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للتدريب و التطوير

## **Idiosyncratic factors**

### **As a Determent of Behavior of an International Actor**

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**(The Political Discourse of Trump-Putin-Jong Un)**

IR Diploma Thesis

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## Introduction

While *International Relations* are the study of interactions amongst states, *Political Psychology* offers a method to scientifically comprehend and predict the acts of states decision makers. This scientific study of the human being considers all of the subjective and objective factors which affected him.

Trying to know the source of decisions in international relations and how these decisions would be, Political Psychology regards that the acts on the international stage are the deed of actors taken upon the actors' cognition, this is through taking into consideration the sources of cognition differences amongst decision makers due to their subjective factors on a hand, and how their cognition would lead them to perceive gains and losses in their political behavior on another hand.

Political Psychology emerged out of two independent disciplines: *politics* and *psychology*, with each of those two disciplines is based on other different approaches and assumptions. Each approach, theory, or assumption explains the cause-and effect chain according to a certain perspective.

Insofar, Political Psychology is based on a wide range of assumptions and theories which may conflict in their approaches, nevertheless, Political Psychology would regard all subjective and objective factors of cause and effect of decision makers, without neglecting any of those factors, seeking to predict their political actions/reactions.

Simultaneously, direct prominent issues at a certain time in addition to how they were perceived happen together. Some indirect anthropological, personal, cultural factors –amongst other factors- may affect the how a decision maker (perceives, acts, or reacts) in international relations. On the contrary; the political behavior was affected by the salience of an issue at given times.

Though Political Psychology would not neither predict nor explain all political phenomena in international relations, but still it is considered an effective tool to afford assumptions and questions concerning many political phenomena.

### **Thesis hypothesis:**

Analyzing the political discourse of the most prominent international actor's leaders currently (US, Russia, and North Korea) suggests that the current conflict of interests may be extensive, in addition; this conflict may be morphed into other forms (diplomatic and/or military).

### **The aim of the thesis:**

- 1- Attempting to explore the future of interests' conflict diplomatically.
- 2- To expect what this conflict of interests may lead in the near future, especially in terms of military tensions.
- 3- To rise questions concerning the different approaches of *leaders* in their political behaviors, in addition to questions about the cause-and-effect of international phenomena.

### **The structure of the thesis**

The study in its first thesis looks to the origins of politics sciences, then to the psychology, and how they meet to form political psychology.

The second thesis compares the discourse of US, Russia, and North Korea leaders, trying to probe: (1) the characteristics of their discourses (2) the psychological origins of such discourses (3) what their discourses would imply for the future.

The thesis does not apply Structuralism which isolates the phenomena regardless its cognitive factors, on the contrary; it asserts the Constructivist approach towards some phenomena on the international stage.

While *Realism* and *Liberalism* are main theories to approach international relations, *Constructivism* is the theory which reflects how the national decision is affected by decision makers. Constructivism is the approach which conclusions were reached.

## Literary review

David Patrice Hutton in his book "Political Psychology" focused upon the individual psychological characteristics, where he considered them the base of behavior, his approaches, nevertheless, stressed out that human beings behave similarly when they are in similar situations.<sup>1</sup>

This approach is influenced Freudian Psychobiography asserts that individual characteristics of childhood play a significant role in the development of the political character of a leader and in its political behavior,<sup>2</sup> in this approach comes the analysis of Henry Murray of Adolf Hitler during WW II, he considered Hitler's personality as "counteractive narcissism"<sup>3</sup>, and was able to correctly predict the German leader's suicide in the face of his country's defeat".

Psychobiography would tend to explain how leaders would affect their stances towards political issues, like what Alexander George in his book (Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House) explained the adamancy of Woodrow Wilson towards significant issues in The League of Nations as a compensation to the perceived tendency of his father's strict way of upbringing, and as a result of Wilson's lack to rewards and emotions<sup>4</sup>.

Justin Frank in his book (bush on Couch) 2004 considers that George W. Bush political behavior was very much interested by the way his parents were dealing with him, his father was always busy with his political work, while his mother was an authoritarian lady who lacks emotional warmth, thus George W. bush's reactions towards this hard upbringing was interpreted by Justin as "motivated by a child who lacks emotions, and never had enough care"<sup>5</sup>.

In a wider context, social psychologists have additionally emphasized conformity behavior that is motivated by maintaining or building

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<sup>1</sup> هوتون، ديفيد باتريك، (علم النفس السياسي)، المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات، قطر (٢٠١٥) صفحة ١٣٥

<sup>2</sup> Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (1989) p. 268

<sup>3</sup> Murray, Henry. (report: *The Analysis of the Personality of Adolph Hitler*). (1943) PP. 54.55.

<sup>4</sup> Haramoon Center For Contemporary Studies site. <https://haramoon.org/archives/5048> last browsed 24 April 2018

<sup>5</sup> Hutton. pp 103

acceptance and belonging. Following a cognitive modeling approach,<sup>6</sup> this would be clearer by "Individuals are not atomistic actors in political life but are situated within multiple social and political networks that provide information, cues, and opportunities to engage in politics<sup>7</sup>".

