



Political Science UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Dealing with Dictators, POL466 H1F

University of Toronto

Tuesdays, September 3- November 26, 2024

9:00 to 11:00 AM

Dr. Madison Schramm

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, In-person, 11:30 to 1:30 PM

Sign up:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1z7BQZlzNEKteFU9nuv_R7RUw7ce2kZo7N4q88bWJg1w/edit?usp=sharing

Course Description

For years, policymakers in states like the US and the UK have described a world divided between democracies and autocracies. These political discussions, however, are rarely accompanied by a rigorous understanding of regime type or capture the variegated history between democracies and autocracies. This course will focus on examining American, Canadian, and British foreign policy toward autocratic regimes (both friends and foes) since World War II. We will explore different conceptualizations of regime type(s), and investigate how institutional, ideological, and political dynamics within and between different regimes affect relations and policy. The seminar will be focused on security and defense, and course readings and assignments will emphasize how these dynamics operate in cases where policies ranged from foreign-imposed regime change, sanctions, and war to patronage and security cooperation.

Learning Objectives

- * Introduce students to different definitions and conceptualizations of regime type
- * Develop students' ability to think critically about the different variables affecting democracies' foreign policies toward autocratic regimes
- * Develop students' ability to assess regimes' leadership, and institutional and ideological structures and the implications for foreign policy making
- * Discern and explain patterns both in foreign policies toward particular states and patterns in relations between democracies and autocracies

STATEMENT ON ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TRADITIONAL LAND

This course takes place on land that has been in relation with Indigenous people and societies since time immemorial. The Elders Circle of the University of Toronto has provided the following statement on acknowledgement of traditional land: We would like to acknowledge this

sacred land on which the University of Toronto operates. It has been a site of human activity for 15,000 years. This land is the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The territory was the subject of the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and Confederacy of the Ojibwe and allied nations to peaceably share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. Today, the meeting place of Toronto is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work in the community, on this territory.

Revised by the Elders Circle (Council of Aboriginal Initiatives) on November 6, 2014. Available at: <https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/fnh>

Requirements

Attendance and Participation (15 %)

Attendance and active participation in all classes is required. If absence is due to illness or emergency, students can make up participation (up to two class classes) throughout the term. To request this, please fill out the form below:

https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbL_CsxIr96OKGWvdnNUN1hPNVBZSEVRWkU3MEpLRTVYMjVKSINRQj4u

Readings

Students must complete all *required* readings before the lecture. All required readings will be available to students on Quercus.

Reading Midterm 15%, Posted Monday, October 14, Due Oct 15 9 AM

Students must complete the reading midterm (posted Dates) via Quercus. The midterm is open-book and should take no more than twenty-five minutes. Students must take the exam independently and not allowed to work together. Students are responsible for tracking deadlines, requirements, and confirming submission of assignments.

Intel Briefings (2): 30% each, Due Monday, November 4 and November 25 by 9 AM

Students will write two brief intelligence memos to Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Melanie Joly applying lessons from the course to analyze a contemporary foreign policy toward an autocratic state. Detailed instructions are forthcoming. Students are responsible for tracking deadlines, requirements, and confirming submission of assignments.

(Plagiarism or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. See full statement below)

Dictatorship Case 5%, Monday, October 7 9 AM

Each student will sign up to study an represent an individual autocratic regime (sign up posted under announcements on Quercus). Students will independently study each regime, particularly with regard to its current leadership, history since World War II, institutional structures, political dynamics, geography, and foreign policy. Students will be responsible for submitting a one-

paper on relevant detail available to the class on Monday October 16. Students will also be expected to discuss the applicability of readings and theories to their case in class.

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/Intmym2ibr5sVYdbJ_BuumyVM_Fzkz7HxvUxi77fVgu8/edit?usp=sharing

Reading Presentation 5% (ongoing starting Sept 24)

Students will do an oral presentation (5-6 minutes) on one of the book chapters/articles assigned in the course. The presentation should include a summary of the articles/ book chapter, including the author's research question, theory, empirics, findings, and offer three discussion questions of their own to the class. Students will also be required to turn in a response to the reading via Quercus the night before their presentation. A sign-up sheet will be circulated. Slides are optional.

