higher end of the spectrum, whereas his in-group bias (IGB) can be considered to the slightly lower end of the spectrum. Below, I will provide in a detailed account of the traits that truly differentiate Trump from the reference group and assess possible acts of swagger, deriving from these traits.

### *Responsiveness to constraints*

The reaction to political constraints is based on the traits BACE and PWR (Hermann, 2005). Since Trump scores average, but slightly closer to the higher end of the spectrum, he is expected to be accompanied with the belief to control what happens in the world and has interest in actively participating in the policy-making process (Hermann, 2005). He will therefore not possess a reactive mentality, as leaders low in the belief to control what happens do (Hermann, 2005). Trump also scores average, but slightly closer to the higher end of the spectrum for the need for power and influence. When the need for power is high, leaders are eager to manipulate their environment through, for example, sizing up situations (Hermann, 2005). Scoring average but pointing towards the higher end of the spectrum, these combination of traits resembles constraints being challenged. Therefore, if Trump is actively engaging in acts of swagger, he is not adapting himself towards the situation, nor remains open to domestic and international demands. However, he will be actively controlling and influencing his environment.

### *Openness to information*

The openness of leaders to incoming information is based on the traits CC and SC. Trump scores more than one standard deviation above the mean for self-confidence, which says something about the importance the leader assigns to itself in a particular context (Hermann, 2005). His high score expects him to be very self-confident of himself and his performances, which makes him less open to incoming information of others (Hermann, 2005).

Furthermore, Trump scores more than one standard deviation above the mean for conceptual complexity, the ability to think nuanced or black and white about international politics (Hermann, 2005). Therefore, Trump will be more stimulated by what happens in his environment than a political leader that scores low on conceptual complexity and will gather as much information as possible before making a decision (Hermann, 2005; Görener & Ucal, 2011). These two traits seem to deliver contrasting expectations on the extent to which Trump is open to information. However, these two traits share an important interrelation. Namely, when the scores for self-confidence scores are higher than the scores on conceptual complexity, leaders can be defined as ideologues and closed to information (Hermann, 2005). However, when conceptual complexity scores are higher than a leader's self-confidence scores, as is the case for Trump, the leader will generally be more responsive and interested in his environment (Hermann, 2005). This makes it possible to classify Trump as open to

information, since the scores for conceptual complexity (0,68) are higher than the ones for self-confidence (0,53). A leader in high need for swagger needs to analyze the area on which his claim rests to equal or outdo the other (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010). Therefore, openness to information will benefit a leader to estimate the geopolitical competition.

### *Motivation*

On the basis on the set of presented expectations, TASK grasps the reason for a leader to pursue acts of swagger. Trump scores more than one standard deviation below the mean for task orientation, which gives information about the reasons of Trump for seeking his position in the international arena (Hermann, 2005). A low score on the trait emphasizes a strive for group-maintenance and a focus on building relationships, rather than moving the entire group towards a completion of a task (Hermann, 2005). Since acts of swagger, or status seeking, happen in a social comparison, leaders in high need for swagger are captured in the social hierarchy of this process (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). Therefore, this intrinsic link of swagger to the concept of recognition also generates support for a low score on TASK, since comparing yourself towards others cannot be done without being involved in relationships.

### *5.2 Donald Trump's Leadership Profile*

As discussed above, Trump's scores on the seven traits form answers to the three dimensions, which helps to analyze the kind of leadership style we can expect from him. A set of specific traits, namely BACE, PWR, CC, SC and TASK are expected to lead to acts of swagger.

Firstly, the scores slightly at the higher end of the spectrum for BACE and PWR suggests that Trump will challenge the constraints when he faces them (Hermann, 2005). Secondly, Trump is open to information since his scores on CC are higher than his scores on SC, which both score more than one standard deviation above the mean. At third, the last category says something about the motivation of Trump for seeking his position. Trump scores low on TASK, meaning that he strives for group-maintenance and has a relationship focus (Hermann, 2005). A leader with a high need for swagger is eager to influence his environment and could therefore fit in the category of challenging constraints. Secondly, a leader with a high need for swagger needs information in order to estimate the situation of competition in the geopolitical arena, which makes him open to information. Thirdly, leaders

in high need for swagger are situated in a constant social hierarchy of comparing towards the other, making their motivation for seeking positions based on relationships.