Although those studies regarded the correlation of the political behaviors of political leaders with their environments, they did not give probe the interaction between those environments and the Idiosyncratic response distinguished in every person, which will conduct the aspects of environments to process them within each human regarding his uniqueness.

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<sup>6</sup> Schobel, Markus. Rieskamp Jorg. Huber Rafael. (Social Influences in Sequential Decision Making., National Center for Biotechnology Information). A Peer Review, Open Access Journal. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4718651/> (2016). last browsed 24 April 2018.

<sup>7</sup> La Monica Everett-Haynes, Arizona University Communications. USA (2016). <https://sbs.arizona.edu/news/social-class-networks-may-influence-political-behaviors>. Last browsed 24 April 2018.

## I

**A- defining Political Psychology.**

**B- political psychology and the deterrents of policy decision makers**

### **Defining Political Sciences, Psychology, Political Psychology, and Idiosyncratic factors.**

Right for this aim, we have to regard both *Political Sciences, Psychology,* and *political Psychology,* whereas *Political Sciences* are defined as "the sum of sciences which contributes in practicing policy, such as Constitutional Law, International Law, History, Economy, though all such sciences are independent branch by itself from Political Science, nevertheless, this latest overlaps with them entirely, although it differs in its aim and means of applying".<sup>8</sup>

For the sake of the thesis, the author neglected many definitions of politics, as they do not correlate the aim of the thesis in terms of psychology. The definition of *Policy* in this thesis is "the art of reaching the national aims" Political psychology is neither just psychology nor just political science; instead, it is "at the most general level an application of what is known about human psychology to the study of politics".<sup>9</sup>

So, political sciences themselves are not of a single root, rather, they are of a multitude of other factors which by turn have different perspectives which may conflict sometimes. The interpretation of a phenomena according to a theory in International Relations may not be parallel another theory, this is clear when it comes to how International Communism explains the historical events as a "history of conflicts among strata"<sup>10</sup> while the Realists explain the historical events in a "philosophical position about how the struggle for power among rival groups is a

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<sup>8</sup> يازجي، أمل . (مبادئ العلوم السياسية). الأكاديمية السورية الدولية. سورية. (٢٠١٧) صفحة ١

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. P4

<sup>10</sup> Marx, Carl. Angels Fredrick. bourgeoisie and proletarians. (*the communist manifesto*) 1848.

“fundamental condition for human existence,” realist thinking about foreign policy spans 2,500 years.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, *Psychology* is " the science of the mind, except for the fact that there still are a number of psychologists who think of it as the science of behavior and argue that 'the mind' is not a helpful scientific construct. So, you can call it the science of behavior and mental processes, but that glosses over the basic philosophical problems that initially pitted behaviorism against mentalism. It currently deals primarily with human behavior.<sup>12</sup>

*Political Psychology* is " neither just psychology nor just political science; instead, it is “at the most general level an application of what is known about human psychology to the study of politics”<sup>13</sup>. It could be defined as "the field of political psychology is concerned with explaining political phenomena from a psychological perspective".<sup>14</sup>

This refers that political psychology is not an independent text, rather, it is -like politics- a combination of two different principles of knowledge.

Finally, *Idiosyncrasy* is “The assertion that the idiosyncratic traits of politicians -- their beliefs, preferences, personality and prejudices”<sup>15</sup>.

Right for the aim of giving a wider context for decision makers’ cognition and interactions, *Political Psychology* will refer to the Idiosyncratic factors in the following text.

#### Political Psychology limits and fields.

Despite the wideness and diversity of epistemological roots of Political Sciences and the different theories of Psychology, Political Psychology cannot interpret all phenomena taking place in the international arena, for instance: it would not explain the Syrian refuge movement towards

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<sup>11</sup> Gilpin, Robert. *security studies*, Vol 5. USA. 1996 pp.5

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/theory-knowledge/201112/psychology-defined>

<sup>13</sup> An Introduction to Political Psychology for International Relations Scholars. Elif ERİŞEN.

<sup>14</sup> . Jon A. Krosnick, Tobias H. Stark, and I-Chant A. Chiang .The Two Core Goals of Political Psychology

<sup>15</sup> [http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/3/6/1/6/1/p361613\\_index.html](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/6/1/6/1/p361613_index.html)

Europe after the Syrian crisis in 2011, nor it can scrutinize the different motives of Kyoto Agreement parties.

In other cases, the Political psychology can partially explain some phenomena decision do on the world stage; some argue that George W. Bush insisted that Iraq should be a culprit in 9/11 as he thought Saddam Husain wanted to kill his father<sup>16</sup>, partially also is the reason why George Bush invaded Iraq in 1991: some argue that he wanted to erase the image of the "Skippy" about him, driving him not only to slam the jokes during his electoral campaign, but made him "rush violently against his challengers"<sup>17</sup>. This point leads us to scrutinize the deterrents of decision makers in terms of perception. Our next sub-topic discusses the epistemological deterrents within the frame of foreign policy.

