UGST4106
The Psychology of Statecraft

Time: Tuesday & Thursday 11:50–12:50
Place: QS B-511

Instructor	**Teaching assistant**
Christopher David LaRoche	Barbora Valíková

Description

Xi, Putin, Erdogan, Trump — they dominate the headlines. Yet our social science theories tell us that individuals do not matter.

This course asks: does personality matter in world politics? We will explore this question by examining a broad range of answers, from the mirror-for-princes genre to the psychology of decision-making.

We begin with the traditional distinction between legitimate rulers and tyrants: are these terms helpful for us today?

Pivoting to modern theories of the mind, we explore our question through recent concepts applied to statecraft: expertise, risk, cognitive empathy, gender, and personality. What does modern social science tell us about our leaders?

Throughout the course you will "adopt a leader," drawing on that leader's life in assignments and discussions.

Among other questions, we will ask: what do we expect of leaders, and how should we evaluate them? What tools do the mirror-of-princes genre or contemporary social science give us in this task? Is there more continuity or change in questions of leadership across place and time? Can leaders ultimately shape the world, or are they always shaped by it, and under what circumstances?

Aims

This course aims to provide you with understandings of:

- The role of the individuals in world politics, with a special focus on leaders
- The cognitive heuristics, biases, and shortcuts that individuals use to assess situations and make decisions
- The use of case studies and psychological theories in evaluating real world cases
- Comprehensive efforts to evaluate the quality of leaders or leadership
- Differences between modern and non-modern approaches to political science

Assessment	Class attendance & participation:	10%
	Presentation*:	15%
	Written assignment 1:	25%
	Written assignment 2:	25%
	Take home task:	25%

Class participation: Participation will be graded by attendance and quality of participation (10%).

Presentation: You will deliver a brief (<5 minutes) presentation on your adopted leader (15%).
**The delivery mechanism may change depending on enrollment numbers.*

Written assignments: The written assignments are short responses (5 pages max, <1000 words) that address topics or debates in the class. I will circulate topics questions for the first two assignments.

Take home task: Written in a 72-hour period, you will have to give advice to a leader of your choice based on the course materials, and reflect on the choices you make in an appendix.

Conduct
According to one of Britain's most influential Machiavellians, Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury, justice lies in the keeping of covenants and those who make covenants promise to obey them.[1] This syllabus is a covenant made between the instructor (me) and the students (you) in the spirit of learning. This class will discuss topics that are contentious or controversial. You are welcome to criticize each other's (and my) ideas, but not each other's characters. Personal attacks will not be tolerated.

Contact:
larochec@ceu.edu &
valikova_barbora@phd.ceu.edu
Expect a 48-hour window for replies to emails during the week.

Absences, plagiarism, student needs, and other matters:
CEU maintains a robust set of policies governing student conduct and expectations; general policies can be found here and undergraduate-specific information in the 2022/2023 Handbook. These include policies on absences, plagiarism, and grading. Please review them! You can also contact me or set up an office hours visitation for clarification.

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[1] *Leviathan*, Book I, Chapters XIV & XV.

PROVISIONAL COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1: The psychology of tyranny.

- Adam E. Casey and Seva Gunitsky, "The Bully in the Bubble," *Foreign Affairs* (February 2022).

- Xenophon, *Hiero, or the Skilled Tyrant.* **[On Moodle.]**

Weeks 2-3: Virtù and psychology.

- Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince.* **[On Moodle.]**

- Francis Bacon, "Idols of the Mind," and "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," in *New Atlantis and the Great Instauration*, ed. Jerry Weinberger (Wiley, 2017). **[On Moodle.]**

Other discussions of tyranny, available on Moodle:

- Xenophon, *The Education of Cyrus*.
- Plato, *The Republic* (especially Books VIII–X).
- Aristotle, *The Politics* (especially
- Alfarabi, *The Book of Religion* and *The Political Regime*.
- Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the Body Politic*.
- Deciderus Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*.