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/Intmym2ibr5sVYdbJ_BuumyVM_Fzkz7HxvUxi77fVgu8/edit?usp=sharing

Late Assignments

Students are responsible for tracking deadlines and requirements. Late work (without a granted extension) will be reduced by 5 percentage points for every day late. Students must request extensions at least 24 hours before assignments are due and will only be granted extensions with documentation and under extenuating circumstances. Other coursework and other foreseen circumstances are not grounds for an extension.

Students requesting an extension after the deadline are required to have their registrar contact their TA and confirm the need. Students will not be granted an extension requested more than one week after the deadline under any circumstances. To request an extension, fill out the below form in its entirety:

https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbL_CsxIr96OKGWvdnNUN1hPNVBZSEVRWkU3MEpLRTVYMjVKSINRQi4u

Appeals and Re-Grading Policy

The first thing to do is to wait. I will not discuss your assignment for at least 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you. You may ask for a re-grade of your paper, but be aware, that this does not guarantee your mark will be raised. It could go up, down, or remain the same. To request a re-grade after 48 hours, fill out the below form in its entirety:

https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbL_CsxIr96OKGWvdnNUN1hPNVBZSEVRWkU3MEpLRTVYMjVKSINRQi4u

Grading

Requirement	Grade	Due Date	Submitted through
Attendance and participation	15%	Throughout semester	n/a
Reading Midterm	15%	Posted Mon Oct 14, Due Oct 15 9:00 AM	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 1	30%	Monday November 4 by 9 AM	Via Quercus
Intelligence Brief 2	30%	Monday November 25 by 9 AM	Via Quercus

Reading presentation	5%	Ongoing	In-person/via Quercus
Dictator Presentation	5%	Monday, October 7 by 9 AM	In-person/ via Quercus

Course Policies and Procedures: This course will use Quercus to disseminate all course-related information and assignments. It is your responsibility to log on to Quercus regularly and obtain relevant information. All written assignments must be submitted through Quercus

Communication Information

You are responsible for checking Quercus and your UofT e-mail regularly. When corresponding by e-mail, please put “Dealing with Dictators ” at the beginning of the subject line, followed by the subject of your e-mail (for example: “Dealing with Dictators : Question about intel memo”). I will not respond to emails over the weekend or after 5PM during weekdays. Unless an emergency, responses will take 48-72 hours.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability or health consideration that may require accommodations, please contact Accessibility Services at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca
<http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us>

If you are registered with Accessibility Services please submit your documentation to me via the <https://forms.office.com/Pages/ResponsePage.aspx?id=JsKqeAMvTUuQN7RtVsVSEP67XbbLCSxIr96OKGWvdnNUN1hPNVBZSEVRWkU3MEpLRTVYMjVKSINRQi4u>

Academic Integrity

Please refer to the Seven **Grandfathers of Academic Integrity:**

https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/wpcontent/uploads/Seven_Grandfathers_in_Academic_Integrity.pdf
 The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. Academic integrity is a fundamental value of learning and scholarship at the UofT. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that your UofT degree is valued and respected as a true signifier of your individual academic achievement.

Use of Artificial Intelligence (ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself.)

The use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools is strictly prohibited in all course assessments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor. This includes, but is not limited to, ChatGPT, GitHub Copilot, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself. You may not interact with, nor copy, paraphrase, or adapt any content from any generative AI for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. Use of generative AI will be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a form of academic misconduct under the Code of Behavior on Academic Matters.

This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to ensure that our evaluations are a fair and accurate assessment of your learning. You should aim to understand course content at a level that far exceeds what an automated tool can achieve. Our course—and in particular, each assignment—is designed to help you attain true mastery of the course content.