### **political psychology and the deterrents of policy decision makers**

To give a general view of this subject, decision making in international relations depends on objective deterrents like: the structure of the international system and the power of other states, but that does not mean that other objective deterrents may not interfere partially in some cases as we will see.

Amongst many definitions of policy, the following definition will be taken for the sake conforming the text, thus policy within this text is defined as "the art of reaching the national aims".

The "art" in this definition may be attributed to human subjectivity in general, but before we go ahead, we need to locate *subjectivity* within a wider theoretical context of psychological theories. Three theories – amongst other theories- discussed the relationship between the human environment and subjective perception, those approaches taken for this study are Behaviorism, Constructivism, and Cognitivism:

A- *Behaviorism* sees that "learning equates learning with changes in either the form or frequency of observable performance. Learning

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<sup>16</sup> <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/09/27/bush.war.talk/> last browsed 1<sup>st</sup> April 2018.

<sup>17</sup> كيغلي، تشارلز. غريغوري ريموند. سورية. الأكاديمية السورية الدولية (٢٠١٧).

is accomplished when a proper response is demonstrated following the presentation of a specific environmental stimulus”<sup>18</sup>.

B- while *Constructivism* focuses on “The philosophical assumptions underlying both the behavioral and cognitive theories are primarily objectivistic; that is: the world is real, external to the learner. where no inputs would result the same outputs in two (or more) human, times, cultures, circumstances”<sup>19</sup>.

C- As for *Cognitivism*, it considers “learning theory began to make a shift away from the use of behavioral models to an approach that relied on learning theories and models from the cognitive sciences”.<sup>20</sup>

To sum up, here is a brief comparison between the three theories of how the human being acquire knowledge:

	<b>Behaviorism</b>	<b>Constructivism</b>	<b>Cognitivism</b>
<b>Learning</b>	Frequency-acquired	Objective	Different methods than both
<b>Stimulus</b>	Environmental	Personal	Environmental

We will focus in this thesis on the Cognitivism theory as it combines both Behaviorism and Constructivism. Decision makers can be regarded as influenced by their direct environment (the state) or the wider environment (international system) according to the Cognitivist theory approach.

In Realism rhetoric, states in their interactions consider the international relations a zero-sum game (due to history as frequency in the international system, which is *here* the environment) when it comes to rational thinking. Even if that might lead to arm race in some instances.

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<sup>18</sup> P.A. Ertmer and T.J. Newby. Behaviorism, Cognitivism, Constructivism: Comparing Critical Features from an Instructional Design Perspective” Performance Improvement Quarterly, USA. 1993, pp. 50.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid p.54