Altogether, Trump could be assessed as a *directive* leader. The directive leader focuses primarily on the status and ways to enhance the reputation of his own nation and government by acting in the world stage (Hermann, 2005). These status seeking acts on the world stage, enhancing the state' reputation, seem to fit well to the category of "swaggering". Swagger is namely centered around the goal to enhance the nation's image in the perceptions of the other (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017). Expressions of swagger include acts such as arms racing, military national demonstrations or military interventions against a smaller power (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017). The military apparatus of the West that rules as a police force throughout the world, could fit to the category of swaggering in the current world order as well (Duyvesteyn, 2008). However, swagger is very egoistic in means of mainly satisfying the leader's own pleasure, instead of always accounting for a conscious thought-out-end (Art, 1980; Duyvesteyn, 2008).



## **6. Explorative case: Donald J. Trump**

The anomaly in Trump's online behavior is that he doesn't seem to tweet in order to receive an answer from his followers, but rather cherishes a desire for receiving a response in the international political arena. However, this doesn't follow the traditional and formal diplomatic protocol. Perhaps the lack of face to face communication makes it easier to tweet things out, since there are no direct restraints on speaking on SNS (Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Amiel & Sargent, 2004). In order to explore this argument, an analysis of tweets of a political leader with a bombastic and, often, insulting verbal style is made. Trumps intimidating and verbal attacks on citizens opposing his view, draws upon the possibility of labeling Trump as a cyberbully (Shear, 2016).

According to Winter (2018), Trump's tweets became a media staple and could function as a basis for assessment (Winter, 2018). The expectations on acts of swagger on Twitter are studied every third week of the month from February 2017 until February 2018, concerning acts of foreign policy. This requires a Tweet to come from Trump and to be aimed at another country. Within this assessment, I look whether challenging behavior towards another nation is present or not. The presence of challenging behavior includes provocative statements in which Trump shows no fear and could account for categorizing itself as "negative swagger". Since also do-goodism could enhance the image of the United States towards the other in moderate tweets, I categorize the former as "positive swagger". The analysis counts up for a total of 68 tweets and are included in Appendix C.

Trump's messages seem to fit neatly to swagger and the so-called 'circle of recognition' it operates in (Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al, 2017). As soon as Trump is not satisfied with its status, the set of collective beliefs the other possesses about him, are the source of the problem (Wolforth et. al, 2017). This is well resembled in tweets of "negative swagger", aiming to influence the collective beliefs on the military apparatus of the US: "Our military is building and is rapidly becoming stronger than ever before. Frankly, we have no choice!" (Trump, 2017), as well as on trade: "After my tour of Asia, all Countries dealing with us on TRADE know that the rules have changed. The United States has to be treated fairly and in a reciprocal fashion. The massive TRADE deficits must go down quickly!" (Trump, 2018).

However, when Trump is satisfied with its status, his strategy is aimed at the collective beliefs the other possesses about him (Wolforth et. al, 2017). This is resembled well in tweets

of “positive swagger”, acts of do-goodism in order to enhance the image of the US. “Starting to develop a much better relationship with Pakistan and its leaders. I want to thank them for their cooperation on many fronts”, Trump tweets out. Furthermore, he speaks of friendships as well and posts about his sympathy in times of crisis or terrorist attacks: “Great bilateral meetings at Élysée Palace w/ President [@EmmanuelMacron](#). The friendship between our two nations and ourselves is unbreakable.”(Trump, 2017)

Drawing forth on exploratory research from Winter (2018), a small step is presented that could be made in assessing an online content analysis for analyzing tweets. Due to the lack of face to face communication, a high need for swagger could lead to utterances on twitter as a new form of expressing swagger within IR. However, this is a very small step in literature and I acknowledge that this cannot be generalized overall.

## 7. Conclusion

Since Trump's words carry out a specific prestige when they come from the White House, it is perhaps worrisome that some of Trump's Tweets seem ill-considered in an era of looming great international crises (Shear, 2016; Sweeney, 2018; Chandler, 2018; Ward, 2018, Innes, 2018). The conducted analysis on the leadership style of Donald Trump presents a directive leadership style, that has a primarily focus on the status and actions to enhance this status of the United States of America within the international political domain. Trump fits perfectly into the evolutionary psychology of dominance, which uses fear and intimidation to remain in a top position (McAdams, 2017). However, to stay in these positions, Trump is almost forced to make coalitions in order to accomplish this leadership goal (McAdams, 2017). An analysis of his leadership traits shows that the relationships he builds, are composed with an certain social hierarchy with the eye on taking advantage of the opportunity of having relationships, while at the same time remaining very alert within the domain of world politics.