The University of Toronto’s Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters

(<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic misconduct, the processes for addressing academic offences, and the penalties that may be imposed. You are expected to be familiar with the contents of this document. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information from me or other available campus resources: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University’s plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool’s reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>). You may opt out of this tool by contacting the instructor as early as possible in the semester to make alternative arrangements. Writing Centres: <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/> Academic Success: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/asc> How not to Plagiarize: <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize/> RESOURCES Writing

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University’s plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool’s reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Support

Students can visit www.writing.utoronto.ca for information and advice on all aspects of academic writing. Students are encouraged to make use of the college writing centers for individualized consultations on their written assignments. Interested students should book their appointments with the writing centers early, as they fill up fast. Information about the writing centers is available at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-andscience>. Students can also take advantage of the Library’s free “Writing Plus” academic skills workshop series, described at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus>. International students can find information about the English Language Learning program (ELL), which includes practice opportunities for improving oral communication and critical reading skills, at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. Registrar Support: Students are encouraged to contact their registrar promptly if they experience unexpected challenges during the course that may require accommodations.

Health and Wellness:

Students can access a wide range of programs and services to support their health and wellbeing. Many of these programs are listed at: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/departments/health-wellness/> 6 Crisis Support: Students in distress can access a range of free crisis lines available from the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto, as listed below: • University of Toronto: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/> • City of Toronto: <https://www.toronto.ca/311/knowledgebase/kb/docs/articles/311-toronto/information-and-business-development/crisis-lines-suicide-depression-telephonesupport-lines-non-crisis-mental-health-services.html> Most of these crisis lines are available 24 hours a day and some address specific problems that students may be experiencing. Immediate assistance is available as follows: • My SSP for University of Toronto Students: 1-844-451-9700. • Good 2 Talk Student Helpline: 1-866-925-5454 • Gerstein Crisis Centre: 416-929-5200 • Distress Centres of Greater Toronto: 416-408-HELP (4357) • The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH): 250 College Street (walk-in)

You are not alone: please get help if you're experiencing difficulties or are in distress.

Reading and Schedule

September 3, Class 1: Introduction: Concepts, carrots, and coercion

Part I: Regime Type and Dictators

September 10, Class 2: Institutions

“Freedom in the World Research Methodology.” *Freedom House*, freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology. Accessed 15 Aug. 2023. Skim from “Scoring Process” on.

Yarhi-Milo, Keren, and Laura Resnick Samotin. “The Unpredictable Dictators.” *Foreign Affairs*, 10 Aug. 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/china/unpredictable-dictators.

Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. "Autocratic breakdown and regime transitions: A new data set." *Perspectives on politics* 12.2 (2014): 313-331.

PolityTM IV Project - Systemicpeace.Org, www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2016.pdf. Accessed 15 Aug. 2023, pg 13-28 Skim

Schmidt, Manfred G. "Regime types: Measuring democracy and autocracy." *Keman H., Woldendorp JJ Handbook of research methods and applications in political science*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited (2016): 111-116.

Recommended

Köllner, Patrick, and Steffen Kailitz. "Comparing autocracies: theoretical issues and empirical analyses." *Democratization* 20.1 (2013): 1-12.

Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. "Democracy and dictatorship revisited." *Public choice* 143 (2010): 67-101.

Wright, Joseph. "The latent characteristics that structure autocratic rule." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9.1 (2021): 1-19.

Draper, Matthew, and Stephan Haggard. "The authoritarian challenge: liberal thinking on autocracy and international relations, 1930–45." *International Theory* 15.2 (2023): 208-233.

Svolik, Milan W. *The politics of authoritarian rule*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

September 17, Class 3 Removed, Ousted, and Exit

Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, and Erica Frantz. "When dictators die." *J. Democracy* 27 (2016): 159.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. "Paths to Power." *Foreign Affairs*, December 10, 2019, www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/paths-power.

Berman, Sheri. "Good at Being Bad: How Dictatorships Endure." *Foreign Aff.* 101 (2022): 166.

Escriba-Folch, Abel, and Joseph Wright. "Autocratic Regimes and Their Collapse." *OUP Academic*, 1 Sept. 2015, academic.oup.com/book/8804/chapter-abstract/154964950?redirectedFrom=fulltext.

Recommended

Way, Lucan Ahmad. "Don't Count the Dictators Out." *Foreign Affairs*, 20 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/china/putin-xi-khamenei-dictators-way.

Chotiner, Isaac. "The Failed 'Coup-Proofing' behind the Recent Violence in Sudan." *The New Yorker*, 20 Apr. 2023, www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/the-failed-coup-proofing-behind-the-recent-violence-in-sudan.