<sup>20</sup> Ibid pp.50

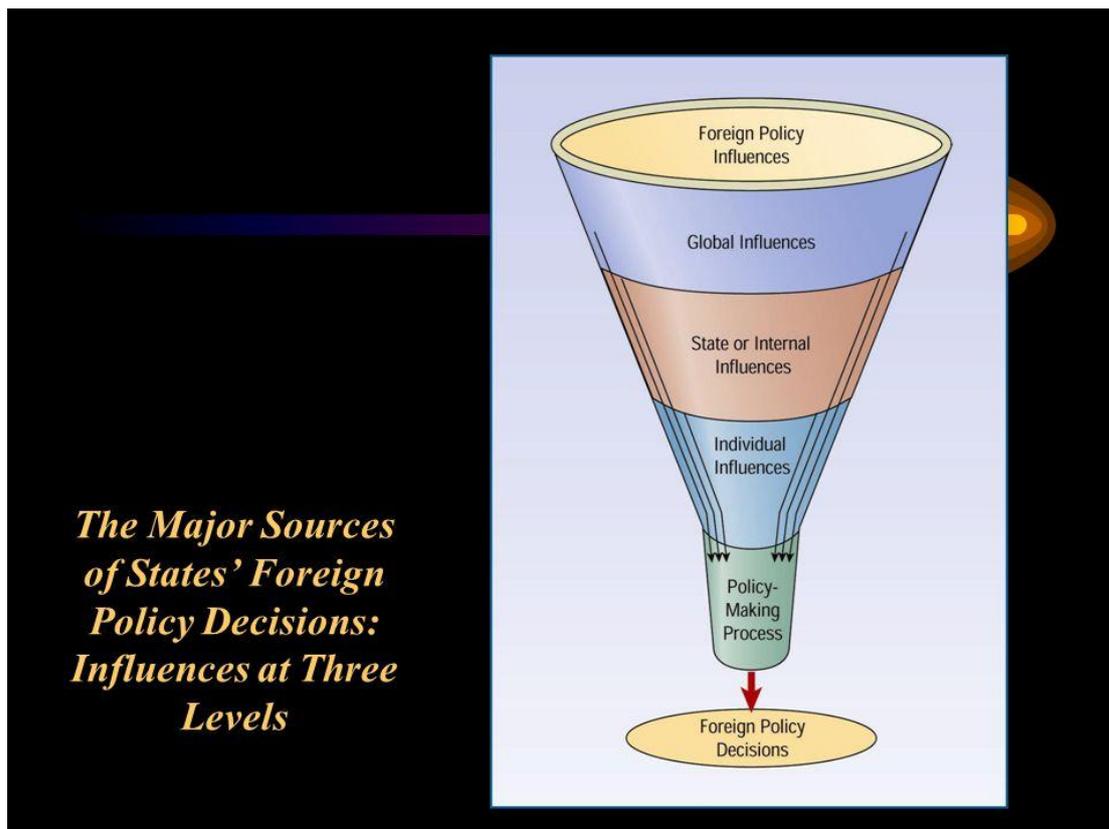


Figure 1: Major Sources of States' Foreign Policy Decisions: influences in three levels. (imager from slide player site: www.slideplayer.com)

From another point of view, the above said psychological theories is probably what moves the individual factor in major sources of states' foreign policy decisions with its 3 levels, it sometimes rises up accordingly due to the international system/environment.

#### Determents mapping.

This may explain –as an example- the declaration of Vladimir Putin in 18 December 2014 that ““There's an attempt to disguise the current world order that has taken shape over the past few decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a world order that is headed by one undisputed leader who wants to remain such,”<sup>21</sup>.

Were those words a reflection of Putin’s cognitive perception where the environment (the international order) was understood as a threat against

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.presstv.com/Detail/2015/02/07/396584/Russia-opposes-unipolar-world-order.;ast> browsed 1 April 2018.

Russia as the “game” is zero sum? In other words: was the deterrent of Putin’s cognitions what he regards as foreign threat?

A clearer translation of reaction towards perceived foreign threats is what Kim Jong Un said "If U.S. still refuses to accept such a realistic demand and doggedly pursue hostile policy against North Korea in order to save face, she will receive unexpected 'gift packages' which we will continue to send"<sup>22</sup>.

The question Political Psychology would ask: is the only deterrent behind those two declarations is foreign considerations, or is it because Putin has a different cognition than the former Russian Boris Yeltsin? In what terms is Putin different so that he challenged the leader of the international system, while Yeltsin did not do the same?

Generally, there is no clear and accurate research which define the characteristics politicians to work in politics, but we can say that there are general characteristics of politicians: they don't fear the other's opinion, they can bear the intellectual and material hardships some circumstances pose on them, they don't retreat before failure, they are of high aspirations which lead to search for authority, and some of them become paranoid.<sup>23</sup>

If we may say that these general characteristics are “individual deterrents” where can we locate the individual factors in the process of foreign policy decision making?

The individual factor is located at the bottom of the factors of decision making, but what is the source of global influences? Can we bridge global influences to the cognitive perceptions to the decision makers?

If such bridge was possible, how does the individual factor interact with International Relations? is it the effect of those international relations, or is it that the international relations are the result of the way decision makers are thinking?

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/08/03/north-korea-threatens-us-with-more-unexpected-gift-packages-after-missile-test.html>. Last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>23</sup> يازجي. ٢٤

Until now, it looks like a loop where any *action* is perceived according to a cognitive individual perspective, causing a *reaction* by turn, to make this clearer, we will map the determents into two categories:

History, interests, personal experiences, and the political culture within a state are subjective environments of political perceptions.

History of international reactions, state foreign policy records, the international system are objective environments of political calculations.

### Conclusions of part I:

- 1- Political psychology is not an independent principle of study, inasmuch it depends on the background of political sciences on a hand, and the outcomes of psychology on another hand.
  - 2- Political psychology can explain some phenomena, actions, reactions, and decisions in some cases, with less rate in democracies and more rate in autocracies.
  - 3- National and individual factors are affecting the decision makers' calculations/reactions and vise a versa: the interaction of actors is affecting the decision makers' calculations and actions/reactions.
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## II A

- 1- **Subjective factors roles in decision making process.**
- 2- **Cognitive determents of decision makers regarding (the ideology, religion, and the perceived concepts).**
- 3- **Constructivist/Cognitive approach.**

### Subjective factors roles in decision making process.

Each state has its cultural characteristics which evolved its national identity and political awareness, right in this approach, we tend to clarify some dominant cultural aspects which are related to the psychological background of the decision makers, namely: ideology, religion, and the perceived concept of a certain issue.

Some states for this aim can be described as ideological states, like former USSR (communist) others are described as religiously-based like Iran (Islamic) and Israel (Jewish) while other states are less described in such a religious manner, rather; they are more described according to their political doctrine like the US (liberal) and the UK (democratic).

