PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY

SPI 401c/SPI 401-S03 – Leadership in Protracted Conflicts
Fall 2023   Monday, 1:30-4:20 PM

Task Force Director: Daniel Kurtzer

Description

The task force will examine the attributes of leadership – vision, will, charisma, power, strengths, weaknesses, and the like – that contribute to the resolution, perpetuation, or deepening of protracted conflicts. We will focus on transformational leaders, those who impact most significantly their political environment, both positively and negatively, during periods of conflict or peace making. Students will prepare a study of leadership in a protracted conflict, and will draw out lessons learned and unlearned.

Assignments and grading

1. Readings are listed below, in Canvas, or on e-Reserve. The following is recommended for purchase at Labyrinth or online: Bruce Jentleson, *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship* (W.W. Norton, 2018)

2. Students will be asked to prepare a 1-2 page reading response each week on the readings: 1-2 paragraphs that summarize the key points; 1-2 paragraphs that draw out lessons learned and implications, and challenging issues; and 1-2 bulleted questions or issues for class discussion. These papers should be emailed to the instructor in Word, not PDF, with copies to the graduate consultant and the senior commissioner, by 10:00 PM on Saturday evening before class.

3. Grades will be based on four elements: the reading responses and class discussion (20%); oral presentation of individual research (10%); the JP and the briefing paper (60%); and teamwork in the preparation of the final report (10%).

Independent research

Each student will undertake independent research (the JP) on the role of a leader in a protracted conflict. Key issues include: Did the leader contribute to the resolution, perpetuation, or worsening of the conflict? What character traits were evident in the leader? What lessons about leadership can be drawn from the study that are most applicable for policymakers? Students will present their preliminary findings and draw on class feedback as they rework their drafts into final papers and as they draft briefing papers.

Schedule

Sept. 11: **Protracted conflicts and the policy process**

No reading assigned.

Sept. 18: **Leadership traits and types**

1. Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* – Revised edition (Princeton University Press, 2017), 217-280.
2. Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies*, 22, 2 (2013), 153-79.
3. "Introduction: Does history make statesmen or do statesmen make history," in Bruce Jentleson, *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship* (W.W. Norton, 2018), xvii-xxviii.
4. Bert Alan Spector, "Carlyle, Freud, and the Great Man Theory more fully considered," *Leadership*, Vol. 12, Issue 2, April 2016, 250-260.
5. Małgorzata Zachara-Szymańska, "The return of the hero-leader? Volodymyr Zelensky's international image and the global response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine," *Leadership*, Volume 19, Issue 3, June 2023, 196-209.

Sept. 25: **No class on this day. To be rescheduled during this week.**

How to assess leaders

1. David Winter, "Things I've learned about personality from studying political leaders at a distance," *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 73, Issue 3, June 2005, 557-584.
2. Jerrold Post, "Leader Personality Assessments in Support of Government Policy," in Jerrold Post, ed., *Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders* (University of Michigan Press, 2003), 39-61.
3. David Winter, "Assessing Leaders' Personalities: A Historical Survey of Academic Research Studies," in Post, ed., *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, 11-38.

Oct. 2: **Why and how do leaders lead?**

1. Saliba Sarsar and Kenneth Stunkel, "Political Leaders and Followers: Two Sides of the same Coin?" *The Journal of Leadership Studies*, 1994, Vol. 1, no. 10, 1-10.
2. "Mikhail Gorbachev: Ending the Cold War, 1985-1991," in Jentleson, *The Peacemakers*, 136-163.
3. "Wilson and FDR: Failure of the League of Nations, Birth of the United Nations," in Jentleson, *The Peacemakers,* 72-100.

4. Harold Lasswell, "Democratic Leadership," in Barbara Kellerman, ed., *Political Leadership: A Source Book* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), 196-198.
5. Hannah Arendt, "The Totalitarian Leader," in Kellerman, 211-220.
6. EV Wolfenstein, "The Revolutionary Personality," in Kellerman, 92-100.