Supplementary [complete lists on Moodle]:

- Waller R. Newell, *Tyrants: Power, Injustice, and Terror* (Cambridge University Press 2019).
- Toivu Koivukoski & David Edward Tabachnick, *Confronting Tyranny: ancient lessons for global politics* (Rowan & Littlefield, 2005).
- Leo Strauss & Alexander Kojeve, *On Tyranny*.
- Catherine Zuckert, *Machiavelli's Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), esp. chapter 1.
- Anna Becker, "Rethinking Masculinity and Femininity in Niccolò Machiavelli's Political Thought," *L'Homme* 23, no 2. (2012): 65-78.
- Michelle Tolman Clarke, "On the Woman Question in Machiavelli," *The Review of Politics* 67, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 229-255.
- Hannah Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Carnes Lord, *The Modern Prince: What Leaders Need to Know Now, 2ⁿᵈ ed.* (Yale University Press, 2018).
- Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (The Free Press, 1959).
- Alexander Orwin, "Can Humankind deliberate on a Global Scale? Alfarabi and the politics of the inhabited world." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 4 (November 2014): 830-839.
- Christopher Colmo, "Alfarabi on the Prudence of Founders." *The Review of Politics* 60, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 719-741.
- Adam E. Casey and Seva Gunitsky, "The Weakness of the Strongman," *Foreign Affairs* (March 2020).

<u>Week 5: When do leaders matter?</u>   October 18 & 20

- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (April 1, 2001): 107–46.
- Brian Rathbun, "The Rarity of Realpolitik: What Bismarck's Rationality Reveals about International Politics," *International Security* 43, no. 1 (August 1, 2018): 7–55.

Supplementary:

- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (Columbia University Press, 1959), Chapters 2 & 3.
- Michael C. Horowitz, Allan C. Stam & Cali M. Ellis, *Why Leaders Fight* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Michael Horowitz, "Leaders, Leadership and International Security," *Oxford Handbook of International Security*.
- Richard J. Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2003).
- Jonas Schneider, "The Study of Leaders in Nuclear Proliferation and How to Reinvigorate It," *International Studies Review* 22, no. 1 (March 2020): 1-25.
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Who Fights for Reputation? The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 2019).

<u>Week 6: Prudence and Experience.</u>   October 25 & 27

- Manali Kumar, "Making decisions under uncertainty: the Prudent Judgment Approach," *European Journal of International Security* (2022): 1-22.
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision Making," *International Organization* 71, no. S1 (April 2017): S219–47.

Supplementary:

- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 32, no. 2 (2009): 119-161.
- Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries," *International Security* 38, no. 1 (July 2013): 7-51.
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

<u>Week 7: Risk and analogies.</u>　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　November 3

- Aidan Hehir, "The Impact of Analogical Reasoning on US Foreign Policy Towards Kosovo," *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 1 (July 2016): 61-87.
- Rose McDermott, "Prospect Theory in International Relations: the Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission," *Political Psychology* 13, no. 2 (June 1992): 237-263.

Supplementary:

- Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: risk-taking in American foreign policy* (University of Michigan Press, 1998), especially chapters 2 & 3.
- Robert Jervis, *How Statesmen Think: The Psychology of International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2019).
- Jonathan Mercer, "Prospect Theory and Political Science," *Annual Review of Politics* 8 (2005): 1-21.
- Janice Gross Stein & Lior Sheffer, "Prospect Theory and Political Decision-Making," *The Oxford Handbook of Behavioural Science* (March 2019).
- Huiyun Feng & Kai He, "Prospect theory, operational code analysis, and risk-taking behavior: a new model of China's crisis behavior," *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 2 (2017): 173-190.
- Yves-Heng Lim, "The Future Instability of Cross-Strait Relations: Prospect Theory and Ma Ying-Jeou's Paradoxical Legacy," *Asian Security* 14, no. 3 (2018): 318-338
- Michael Poznansky, "The Psychology of Overt and Covert Intervention," *Security Studies* 30, no. 2 (2021): 325-353.