But a closer look would show that the US is generally ruled by a Protestant president, while in perception, the Turkish then prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan asks "Is Europe a home for an alliance of civilizations or is it a Christian club? If the former is true, then Turkey should be part of it".<sup>24</sup> This statement led Turkey to halt its efforts to join the European Union.

Do those characteristics play a role in shaping the decision the decision maker makes? And to what extent? Is that permanent or does it happen from time to time?

As we are not describing the concepts in an abstract way, we will have a look on the decision makers from the religious or political point of view, with *leaders* as the main decision makers, taking into account the Constructivist approach for International Relations.

We need a theory that parallels the Cognitive perspective regarding the subjective perception, for the sake of framing international relations within a theory which has to do with cognitive perspective. For this end the author selected the Constructive theory approach.

According to Constructivists " [a Constructivist has] his own knowledge of the world based on individual experiences"<sup>25</sup> where the outputs are unpredictable, nevertheless; Constructivism takes "a different stance from the other positive theories in basic concepts like International Relations (the national interest, the identity, and national security). Constructivists refuse to accept such concepts as they are given...they

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<sup>24</sup> SPIEGEL Interview with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 14 July 2007, last browsed 1 April 2018. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/spiegel-interview-with-turkish-prime-minister-recep-tayyip-erdogan-if-the-eu-doesn-t-want-us-they-should-say-it-now-a-477448.html>

<sup>25</sup> Peak Performance Center Online: [www.thepeakperformancecenter.com](http://www.thepeakperformancecenter.com). Last browsed 1 April 2018

focus on the epistemological and subjective factors which are resulted from the interactions of [states and NGOs] in their relations”<sup>26</sup>.

Right on this regard, leaders seem to be affected by the dominant aspect in their culture on a hand, and –to some extent- to their subjective of epistemological factors on another hand.

leaders sometimes were the labels of national policies: Charles de Gaulle : of the 5<sup>th</sup> French Republic<sup>27</sup> , Joseph Stalin who has been seen as the founder of *Stalinism* as "the method of rule, or policies, of Joseph Stalin, Soviet Communist Party and state leader from 1929 until his death in 1953. Stalinism is associated with a regime of terror and totalitarian rule"<sup>28</sup>, Jamal Abdel Nasser with his Pan-Arabic tendency, and Deng Xiaoping who abandoned many orthodox communist doctrines and attempted to incorporate elements of the free-enterprise system and other reforms into the Chinese economy"<sup>29</sup> .

depending on Constructivism and Cognitivism we can state that the decision maker is not separated from his culture, where he either resembles the perceived culture to them (like Vladimir Putin, who resembles the significance of Russia in the international relations, after Russia was absent from the international theater for about two decades) or contradicts the dominant culture (Vladimir Lenin, who ended the cesarean rule of Romanov monarchy).

Leaders may apply their beliefs (religious or political) on the international relations sometimes. The political background was clear in the " Comintern, Though its stated purpose was the promotion of world revolution... it functioned chiefly as an organ of Soviet control over the

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<sup>26</sup> Al-Masri,Khaled. Constructivism in international relations. Damascus University of economic and legal studies, Vol1. Pp5

<sup>27</sup> Encyclopeda Britannica site, last browsed 1 April 2018 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Fifth-Republic-French-history>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Stalinism> last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Deng-Xiaoping> last browsed 1 April 2018.

international communist movement"<sup>30</sup>. This tendency had a climax during the Nuclear Missiles Crisis after Cuba became communist.

On another side, the Iranian revolution ١٩٧٩ asserted that it is "not Eastern nor Western"<sup>31</sup> but despite that, the leaders of the revolution asked to support the Islamic Issues.<sup>32</sup>

Both Communist International of USSR and Islamic revolution in Iran had intellectual basis depended on ideological (USSR) and religious legacy(Iran). On the other hand, we can see that liberal states (like France and the UK) have better ties with each other more than they have with other states where liberalism is not the main base of political system, in addition: democracies don't wage wars on each other.

Whether the state has an ideological or been based upon religious doctrine, or whether the states were ruled by decision makers who shift their states' policies into a new direction or not, there is a kind of interaction takes place within the state, where the ideological/religious/individual factors may accord with the state's policy in some cases, while such factors don't match the state's policy in other instances.

Of those instances, Perviz Musharraf wrote in his memoires that "ordered the intelligence to work against the extremist groups inside Pakistan, the matter which caused the religious lobby in Pakistan be angry" <sup>33</sup> .

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Third-International> last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>21</sup> [www.arefa.org](http://www.arefa.org)

<https://www.marefa.org/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A5%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86> last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>٢١</sup> موقع المقاومة الإسلامية في لبنان. [www.mogama.org](http://www.mogama.org). last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper online:

<http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=9896&article=384932#.WtxbQtRuYdU>. last browsed 1 April 2018

### Cognitive deterrents of decision makers regarding (the ideology, religion, and the perceived concepts).

But the interaction between the deterrents of leaders' political behavior and their psychological factors is a dispute. A clear example is how Liberalism and Realism consider the human being. Despite liberalism assumes that the human being is of a good and altruistic nature in its core because people are able to cooperate and help each other" <sup>34</sup> and he has a cooperative nature, while the Realists would argue that "history shows us that people are sinful and evil by nature"<sup>35</sup>

Up to this point: the events on the international arena wouldn't have happened without the decisions of the decision makers with leaders on top of them. Every deed has doer. But *leaders* –as we assume in our constructivist approach- are not isolated from their cultural surrounding which affects their political behavior.

