

The Role of Leadership in Policy Towards Domestic Decisions And its Influencing the Formulation of Foreign Policy

Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Besik Jajanidze¹

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61446/ds.2.2023.7406>

Article History:

Received 15 September 2023

Accepted 20 October 2023

Published 25 December 2023

Abstract

In the process of governance, beliefs and values of civic and religious leaders are utterly significant. In the light of principles of political realism, the politics are commanded by objective laws, the roots of those can be traced to human nature, political behavior of human only depends on human nature. Behaviour of human, as a specific political individual, defines his political actions, being a political actor.

The mission of the following article is to determine the impact of role and decisions of the specific leader on internal politics, as well as international relations context. The subject of research is to explain leader's particular role in foreign affairs decision making and analysis of leaders' traits affecting the formation of foreign policy, by theoretical approach of Neoclassical Realism and practical aspects.

During Researching specific facts of international relations by Neoclassical Realism theory, three levels of analysis are used, first level examining role of leader or leaders, second level explaining internal factors of foreign policy, third level determining systemic factors.

The aim of this research is, both conceptually and practically, on individual analysis level, to determine the impact of ideological views, values and personal decisions of state or spiritual leader, when dealing with deterioration of relations with strategic partners or crisis.

Individual, first level of analysis emphasizes on individual, governmental or non-governmental statesman, country leader, whose political values, political weight, behavior, belief, woes, personal decisions affect internal political environment during decision making process, ultimately defining foreign policy and impacts regional and global security context. Theoretical and practical interaction let us explain the degree of impact of individual psychological, ideological, cultural factors, how political actors perceive their and others' capabilities and how those perceptions translate to foreign policy.

The research showed, that in today's volatile international system, personal decisions of regional and global leaders bear significant role and this topic generally, is a vital challenge of security and economy sphere.

Keywords:

International system, Neoclassical Realism, levels of analysis, systemic factors, analysis of leader's traits, Neoclassical Realism theory and political realism.

¹ Caucasus University School of Public Administration, doctoral student in the Faculty of International Relations

Introduction

Realistic perceptions of international system and theoretical knowledge improve foreign policy analysis, create basis for rightful decisions and directing correct foreign policy.

The aim of the following research is, in its theoretical part, to present the importance of state and religious leaders conceptually, using leading international relations theory Realism, particularly by analysing Neoclassical theory; and to overview the decisions of leaders of different countries in different time period, that significantly affected international, global cooperation context, by qualitative content analysis method in practical aspect.

Research question has been formulated in this way: how do personal values, political views, and decisions of state or religious leader and internal context of the country affect shaping foreign policy.

Research question was answered in **hypothesis**: Personal values, views, belief, perceptions, political woes of state or religious leader, also internal political situation greatly define international cooperation context and affect shaping foreign policy.

In a specific geostrategic dimension, relevancy of a subject, theoretical and practical value are determined by the requirements of public opinion. The following article is interesting and relevant, because, unfortunately in Georgia and abroad, researching by Neoclassical Realism theory is often evaded, which creates vacuum of sources and becomes a sort of challenge for me. The problem of the research is that international relations are mostly affected by second and third levels, and outlining the roles of separate state or religious leaders becomes rather difficult.

This research will give a perception that on the first, individual level of analysis, what kind of impact can a role of state and religious leader, importance and decisions may have on global and regional security context.

Methodological Framework Of The Research

As a methodological framework, qualitative methods, content analysis and Case-Study were used. Research primarily relies on secondary sources, particularly respective materials, proceedings were explored, also statements of political, military, religious leaders; comprehensive interviews were conducted as well with international relations specialists.

Qualitative method allows to thoroughly examine values, views, official statements, interview, facts, style of thinking of decision makers, all of this representing a cognitive process, affecting perception, worldview, resulting in a behavior.

Theoretical Framework

Conceptually and explaining the following cases, Neoclassical Realism theory will be used. In international relations, realism and particularly neoclassical realism studies foreign policies of countries based on tight link and interaction between internal factors and international system.

Neoclassical Realism, in the process of shaping foreign policy, highlights the importance of variables, such as internal political system, interest of society, bureaucratic policy and public opinion.

Neoclassical Realism is based on views of Classical Realism, but unites internal factors to explain political behavior. It states, that when systemic factors, such as distribution of power and international constraints shape state strategic environment, perception of these systemic factors are affected by leader and internal political dynamics.

Main Part

Philosophical and psychological aspects of Neoclassical Realism-The Political Psychology Perspective

The political psychology plays a major role in understanding a political approaches and behaviors, decision making processes, interaction processes between the individuals and groups. Using political psychology is especially important during individual research of political phenomena. In international relations, during first individual level research, psychological factors of leaders bear a great significance in interstate decision making process, regarding public opinion that affects shaping foreign policy.

The most common approach has been to assume that foreign policy has its sources in domestic politics. These Innenpolitik theories argue that internal factors such as political and economic ideology, national character, partisan politics, or socioeconomic structure determine how countries behave to-

ward the world beyond their borders.²

Despite the differences in time period, Morgenthau, Thucydides, Hobbs and Machiavelli agree on primary views, when they observe an individual as a cornerstone of politics and major actor; according to their common view, leader, an individual must be a rational and make decisions solely based on national interests.