I've argued that in order to enhance the nation's image in the perceptions of the other and to look and feel more important himself, Trump uses "swagger" (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017). His usage of swagger will lead to provocative behavior within the geopolitical domain (Art, 1980; Larson & Shevchenko, 2010; Wolforth et. al., 2017). Although the theory of swagger is a classical military theory, an application to an actor-centric approach grasps the individual differences of Trumps leadership style. His leadership personality resembles the behavior of states when expression acts of swagger. Therefore, Trumps personality seems to be of greater influence on what happens in America's foreign policy, than the structures arousing him. The case Trump shows that political leadership could be of influence on the expression of swagger in International relations and contributes to studying an actor-centric approach overall.

A directive leadership style, following from a various selection of traits, might express a high need for swagger in IR. The anomaly in Trump's online behavior is, however, that he seems to tweet in order to create a response from the international political arena and not from his followers. However, online responses don't follow the traditional and formal diplomatic protocol. Therefore, the explorative case of Trump provides in a small and first step of content analysis in the online environment of SNS. Perhaps Twitter could enhance a high need for swagger in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, due to the lack of face to face communication. In doing so, Twitter could function as a new form of expressing behavior within International

Relations. This small step in research, linking modern day practices to the theory of swagger, provides a basis for further assessment and cannot, under any means, be generalized. A 'Tweeting Trump' has proved in being able to shake the world's security and revive sleeping spheres of the cold war by only uttering provocative statements in 140 words or less, that are strengthened in meaning through the world's largest megaphone: the White House.

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## Appendix A: Leadership Trait Analysis Scores of 284 world leaders and subgroups

Currently available reference data retrieved from personal correspondence with Michael D. Young, President of Social Science Automation Inc in May 2018.

### Leadership Trait Analysis Scores (Means and Standard Deviations)

Region	Control over Events	Need for Power	Conceptual Complexity	Self-Confidence	Task Orientation	Distrust of Others	In-Group Bias
<b>World Leaders (N=284)</b>	Mn=.35 SD=.05	Mn=.26 SD=.05	Mn=.59 SD=.06	Mn=.36 SD=.10	Mn=.63 SD=.07	Mn=.13 SD=.06	Mn=.15 SD=.05
<b>Western Europe (N=53)</b>	Mn=.33 SD=.07	Mn=.26 SD=.05	Mn=.57 SD=.06	Mn=.32 SD=.13	Mn=.64 SD=.09	Mn=.09 SD=.06	Mn=.17 SD=.05
<b>Eastern Europe (N=78)</b>	Mn=.34 Sd=.05	Mn=.24 SD=.05	Mn=.59 SD=.05	Mn=.39 SD=.10	Mn=.68 SD=.07	Mn=.10 SD=.05	Mn=.14 SD=.06
<b>Middle East &amp; Northern Africa (N=46)</b>	Mn=.33 Sd=.06	Mn=.27 SD=.06	Mn=.56 SD=.08	Mn=.31 SD=.13	Mn=.58 SD=.06	Mn=.16 SD=.07	Mn=.15 SD=.06
<b>Pacific Rim (N=79)</b>	Mn=.34 Sd=.06	Mn=.27 SD=.06	Mn=.59 SD=.08	Mn=.32 SD=.12	Mn=.62 SD=.08	Mn=.14 SD=.08	Mn=.16 SD=.05
<b>Anglo-America (N=15)</b>	Mn=.36 SD=.04	Mn=.24 SD=.04	Mn=.60 SD=.05	Mn=.45 SD=.08	Mn=.62 SD=.06	Mn=.12 SD=.03	Mn=.13 SD=.03
<b>Latin America (N=13)</b>	Mn=.37 SD=.03	Mn=.25 SD=.02	Mn=.60 SD=.05	Mn=.34 SD=.05	Mn=.65 SD=.06	Mn=.19 SD=.06	Mn=.15 SD=.03

Version: October 2012. For any questions or comments please contact Hanneke Derksen at [Hderksen@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:Hderksen@maxwell.syr.edu)