Oct. 9:   **Lessons from how the U.S. government studies leaders and leadership**

1. Ursula Wilder, "Profiling World Leaders" podcast, March 29, 2023. https://www.cbsnews.com/amp/news/cia-clinical-psychologist-ursula-wilder-on-profiling-world-leaders-intelligence-matters/
2. Thomas Preston, "Leadership and Foreign Policy Analysis," Oxford Research Encyclopedia, *International Studies*, Dec. 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.255

Oct. 16:   **No class. Fall break.**

Oct. 22:   **First draft of JP due at 10:00 PM.**

Oct. 23:   **Why do followers follow?**

1. Nannerl Keohane, "How and Why Do Followers Matter?" in Nannerl Keohane, *Thinking about Leadership* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 48-82.
2. Art Padilla, Robert Hogan and Robert Kaiser, "The toxic triangle: Destructive leaders, susceptible followers, and conducive environments," *The Leadership Quarterly*, 18 (2007), 176-194.
3. Judy Gray and Iain Densten, "How Leaders Woo Followers in the Romance of Leadership," *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 2007, 56(4), 558–581.
4. Daniel J. Goldhagen, Christopher R. Browning, and Leon Wieseltier, "The "Willing Executioners"/"Ordinary Men" Debate. https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/Publication_OP_1996-01.pdf

Oct. 30:   **Transformational vs. transactional leadership**

1. Keren Yarhi-Milo, *Knowing the Adversary*: *Leaders, intelligence, and assessment of intentions in international relations* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 14-43, 241-258.
2. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 85, No. 4, 139-148.
3. "Reigning in the Prince," in Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, et. al., *The Logic of Political Survival* (MIT Press, 2005), 21-55.

4. Bernard M. Bass, "From Transactional to Transformational Leadership: Learning to Share the Vision," *Organizational Dynamics,* Volume 18, Issue 3, Winter 1990, Pages 19-31.

Nov. 6:   **Leadership and ethics**

1. Asa Kasher and Amos Yadlin, "Assassination and Preventive Killing," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs*, Winter-Spring 2005, Vol. 25, No. 1, 41-57.
2. Avishai Margalit and Michael Walzer, "Israel: Civilians & Combatants," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 56, No. 8, May 14, 2009.
3. Michael Walzer, "Emergency Ethics," Joseph A. Reich, Sr. distinguished lecture on war, morality, and the military profession, No. 1, Nov. 21, 1988, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, 6-19.
4. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, eds., *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments* (Nelson-Hall, 1998), 1-26.
5. David A. Welch, "Ethics and Foreign Policy," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2000), 79-88.
6. Corneliu Bjola, "Diplomatic Ethics," in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy,* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016)
7. Brian Barder, "Diplomacy, Ethics and the National Interest: What Are Diplomats For," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 5 (2010), 289-297.
8. Mark Clarence Walker, "Morality, self-interest, and leaders in international affairs," *The Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 138-145.

Nov. 12:   **Undergraduate course assistant circulates draft of the policy paper.**

Nov. 13:   **Leadership and Gender**

1. Nannerl Keohane, "Women, Power & Leadership," *Daedalus*, Winter 2020, Vol. 149, No. 1, (Winter 2020), 236-250.
2. Josie Glausiusz. "Would the World be More Peaceful if There Were More Women Leaders?" https://qz.com/1115269/would-the-world-be-more-peaceful-if-there-were-more-women-leaders/
3. The Council of Foreign Relations. "Women's Power Index." https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index
4. Marie O'Reilly et. al., "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes," *International Peace Institute,* June 2015, 1-42.
5. "Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, "Northern Ireland Women for Peace, 1972-1977," in Jentleson, *The Peacemakers*, 187-196.

Nov. 20:   **Case studies: Saddam Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin**

1. Yael Aronoff, *The Political Psychology of Israeli Prime Ministers: When Hardliners Make Peace* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-18, 173-194.
2. Nimrod Rosler, "Leadership and peacemaking: Yitzhak Rabin and the Oslo Accords," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, (2016), 55-67.
3. "Yitzhak Rabin: Soldier as Peacemaker, 1992-1995" in Jentleson, *The Peacemakers*, 164-186.
4. Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* (London: Brassey's), 176-193 and 267-274.

Nov. 27: **Case study: Nelson Mandela**

1. PBS Frontline, "The Long Walk of Nelson Mandela." https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/
2. "Part Ten: Talking with the Enemy," in Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Little, Brown and Company), 352-386.
3. "Nelson Mandela: Iconic Statesman of Reconciliation," in Jentleson, *The Peacemakers*, 136-163.
4. Betty Glad and Robert Blanton, "F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: A Study in Cooperative Transformational Leadership," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Summer 1997, Vol. 27, No. 3, 565-590.
5. Charles Spinosa, Matthew Hancocks, Haridimos Tsoukas, and Billy Glennon, "Beyond Rational Persuasion: How Leaders Change Moral Norms," *Journal of Business Ethics* (2023), 589–603.

Dec. 4: **(T) Brief U.S. government officials in DC.**

Dec. 15: **Deadline for submitting JPs and Briefing Papers (in Word, not PDF).**