- Akos Kopper & Tamas Peragovics, "Overcoming the poverty of Western historical imagination: Alternative analogies for making sense of the South China Sea conflict," *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 2 (2019): 360-382.
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton University Press, 1992).
- Yuen Foong Khong, "The United States, China, and the Cold War analogy," *China International Strategic Review* 1(2019): 223-237.
- William Flanik, "Analogies and Metaphors and Foreign Policy Decision-Making," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis,* 2018.
- Lisa Hager, Oindrila Roy, Landon E. Hancock & Michael J. Easley, "Selling the Iran Nuclear Agreement: Prospect Theory and the Campaign to Frame the JCPOA," *Congress and the Presidency* 46, no. 3 (2019): 417-445.
- Yahya Kamali & Sedighe Sheikhzadeh Jooshani, "Reasoning in Foreign Policy Making from the Analogy Perspective: The Case Study of Iran's Nuclear Issue," *Asian Politics & Policy* 11, no. 2 (2019): 208-226.
- Karine Prémont, Charles-Philippe David & Vincent Boucher, "The Clash of Historical Analogies and Their Influence on Decision-Making: The Case of Iraqi Reconstruction Under George W. Bush," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 29, no. 2 (2018): 298-327.
- Christopher Hemmer, "Historical Analogies and the Definition of Interests: The Iranian Hostage Crisis and Ronald Reagan's Policy Toward the Hostages in Lebanon," *Political Psychology* 20, no. 2 (June 1999): 267-289.
- David Patrick Houghton, "Historical Analogies and the Cognitive Dimension of Domestic Policymaking," *Political Psychology* 19, no. 2 (June 1998): 279-303.

- Darren C. Brunk, "Curing the Somalia Syndrome: Analogy, Foreign Policy Decision Making, and the Rwandan Genocide," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 4, no. 3 (July 2008): 301-320.
- Dominic Tierney, "'Pearl Harbor in Reverse': Moral Analogies in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 49-77.
- Scot Macdonald, "Hitler's Shadow: Historical Analogies and the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 13, no. 4 (2002): 29-59.

Week 7: Gender and leadership.   November 8 & 10

- Sylvia B. Bashevkin, *Women as Foreign Policy Leaders: National Security and Gender Politics in Superpower America* (Oxford University Press, 2018), chapters 1-3, 7.

Supplementary:
- Bruce W. Jentleson, *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship* (W.W. Norton, 2018).
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago University Press, 1995).
- Dara Kay Cohen & Sabrina M. Karim, "Does more equality for women mean less war? Rethinking sex and gender inequality and political violence," *International Organization* 76, no. 2 (Spring 2022): 414-444.
- Katie R. Place & Jennifer Vardeman-Winter, "Where are the women? An examination of research on women and leadership in public relations," *Public Relations Review* 44, no. 1 (March 2018): 165-173.
- Mary Caprioli & Mark A. Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 4 (August 2001): 503-518.
- Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Pila Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace," *International Interactions* 44 (August 2018): 985-1016.

Week 9: Strategic empathy and the adversary.   November 15 & 17

- Zachary Shore, *A Sense of the Enemy: The High Stakes History of Reading your Rival's Mind* (Oxford University Press, 2014): introduction, chapters 4-5, 8-9, conclusion. **[On Moodle]**

Supplementary:

- Paul Bloom, *Against Empathy: the case for rational compassion* (Harper Collins, 2016).
- Marcus Holmes and Keren Karhi-Milo, "The Psychological Logic of Peace Summits: How Empathy Shapes Outcomes of Diplomatic Summits," *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (March 2017): 107-122.

Week 10: Face-to-face diplomacy and costly signals.   November 22 & 24

- Todd Hall and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "The Personal Touch: Leaders' Impressions, Costly Signaling, and Assessments of Sincerity in International Affairs," *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (September 2012): 550-573.