## Appendix B: Sources for the Leadership Trait Analysis

Retrieved from The American Presidency Project on <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>

1	Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Bill O'Reilly of Fox News," February 3, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123062">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123062</a> .
2	The President's Executive Order on Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into The United States in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Jim Gray of Westwood One Sports Radio Network," February 5, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144</a> .
3	Respect towards Putin in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Jim Gray of Westwood One Sports Radio Network," February 5, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144</a> .
4	U.S. Political Division in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Jim Gray of Westwood One Sports Radio Network," February 5, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144</a> .
5	The President's Early Accomplishments in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Jim Gray of Westwood One Sports Radio Network," February 5, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123144</a> .
6	Health care in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
7	Border adjustment taks in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
8	Infrastructure in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
9	Surveillance in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
10	Syria strike and relationship with Russia in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
11	North Korea in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Maria Bartiromo on Fox Business Network," April 11, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123933</a> .
12	Tax Reform in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Chris Plante of WMAL Radio in Washington, District of Columbia," October 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431</a> .
13	Tax reform in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Lou Dobbs of FOX Business Network," October 25, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129309">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129309</a> .
14	U.S. Strategy To Combat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) Terrorist Organization in

	Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Chris Plante of WMAL Radio in Washington, District of Columbia," October 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431</a> .
15	Former President Barack Obama/Middle East/North Korea/National Economy in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Chris Plante of WMAL Radio in Washington, District of Columbia," October 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431</a> .
16	News media/health care reform in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Chris Plante of WMAL Radio in Washington, District of Columbia," October 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431</a> .
17	2018 Congressional Elections/Health Care Reform/Senator John S. McCain III in Donald J. Trump: "Interview With Chris Plante of WMAL Radio in Washington, District of Columbia," October 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128431</a> .
18	Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Forbes Magazine Editor Randall Lane and Chief Product Officer Lewis D'Vorkin," October 6, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311</a> .
19	Obamacare in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Forbes Magazine Editor Randall Lane and Chief Product Officer Lewis D'Vorkin," October 6, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311</a> .
20	Trade in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany," March 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123533">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123533</a> .
21	Secretary Tillerson in Donald J. Trump: "Interview with Forbes Magazine Editor Randall Lane and Chief Product Officer Lewis D'Vorkin," October 6, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129311</a> .
22	Health care reform in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany," March 17, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123533">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=123533</a> .
23	China/North Korea/Russia in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With President Moon Jae-in of South Korea in Seoul, South Korea," November 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509</a> .
24	Shooting in Sutherland springs, Texas/Gun Control in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With President Moon Jae-in of South Korea in Seoul, South Korea," November 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509</a> .
25	South Korea – U.S. Relations in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With President Moon Jae-in of South Korea in Seoul, South Korea," November 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128509</a> .
26	Immigration Reform Legislation/Border Security/Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway," January 10, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941</a> .

27	U.S. Military Strength/North Korea in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway," January 10, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941</a> .
28	Investigation Into Russia's Efforts To Interfere in the 2016 Presidential Election in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway," January 10, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941</a> .
29	Russia-U.S. Relations/U.S. Foreign Policy in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway," January 10, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941</a> .
30	Paris Agreement on Climate Change/Hydropower in Norway in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway," January 10, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128941</a> .
31	Tax Reform/Health Care Reform in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
32	Health Care Reform/Office of National Drug Control Policy Director-Designate Thomas A. Marino/Opioid Crisis in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
33	Former White House Chief Strategist Stephen K. Bannon/President's Relations With Congress/Republican Party in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
34	Health Care Reform/Prescription Drug Costs in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
35	Health Care Reform Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
36	Tax Reform in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
37	U.S. Servicemembers Killed in Niger/Presidential Communications With Families of Servicemembers Killed in Action in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
38	Senate Confirmation of the President's Nominees in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> .