Escribà-Folch, Abel, and Joseph George Wright. *Foreign pressure and the politics of autocratic survival*. Oxford Studies in Democratization, 2015.

Celestino, Mauricio Rivera, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Fresh carnations or all thorn, no rose? Nonviolent campaigns and transitions in autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 50.3 (2013): 385-400.

Brownlee, Jason. "Hereditary succession in modern autocracies." *World politics* 59.4 (2007): 595-628.

September 24, Class 4: Ideology and Rule (Reading Presentations start)

Gerschewski, Johannes. "The three pillars of stability: Legitimation, repression, and co-optation in autocratic regimes." *Democratization* 20.1 (2013): 13-38.

Levitsky, Steven. *Revolution and Dictatorship: The Violent Origins of Durable Authoritarianism*. Princeton University Press, 2022. CONCLUSION ONLY

Weyland, Kurt. "Fascism's missionary ideology and the autocratic wave of the interwar years." *Democratization* 24.7 (2017): 1253-1270.

Mendelson, Sarah E., and Theodore P. Gerber. "Failing the Stalin Test." *Foreign Affairs*, 10 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2006-01-01/failing-stalin-test.

October 1, Class 5, Psychology

Armendáriz Miranda, Paula. "Explaining autocratic support: The varying effects of threat on personality." *Political Psychology* 43.6 (2022): 993-1007.

Renshon, Stanley Allen, ed. *The Political psychology of the Gulf War: leaders, publics, and the process of conflict*. University of Pittsburgh Pre, 1993. Chapter 3

Chotiner, Isaac. "The Early Life of Kim Jong Un." *The New Yorker*, 14 June 2019, www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/the-early-life-of-kim-jong-un.

Stein, Janice Gross. "Political learning by doing: Gorbachev as uncommitted thinker and motivated learner." *International organization* 48.2 (1994): 155-183.

Recommended

Kinne, Brandon J. "Decision making in autocratic regimes: A poliheuristic perspective." *International Studies Perspectives* 6.1 (2005): 114-128.

Part II. Dealing

October 8, Class 6 Covert Action

Levin, Dov H. "A vote for freedom? The effects of partisan electoral interventions on regime type." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.4 (2019): 839-868.

O'Rourke, Lindsey A. "The strategic logic of covert regime change: US-backed regime change campaigns during the Cold War." *Security Studies* 29.1 (2020): 92-127.

Wohlforth, William C., and Jill Kastner. "A Measure Short of War." *Foreign Affairs*, 30 June 2022, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2021-06-22/measure-short-war.

Shimer, David. "When the CIA Interferes in Foreign Elections." *Foreign Affairs*, 20 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-21/cia-interferes-foreign-elections.

Recommended

O'Rourke, Lindsey. "The False Promise of Arming Insurgents." *Foreign Affairs*, 13 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2022-03-18/false-promise-arming-insurgents.

Reading Midterm October 14, due October 15 9 AM

October 15 NO CLASS

October 22, Class 7 Overt Action

Schramm, Madison. "'As Inscrutable as the Sphinx, but Far More Dangerous': Trends in Democratic–Personalist Conflict." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 8.1 (2023): ogac044.

Stein, Janice Gross. "Escalation Management in Ukraine: 'Learning by Doing' in Response to the 'Threat That Leaves Something to Chance.'" *Texas National Security Review*, 25 July 2023, tnsr.org/2023/06/escalation-management-in-ukraine-learning-by-doing-in-response-to-the-threat-that-leaves-something-to-chance/.

Way, Lucan A., and Steven Levitsky. "The dynamics of autocratic coercion after the Cold War." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39.3 (2006): 387-410.

Recommended

Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. "Dictatorial peace?." *American Political Science Review* 96.1 (2002): 15-26.

Strayer, Joseph R. "Problems of Dictatorship." *Foreign Affairs*, 30 Jan. 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1966-01-01/problems-dictatorship.

Filkins, Dexter. "What We Left Behind." *The New Yorker*, 21 Apr. 2014, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/04/28/what-we-left-behind.