While it is difficult to estimate the real motivation of leader's political behavior, we can notice that the subjective factors and the cultural factors were prominent in some historical events in international relations, in other words: the security dilemma (Realism approach) can be seen as the *perception* of leaders caused by subjective factors (Constructivist approach)

Still the question: as every deed happens for a reason perceived according to what the decision makers believe to be the best, is there a general definition for "the best"? what if "the best" for state A was the worst for state B?

Are the interests the same everywhere? They might be sometimes, as regional coalitions and unions, BRICS is an example. But back to Realism; the increase of the power of any actor will be considered as a potential danger to the other actors, leading the other actors to increase their power the matter which leads by turn to Security Dilemma with its newly appearing issues added to the international and/or regional setting.

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كيف تصنع الأمم السلام. الصفحة ٣٤٤

<sup>35</sup> Ibid pp 43.

The Nuclear arm race between India and Pakistan can be an example, after India staged 5 nuclear experiments 1998 Pakistan made its own bomb soon, creating a balance of Power in the region. Would Pakistan create a nuclear bomb if India hasn't? the answer is opened, but most likely India would create its own nuclear bomb if Pakistan made its own.

The nuclear race between India and Pakistan is just an example how an international actor would be affected if a new issue appears on the surface. In this study, we focus on the conflicting interests trying to know the reason behind the decision makers' perception to one another.

On the diplomatic side, the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel 1978 caused a severance of relationship with Egypt of the international system could practice more pressure on some Arabian states of its allies?

Whether in the Pakistani-Indian arm race, or in the shift towards more relations with Israel, the behavior of the decision maker had affected by the international circumstances, but:

- Why didn't the decision makers in both India and Pakistan develop more ties instead of entering an arm race?
- On the contrary, why did some Arab states developed their relationships with Israel instead of continuing the Tree Nos of Jamal Abdul Nasser? What were the new ideas which changed the Three Nos of Jamal Abdul Nasser? And how those ideas were accepted?

Can a new rising issue divert the way decision makers think? Or is it that some doctrines are intrinsic and can never be altered? This will be our next thesis.

### **Constructive/Cognitive approach.**

If we were to consider the international relations as an interaction between the foreign policy influences and how the decision maker is considering them, we may inquire:

- 1- What would –psychologically speaking within this text- make an issue become appear as salience?
- 2- How such issues are perceived by decision makers?

The Turkish army is launching "olive Branch" operation in Syria against PKK Kurdish militia. If –as an assumption- consider that the Syrian Kurds wanted to seize the opportunity of turmoil in Syria to establish their “state” known as Rojava, siding the American interests in combating the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS) thus the Turkish operation in the Syrian north will seem like a *cause* or *an action*. But if we consider that the Kurds were amongst fighting sides within the Syrian crisis, with each side having its own affiliation (political or religious) and that the Kurds must side the actor who guarantees their interests and intentions based on their perception of themselves, thus siding the American troops would be a *result* or a *reaction*.

The same two-ways conclusion can be true for the American actor: achieving its interests in combating ISIS *causes* the alliance with the Kurdish militia. While fostering Kurds to confront a newly emerging reality in Syria (the Iranian and Russian geopolitical expansion) makes this fostering *an effect*.

On both views, the resentment of the Turkish president Recep Taiyyb Erdogan was clear against the American leverage in Syria now: The Kurdish militias. That was clear when Erdogan said addressing the American administration "how can we trust you"?<sup>36</sup> . at the same time, the Turkish government is now having better ties with Russia after Turkey once dropped a Russian aircraft down.

And so, The Turkish-Russian ties are in front of three estimations:

- 1- Either regarded as balancing the American leverage in Syria after Russia did not object waging a Turkish operation on the Kurds to protect Turkey’s national security, or:
- 2- Can be regarded as a parallel approach to the relatively good relations the US has now with Russia the US has at the reign of Donald Trump. (as the proverb puts it: the friend of my friend is a friend of mine)

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<sup>36</sup> <https://arabic.rt.com/press/810627-> last browsed 1 April 2018/

If the second possibility was considered by the Turkish president, he would not see a need to wage a military operation against (the friend of a friend).

It appears that the Turkish-Russian approach was Turkish president calculations that the leverage (Kurdish militia) of the friend (US) in Syria can never make a friend.

This opinion shows that the salience of an issue can be regarded on subjective consecrations, which have to do with how a leader is affected by the way he thinks (subjective factor) and a newly-fledged issue.