	<a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
39	The President's Relations With Democratic Congressional Leaders/Bipartisanship/The President's Legislative Agenda in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
40	Former President Barack Obama/Health Care Reform/Iran/National Economy/Immigration in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
41	North Korea/U.S. Military Spending in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Amir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah of Kuwait," September 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284</a>
42	United Arab Emirates/Saudi Arabia/Qatar Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Amir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah of Kuwait," September 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284</a>
43	Arab-Israeli Peace Process/Syria in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Amir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah of Kuwait," September 7, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128284</a>
44	Democratic Presidential Nominee Hillary Rodham Clinton/National Football League National Anthem Controversy in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Senate Majority Leader A. Mitchell McConnell," October 16, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=128335</a> .
45	Russia's Efforts To Influence the 2016 Presidential Election/Job Creation and Growth/Islamic State of Iraq and Syria in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With President Juan Manuel Santos Calderon of Colombia," May 18, 2017. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=124946">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=124946</a> .
46	Gun Control/Mental Illness/School Safety in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Malcolm B. Turnbull of Australia," February 23, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473</a> .
47	Gun Control/School Safety/Arming Teachers With Firearms in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Malcolm B. Turnbull of Australia," February 23, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473</a> .
48	Trans-Pacific Partnership/Trade in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Malcolm B. Turnbull of Australia," February 23, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473</a> .
49	North Korea/China in in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Malcolm B. Turnbull of Australia," February 23, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473</a> .
50	White House Senior Adviser Jared C. Kushner/Arab-Israeli Peace Process/White House Security Clearances in in Donald J. Trump: "The President's News Conference With Prime

Minister Malcolm B. Turnbull of Australia," February 23, 2018. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, <i>The American Presidency Project</i> . <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=129473</a> .
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**Appendix C: Tweets from the 45<sup>th</sup> President from the United States of America, Donald J. Trump**

<b>Date and year</b>	<b>Tweet from verified account @realDonaldTrump</b>
1. February 13, 2017	Today I will meet with Canadian PM Trudeau and a group of leading business women to discuss women in the workforce.
2. February 15, 2017	Crimea was TAKEN by Russia during the Obama Administration. Was Obama too soft on Russia?
3. February 15, 2017	Venezuela should allow Leopoldo Lopez, a political prisoner & husband of <a href="#">@liliantintori</a> (just met w/ <a href="#">@marcorubio</a> ) out of prison immediately.
4. February 19, 2017	My statement as to what's happening in Sweden was in reference to a story that was broadcast on @FoxNews concerning immigrants & Sweden.
5. March 16, 2017	An honor to welcome the Taoiseach of Ireland, <a href="#">@EndaKennyTD</a> to the <a href="#">@WhiteHouse</a> today with <a href="#">@VP</a> Pence.
6. March 17, 2017	Happy Lá Fheile Phadraig to all of my great Irish friends!
7. March 17, 2017	North Korea is behaving very badly. They have been "playing" the United States for years. China has done little to help!
8. March 18, 2017 (tweet 1/2)	Despite what you have heard from the FAKE NEWS, I had a GREAT meeting with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Nevertheless, Germany owes.....
9. March 18, 2017 (tweet 2/2)	...vast sums of money to NATO & the United States must be paid more for the powerful, and very expensive, defense it provides to Germany!
10. April 10, 2017	Happy Passover to everyone celebrating in the United States of America, Israel, and around the world. <a href="#">#ChagSameach</a>
11. April 11, 2017	I explained to the President of China that a trade deal with the U.S. will be far better for them if they solve the North Korean problem!
12. April 11, 2017	North Korea is looking for trouble. If China decides to help, that would be great. If not, we will solve the problem without them! U.S.A.
13. April 12, 2017	Had a very good call last night with the President of China concerning the menace of North Korea.
14. April 13, 2017	I have great confidence that China will properly deal with North Korea. If they are unable to do so, the U.S., with its allies, will! U.S.A.
15. April 13, 2017	Things will work out fine between the U.S.A. and Russia. At the right time everyone will come to their senses & there will be lasting peace!
16. April 16, 2017	Why would I call China a currency manipulator when they are working with us on the North Korean problem? We will see what happens!
17. April 16, 2017	Our military is building and is rapidly becoming stronger than ever before. Frankly, we have no choice!
18. May 8, 2017	Honored to welcome Georgia Prime Minister, Giorgi Kvirikashvili to the <a href="#">@WhiteHouse</a> today with <a href="#">@VP</a> Mike Pence. <a href="https://instagram.com/p/BT1xH1ngciK/">https://instagram.com/p/BT1xH1ngciK/</a>
19. May 11,	Russia must be laughing up their sleeves watching as the U.S. tears