Supplementary:
- Seanon S. Wong, "Who Blinked? Performing Resolve (or Lack Thereof) in Face-to-Face Diplomacy," *Security Studies* 30, no. 3 (2021): 419-449.
- Keren Yahi-Milo, Joshua D. Kertzer & Jonathan Renshon, "Tying Hands, Sinking Costs, and Leader Attributes," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 10 (October 2018): 2150-2179.
- Joshua D. Kertzer, Brian Rathbun & Nina Srinivasan Rathbun, "The Price of Peace: Motivated Reasoning and Costly Signaling in International Relations," *International Organization* 74, no. 1 (Winter 2020): 95-118.
- Marcus Holmes, "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions," *International Organization* 67, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 829-861
- Todd Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Cornell University Press, 2015).
- Marcus Holmes, *Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Social Neuroscience and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Joshua D. Kertzer, *Resolve in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2016).

Week 11: Justice and charisma.   November 29 & December 1

- David A. Welch, "The Justice Motive in International Relations: Past, Present, and Future," *International Negotiation* 19, no. 3 (October 2014): 410–25.

Supplementary:
- Catharine Lu, *Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- David A. Welch, *Justice and the Genesis of War* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Max Weber, writings on charisma **[On Moodle.]**
- Anders Wivel & Caroline Howard Grøn, "Charismatic Leadership in Foreign Policy," *International Affairs* 97, no. 2 (March 2021): 365-383.

Week 12: Personality and psychobiography.   December 6 & makeup session

- Juliet Kaarbo, "New directions in foreign policy research: breaking bad in foreign policy," *International Affairs* 97, no 2 (March 2021): 423-441.

- Kenneth B. Dekleva, "Leadership Analysis and Political Psychology in the 21st Century," *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 46, no. 3 (2018): 359-363.
- Stephen Kotkin, "When Stalin Faced Hitler," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 6 (November/December 2017): 48-71.

Supplementary:
- Jessica L. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace* (Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Dyson, Stephen Benedict, "Origins of the Psychological Profiling of Politics Leaders: The US Office of Strategic Services and Adolf Hitler," *Intelligence and National Security* 29, no. 5 (2014): 654-674. Kotkin, Stephen, "When Stalin Faced Hitler," *Foreign Affairs* 96, no. 6 (November/December 2017): 48-71.
- Joseph G. Ponterotto, "Psychobiography in Psychology: past, present, and future," *Journal of Psychology in Africa* 25, no. 5 (2015): 379-389.
- Esra Cuhadar, Juliet Kaarbo, Baris Kesgin & Binnur Ozkececi-Taner, "Personality or Role? Comparisons of Turkish Leaders across Different Institutional Positions," *Political Psychology* 38, no. 1 (2017): 39-54.
- E. Kevin Kelloway & Stephanie Gilbert, "Does It Matter Who Leads Us?: The Study of Organizational Leadership," in Franco Fraccaroli & Magnus Sverke, eds., *An Introduction to Work and Organizational Psychology: An International Perspective, 3rd edition* (Wiley, 2017): 192-211.
- Rory Burke & Steve Barron, "Leadership Theories and Styles," in *Project Management Leadership: Building Creative Teams, 2nd edition* (Wiley, 2014): 81-89.
- Nurcan Ensari, Patricia "Denise" Lopez & David Thiel, "Personality and Leadership," in Bernardo J. Carducci & Christopher S. Nave, eds., *The Wiley Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences, Volume I: Models and Theories* (Wiley, 2020): 491-498.
- Joshua Thompson, James R. Camp, Joseph E. Trimble & Sara Langford, "Leadership Styles," in Bernardo J. Carducci & Christopher S. Nave, eds., *The Wiley Encyclopedia of Personality and Individual Differences, Volume I: Models and Theories* (Wiley, 2020): 499-504.