Ashford, Emma. "Strategies of Restraint: Remaking America's Broken Foreign Policy." *Foreign Aff.* 100 (2021): 128.

October 29 READING WEEK NO CLASSES

Intelligence Brief 1 Due Monday, November 4, 9 AM

November 5, Class 8 Soft Power and Diplomacy

Mattes, Michaela, and Mariana Rodríguez. "Autocracies and international cooperation." *International Studies Quarterly* 58.3 (2014): 527-538.

Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. "The impact of human rights INGO shaming on humanitarian interventions." *The Journal of Politics* 76.1 (2014): 215-228.

Vreeland, James Raymond. "Political institutions and human rights: Why dictatorships enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture." *International Organization* 62.1 (2008): 65-101.

"'Political Provocation': China Hits Back as Biden Calls Xi 'Dictator.'" *The Guardian*, 21 June 2023, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/jun/21/joe-biden-calls-chinese-president-xi-jinping-dictator-antony-blinken-china-visit?CMP=Share_AndroidApp_Other.

Recommended

“New Zealand PM Disagrees with Joe Biden over Xi Jinping ‘dictator’ Remark.” *The Guardian*, 22 June 2023, www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/22/new-zealand-pm-disagrees-with-joe-biden-over-xi-jinping-dictator-remark?CMP=Share_AndroidApp_Other.

Wanger, Walter. “120,000 American Ambassadors.” *Foreign Affairs*, 13 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1939-10-01/120000-american-ambassadors.

Berg, Ryan C. “The Importance of Democracy Promotion to Great Power Competition in Latin America and the Caribbean.” *CSIS*, www.csis.org/analysis/importance-democracy-promotion-great-power-competition-latin-america-and-caribbean. Accessed 16 Aug. 2023.

Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Håvard Mogleiv Nygård, and Tore Wig. "Autocratic elections: Stabilizing tool or force for change?." *World Politics* 69.1 (2017): 98-143.

Ginsburg, Tom. "How Authoritarians Use International Law." *J. Democracy* 31 (2020): 44.

November 12, Class 9: With Friends Like these

Jentleson, Bruce W. "With friends like these: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam, 1982-1990." (*No Title*) (1994). Pg 15-67; 139-177

Casey, Adam E. "The durability of client regimes: Foreign sponsorship and military loyalty, 1946–2010." *World Politics* 72.3 (2020): 411-447.

Recommended

Gibler, Douglas M., and Scott Wolford. "Alliances, then democracy: An examination of the relationship between regime type and alliance formation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.1 (2006): 129-153.

Yom, Sean. “Helping Hurts.” *Foreign Affairs*, 13 July 2023, www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/helping-hurts.

Alpers, Benjamin L. *Dictators, democracy, and American public culture: envisioning the totalitarian enemy, 1920s-1950s*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003

Part III: Cases in Action

November 19, Class 10 US-Iran 2011-2014

Parsi, Trita. *A single roll of the dice: Obama’s diplomacy with Iran*. Yale University Press, 2012. Chapters 1-3

Pillar, Paul R. "The role of villain: Iran and US foreign policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 131.2 (2016): 365-385.

Listen: Williams, Jenn. “Inside the Grueling Negotiations That Led to the Iran Nuclear Deal with Wendy Sherman.” *Foreign Policy*, 26 Oct. 2021, foreignpolicy.com/podcasts/negotiators/iran-nuclear-deal-negotiations/.

“What Is the Iran Nuclear Deal?” *Council on Foreign Relations*, www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-iran-nuclear-deal. Accessed 16 Aug. 2023.

Brief 2 Due, Monday November 25, 9 AM

November 26, Class 11, UK Egypt-1956

Ernest May and Zelikow Chapters from UK, Intro pg 11-30; 70-87; 206-222

“The Suez Crisis (1956).” *Origins*, 1 Oct. 1970, origins.osu.edu/milestones/suez-crisis-1956?language_content_entity=en. FPILLAR

Recommended

Gopnik, Adam. “How to Build a Twenty-First-Century Tyrant.” *The New Yorker*, 16 May 2022, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/05/23/how-to-build-a-twenty-first-century-tyrant-the-revenge-of-power-spin-dictators.