2017	itself apart over a Democrat EXCUSE for losing the election.
20. May 11, 2017	Yesterday, on the same day- I had meetings with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and the FM of Ukraine, Pavlo Klimkin. <a href="#">#LetsMakePeace!</a>
21. May 12, 2017	China just agreed that the U.S. will be allowed to sell beef, and other major products, into China once again. This is REAL news!
22. June 16, 2017	Back from Miami where my Cuban/American friends are very happy with what I signed today. Another campaign promise that I did not forget!
23. June 16, 2017	"Remarks by President Trump on the Policy of the U.S.A. Towards Cuba" Video: <a href="http://45.wh.gov/1SEWqn">http://45.wh.gov/1SEWqn</a> Transcript: <a href="http://45.wh.gov/Cp1AFq">http://45.wh.gov/Cp1AFq</a>
24. July 10, 2017	When I left Conference Room for short meetings with Japan and other countries, I asked Ivanka to hold seat. Very standard. Angela M agrees!
25. July 11, 2017	Big wins against ISIS!
26. July 11, 2017	ISIS is on the run & will soon be wiped out of Syria & Iraq, illegal border crossings are way down (75%) & MS 13 gangs are being removed.
27. July 12, 2017	.@WashTimes states "Democrats have willfully used Moscow disinformation to influence the presidential election against Donald Trump."
28. July 12, 2017	Getting rdy to leave for France @ the invitation of President Macron to celebrate & honor Bastille Day and 100yrs since U.S. entry into WWI.
29. July 13, 2017	President @EmmanuelMacron, Thank you for the beautiful welcome ceremony at Les Invalides today!
30. July 13, 2017	Great bilateral meetings at Élysée Palace w/ President @EmmanuelMacron. The friendship between our two nations and ourselves is unbreakable.
31. July 14, 2017	It was a great honor to represent the United States at the magnificent #BastilleDay parade. Congratulations President @EmmanuelMacron!
32. July 14, 2017	The United States mourns for the victims of Nice, France. We pledge our solidarity with France against terror.
33. July 14, 2017	Just landed from Paris, France. It was an incredible visit with President @EmmanuelMacron. A lot discussed and accomplished in two days!
34. July 14, 2017	President @EmmanuelMacron, Thank you for inviting Melania and myself to such a historic celebration in France. #BastilleDay #14juillet
35. August 16, 2017	Kim Jong Un of North Korea made a very wise and well reasoned decision. The alternative would have been both catastrophic and unacceptable!
36. August 17, 2017	The United States condemns the terror attack in Barcelona, Spain, and will do whatever is necessary to help. Be tough & strong, we love you!
37. August 19, 2017	Important day spent at Camp David with our very talented Generals and military leaders. Many decisions made, including on Afghanistan.
38. September	Spoke to President of Mexico to give condolences on terrible

14, 2017	earthquake. Unable to reach for 3 days b/c of his cell phone reception at site.
39. September 15, 2017	Our hearts & prayers go out to the people of London, who suffered a vicious terrorist attack....
40. September 15, 2017	We will defend our people, our nations and our civilization from all who dare to threaten our way of life...cont: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10159843256785725">https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10159843256785725</a> ... Text proceeds in attachment: This includes the regime in North Korea, which has once again shown its utter contempt for its neighbors and the entire world community. After seeing your capabilities and commitment here today, I am more confident than ever that our options in addressing this threat are both effective and overwhelming.
41. September 15, 2017	Another attack in London by a loser terrorist. These are sick and demented people who were in the sights of Scotland Yard. Must be proactive!
42. September 15, 2017	We have made more progress in the last nine months against ISIS than the Obama Administration has made in 8 years. Must be proactive & nasty!
43. September 17, 2017	I spoke with President Moon of South Korea last night. Asked him how Rocket Man is doing. Long gas lines forming in North Korea. Too bad!
44. October 9, 2017	Our country has been unsuccessfully dealing with North Korea for 25 years, giving billions of dollars & getting nothing. Policy didn't work!
45. October 13, 2017	The wonderful people of Puerto Rico, with their unmatched spirit, know how bad things were before the H's. I will always be with them!
46. October 13, 2017	Starting to develop a much better relationship with Pakistan and its leaders. I want to thank them for their cooperation on many fronts.
47. October 13, 2017	Many people talking, with much agreement, on my Iran speech today. Participants in the deal are making lots of money on trade with Iran!
48. October 13, 2017	Today, I announced our strategy to confront the Iranian regime's hostile actions and to ensure that they never acquire a nuclear weapon.
49. November 13, 2017	Great day of bilateral meetings at <a href="#">#ASEANSummit</a> on trade, which we are turning around to be great deals for our country!
50. November 13, 2017	Will be leaving the Philippines tomorrow after many days of constant mtgs & work in order to <a href="#">#MAGA</a> ! My promises are rapidly being fulfilled.
51. November 13, 2017	After my tour of Asia, all Countries dealing with us on TRADE know that the rules have changed. The United States has to be treated fairly and in a reciprocal fashion. The massive TRADE deficits must go down quickly!
52. November 13, 2017	Just arrived at <a href="#">#ASEAN50</a> in the Philippines for my final stop with World Leaders. Will lead to FAIR TRADE DEALS, unlike the horror shows from past Administrations. Will then be leaving for D.C. Made many good friends!
53. November 15, 2017	<a href="#">.@foxandfriends</a> will be showing much of our successful trip to Asia, and the friendships & benefits that will endure for years to come!