### **Second part conclusions.**

The deterrents of decision makers' political behavior, their perceptions to the acts of other actors, and the way they interpret the new issues are deterrent –directly or indirectly- to their ideological and religious backgrounds in some cases.

## **B**

- 1- Applying the background of the decision maker comparatively on the 3 leaders of USA, Russia, and North Korea.**
- 2- Similarities of the three leader discourses.**
- 3- Conclusions.**

### **applying the background of the decision maker comparatively on the 3 leaders of USA, Russia, and North Korea.**

The comparative approach can show how the contrast backgrounds of the leaders of USA, Russia, and North Korea led their decision makers (leaders basically) to:

- 1- Have different perception for the same issue.
- 2- Have similar language of threatening.
- 3- Despite cognitive differences, the language of threatening was the same.

To start, here are brief backgrounds of the aforesaid leaders:

### **1- Vladimir Putin:**

About his social affiliation, he said: "I come from an ordinary family, and this is how I lived for a long time, nearly my whole life. I lived as an average, normal person and I have always maintained that connection,"<sup>3738</sup>

His father, Vladimir Putin, participated in the war. In the 1950s, he worked as a security guard and later as a foreman at the carriage works.<sup>39</sup>

Putin studied at KGB School No. 1 in Moscow.

Experienced life in USSR communist pattern of rule.

Orthodox religious roots.<sup>40</sup>

### **2- Donald Trump:**

Trump was also a real-estate developer who amassed vast hotel, casino, golf, and other properties in the New York City area and around the world.<sup>41</sup>

Donald Trump is son of a wealthy apartment-building developer in New York's Queens borough.<sup>42</sup>

Trump graduated from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance in 1968.<sup>43</sup>

Experienced life under US liberal style.

Lutheran religious roots. His daughter Ivanka was married to Jared Kushner (a Jew)

### **3- Kim Jong Un**

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<sup>37</sup>Kremlin website: <http://eng.putin.kremlin.ru/bio> last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.newsweek.com/russia-vladimir-putin-religion-dives-icy-waters-cleanse-his-soul-785258>

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump>

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Un succeeded his father, Kim Jong Il, as leader of North Korea.<sup>44</sup> Reportedly educated in Gümligen, Switzerland, at the International School of Berne, he went on to study at Kim Il-Sung National War College in P'yöngyang from 2002 to 2007.

Experienced life in North Korea communist pattern ruled by his father (and grandfather).

Religious affiliation is not considered as a communist.

To make it clearer, here is a table of comparison between the 3 leaders:

	<b>Donald Trump</b>	<b>Vladimir Putin</b>	<b>Kim Jong Un</b>
<b>Social aspect</b>	Capital	Ordinary	Ruling class
<b>Study</b>	KGB*	Finance	Unrevealed*
<b>Religion</b>	Christian Lutheran	Christian Orthodox	unknown

\*no further information was known about the type of such studies.

Politically speaking, as the political environment of each leader is different than the other (albeit Putin experienced communism, the current political doctrine of North Korea), the same is true about their fields of study. In terms of religious doctrine, Putin and Trump have something in common (although we will not search the differences between both sects) the matter which is not found for Un.

On another point of view, it may be a common factor that the Russian and Korean leaders are following the Realpolitik perspective of increasing the military power of their countries, while Donald Trump reaffirmed that the support for the United States' longstanding security alliances around the world but insisted that friends and partners from Europe to the Middle East to the Pacific must "pay their fair share of the cost."<sup>45</sup> . this declares that Realpolitik might not be a basic doctrine for Trump, as he later said he is thinking about withdrawing U.S. troops from war-torn Syria,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Kim-Jong-Eun>

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-alliances/trump-recommits-to-u-s-allies-but-says-they-must-pay-fair-share-idUSKBN16834J>

signaling an early exit to the U.S.-led fight against ISIS. <sup>46</sup> despite the security officials in his administration tried to persuade him the otherwise.<sup>47</sup>

It is noted that the religious factor was not a deterrent of their political behavior, as their religious doctrine was absent from their discourses.

### **Similarities of the three leader discourse**

but why discourses were a mean to approach the aforesaid leaders' way of thinking in some issues in international relations?

the Language policy is an issue of considerable ethical, political, and legal importance in jurisdictions around the world<sup>48</sup> .Coming from 3 different backgrounds, Us, Russia, and North Korea leaders should have different discourses which resemble such differences, but comparing their discourses had proven the otherwise. The three leaders political discourse towards some issues in international relations was almost the same despite they belong to different subjective factors within their states:

Here are some of their statements resembling examples of their political discourses, put in the contexts of how they used: accusations and threatening.

Accusations.