<b>54.</b> November 15, 2017	The failing <a href="#">@nytimes</a> hates the fact that I have developed a great relationship with World leaders like Xi Jinping, President of China.....
<b>55.</b> November 15, 2017	Our great country is respected again in Asia. You will see the fruits of our long but successful trip for many years to come!
<b>56.</b> November 16, 2017	Need all on the UN Security Council to vote to renew the Joint Investigative Mechanism for Syria to ensure that Assad Regime does not commit mass murder with chemical weapons ever again.
<b>57.</b> November 16, 2017	China is sending an Envoy and Delegation to North Korea - A big move, we'll see what happens!
<b>58.</b> November 19, 2017	Shoplifting is a very big deal in China, as it should be (5-10 years in jail), but not to father LaVar. Should have gotten his son out during my next trip to China instead. China told them why they were released. Very ungrateful!
<b>59.</b> December 12, 2017	Wishing all of those celebrating <a href="#">#Hanukkah</a> around the world a happy and healthy eight nights in the company of those they love. <a href="http://45.wh.gov/XpFsZu">http://45.wh.gov/XpFsZu</a>
<b>60.</b> January 10, 2018	The single greatest Witch Hunt in American history continues. There was no collusion, everybody including the Dems knows there was no collusion, & yet on and on it goes. Russia & the world is laughing at the stupidity they are witnessing. Republicans should finally take control!
<b>61.</b> January 12, 2018	Never said anything derogatory about Haitians other than Haiti is, obviously, a very poor and troubled country. Never said "take them out." Made up by Dems. I have a wonderful relationship with Haitians. Probably should record future meetings - unfortunately, no trust!
<b>62.</b> January 14, 2018	The Wall Street Journal stated falsely that I said to them "I have a good relationship with Kim Jong Un" (of N. Korea). Obviously I didn't say that. I said "I'd have a good relationship with Kim Jong Un," a big difference. Fortunately we now record conversations with reporters...
<b>63.</b> February 16, 2018	Russia started their anti-US campaign in 2014, long before I announced that I would run for President. The results of the election were not impacted. The Trump campaign did nothing wrong - no collusion!
<b>64.</b> February 17, 2018	Funny how the Fake News Media doesn't want to say that the Russian group was formed in 2014, long before my run for President. Maybe they knew I was going to run even though I didn't know!
<b>65.</b> February 18, 2018	I never said Russia did not meddle in the election, I said "it may be Russia, or China or another country or group, or it may be a 400 pound genius sitting in bed and playing with his computer." The Russian "hoax" was that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia - it never did!
<b>66.</b> February 18, 2018	General McMaster forgot to say that the results of the 2016 election were not impacted or changed by the Russians and that the only Collusion was between Russia and Crooked H, the DNC and the Dems. Remember the Dirty Dossier, Uranium, Speeches, Emails and the Podesta Company!
<b>67.</b> February 18, 2018	Never gotten over the fact that Obama was able to send \$1.7 Billion Dollars in CASH to Iran and nobody in Congress, the FBI or Justice

	called for an investigation!
<b>68.</b> February 18, 2018	If it was the GOAL of Russia to create discord, disruption and chaos within the U.S. then, with all of the Committee Hearings, Investigations and Party hatred, they have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. They are laughing their asses off in Moscow. Get smart America!