Kim Jong UN:

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<sup>46</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/03/trump-wants-to-get-out-of-syria-but-military-advisors-say-isis-isnt-defeated-yet.html>

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Patten, Alan (*POLITICAL THEORY AND LANGUAGE POLICY*) (2015) McGill University, pp1

- US and Japan of bringing “the raging wind of war” to the peninsula.<sup>49</sup>

Donald Trump:

- The North Korean regime is corrupted and evil.<sup>50</sup>
- [Jong UN] is the little rocket man.<sup>51</sup>

No accusations are between Un to Putin or vice a versa, Putin and Trump and vice a versa.

Threatening statements:

Kim Jong Un:

- I will make the man who occupies the highest post in the United States of America dearly pay for his speech which called to fully destroy Democratic People's Republic of Korea.<sup>52</sup>

Donald Trump:

- [North Korea] will be entirely destroyed if it attacks the US or its allies.<sup>53</sup>
- [Jong UN] is heading towards a suicide mission for him and his regime.<sup>54</sup>
- [North Korea ] is looking for trouble.<sup>55</sup>
- 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!”<sup>56</sup>
- Our relationship with Russia is worse now than it has ever been, and that includes the Cold War.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/north-korea-us-japan-war-trump-raging-wind-nuclear-maritime-blockade-latest-a8227341.html> last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2017/9/24>

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.france24.com/ar/20170922-%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%85>. last browsed 1 April 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup> Twitter @RealDonaldTrump. last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. last browsed 22 April 2018.

Vladimir Putin:

- Russia is developing an "invincible" new missile<sup>58</sup>

This statement was not directed for a state, nevertheless, this statement came in his fourth presidential term, ahead of an election he is expected to win in 17 days' time.<sup>59</sup> But American press discussed this statement perceiving it as a threat to the United states.

We can see that accusations and threatening were in a higher rate between the Donald Trump and Kim Jong Un, while Vladimir Putin had -relatively- a softer discourse when he said in the annual state of the nation address in Manezh in Moscow, Russia, Thursday, March 1, 2018. "Russia had long warned Washington not to go ahead with anti-missile systems that Moscow feared could erode its nuclear deterrent. "Nobody listened to us. Listen now,"<sup>60</sup>, while Donald Trump was less hard in his discourse towards Russia when he accused Russia of helping North Korea evade international sanctions.<sup>61</sup>

By looking at the past discourses, we can find that confrontation rhetoric was the common aspect in the leaders discourses to one another. While it accusations and threatening were in Trump and Un discourses to one another are reflecting tensions they have in their relations, other accusations and indirect threatening messages were between Trump and Putin despite their coordination militarily in Syria, the note that rises five questions:

- 1- Does Trump still consider Putin as a president of a "hostile country" in spite their military coordination in Syria?
- 2- Does Putin consider that the US political culture still believe that Russia is an enemy?

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<sup>58</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/03/01/putin-announces-new-russian-missile-lon-orig-sje.cnn>. Last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43239331>. Last browsed last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>60</sup> <http://nationalpost.com/news/world/nobody-listened-to-us-listen-now-putin-warns-the-u-s-with-nuclear-weapons-display>. Last browsed 22 April 2018.

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/01/26/trump-accused-russia-of-helping-north-korea-putin-would-have-his-reasons.html>. last browsed 22 April 2018.

- 3- Regarding the second question: why did Russia sided North Korea and did not mediate to solve the tension between the US and North Korea?
- 4- Would the American-Korean summit expected in late May and early June end up with similar relation to the US-Russian relation, which experiences diplomatic tensions sporadically despite the military cooperation in Syria, or is it going to be better in a sense?
- 5- Stalin was the spirit of joint work<sup>62</sup> according to James Byrne head of general military mobilization in Roosevelt administration, but the US-USSR relations deteriorated when the Allies established a central government in West Germany. Can we say that the same is going to happen between US and Russia regarding the spheres of influence in the Middle East?

Which theory is going to answer those questions? Realism would indicate that intentions are uncertain; Liberalism would suggest that tensions can be solved through cooperation, but until the truth will be revealed during the next period, Political Psychology along with cognitive and Constructivist theory do not represent significant changes in the political culture of each of the above said countries so far.

### Conclusions of part II

- As the political culture of USA, Russia, and North Korea had no signs of significant change nationally wise, and since the political leaders of those countries are considered affected by their country's political culture, the political discourse for all of those leaders can be regarded as a clue on the continuation of their cognitive views towards each other, the views which has been characterized of uncertainty of other actors' intentions, this might lead to form new military alliances East and West of the globe - each in a sphere.
- Cooperation in solving any issue might not take place, rather, the arms race and power balance may be the character of international

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<sup>62</sup> Kegly, Raymond p. 296

relations during the next period. Threatening and political/diplomatic pressure can be a result of that.

### Questions regarding the thesis hypotheses.

- Is (the clash of civilizations) inevitable while each civilization still produce leaders affected with their civilizations which vary in their cognitive perspectives outcomes?
- would threatening and accusations statements be common factors between other culturally-different countries?
- Do USA, Russia, and North Korea leaders have different –or conflicting- cognition to *peace*? Can they exert their best efforts to unify their views, or are they governed by their national political cultures?

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