The paper of Hans Morgenthau “Politics of countries: Struggle for power and peace” represents a modern era thinking, continuation of ideas of Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbs by the major thesis - Human nature is predatory, inherently vile and dark, which ultimately affects political relations, international relations as well. In the process of directing politics, it is wrong to mention ethics and politics in the same context, because political power is perceived the only guarantee of power. A human is a political animal, aspiring towards power, causing imminent political struggle.³

Thus the concern of political realism is with human nature as it actually is, and with the historic processes as they actually take place. It is opposed to ethical and legal reasoning which fails to take account of political realities. Here Morgenthau is repeating the view which he had set out earlier, that politics are governed by power against which the abstract principles of ‘scientific man’ are of no avail.⁴

The rich history of international relations shows us multiple examples of weak or extremely charismatic leaders actions or inactions leading to the beginning of important processes, such as first and second World Wars.

Classical realists such as Thomas Hobbes, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Hans Morgenthau attributed egoism and power politics primarily to human nature, whereas structural realists or neorealists emphasize anarchy. Kenneth Waltz’s work is important for both. In *Man, the State, and War*, he defines anarchy as a condition of possibility for or permissive cause of war, arguing that wars occur because there is nothing to prevent them. It is the human nature or domestic politics of predatory states.⁵

Leadership Trait Analysis - The role of leaders (Case Studies)

The phenomenon of a political and spiritual leader is a broad concept, its characteristics should be sought in the depth of public thinking, as they must be such actors who have such a necessary feature as the ability to influence the society based on cultural-ideological values. As a result, a shrewd leader will always affect the formation of public opinion and get people to do things they would never do on their own.

Leaders define the state’s international and domestic constraints. Based on their perceptions and interpretations, they build expectations, plan strategies, and urge actions on their governments that confirm with their judgments about what is possible and likely to maintain them in their positions. Such perceptions help frame governments’ orientations to international affairs. Leaders’ interpretations arise out of their experiences, goals, beliefs about the world, and sensitivity to the political context.⁶

The results of qualitative and comparative studies allow to find out the psychological features of the leader and inherent leadership qualities, charisma, whose action or inaction at the global level changed the vector of historical development, as well as determined the form of the state’s foreign policy. The qualities of a leader are influenced by the features of national-psychological and mental development, temperament, beliefs, political environment, strategic visions of predecessors and followers. The named factors and the psychological system allow the leader to make such decisions that determine the formation of foreign policy.

Tornike Turmanidze, associate professor of the Department of International Relations of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University, notes in his interview that “in general, when explaining foreign decisions, it is very difficult to determine which level of analysis is more important, therefore, when studying individual cases, its importance and severity are highlighted. The individual, first level of analysis is very important, because the one who runs the state is very important for the foreign policy of the country, it also matters what type of state we are talking about, therefore, in authoritarian countries, the leader is of greater importance, because no matter what decision he makes, no one can stop him. It is possible that the system has “some” type of restraining mechanism, but still the leader has some freedom of action. When you study the role of a specific leader, we take into account which state we are talking about and what is its internal political regime, how

2 G. Rose, *Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*. Cambridge University Press, 1998, P.6.

3 ე. სკობის, *საერთაშორისო ურთიერთობების თეორია*. სალექციო კურსი. 2006, გვ.20.

4 J.W. Nobel, *Morgenthau's Struggle with Power: The Theory of Power Politics and the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 4.

5 A. Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics*. Cambridge University Press, International Organization Foundation 1992, p. 395.

6 J. Kaarbo, *Personality and International Politics*. Published by: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2017, p 3.

international factors affect the ambitions and plans of this leader, his views and ideology“.⁷

In the neoclassical realist world leaders can be constrained by both international and domestic politics.

While the research programme on leaders' personalities (including Leadership Trait Analysis but also Operational Code Analysis, Motive Analysis, and leader biographies) offers significant insights, there are numerous important directions in which future work in this area should concentrate to further our understanding of how leaders influence world politics.⁸

To support the above arguments, I will give the examples of statesmen of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As a result of Napoleon Bonaparte's ill-advised policy, France found itself in an extremely difficult situation. For France, which is on the verge of maintaining its statehood, the genius of diplomacy **Charles Maurice de Talleyrand** appears as a savior, whose psycho-analytical picture looks like this: a synonym for mediocrity and unprincipledness, flighty, devilish, clever, dexterous, creator of current events in France, served and sold all The government, corrupt and submissive to all kinds of lowliness.

Talleyrand's dispositional signs and predictability of behavior indicate the fact that he possessed the highest level of personology, personality and other psychological theories, he looked at Napoleon not as God, but as a man, he realized quite early that the emperor would destroy the country, which determined his subsequent choices and decisions. It is also interesting his attitude to the victorious coalition leader Alexander I, who is the occupier and conqueror of his country. Talleyrand was well aware of the Russian emperor's personal structure, ambitions for progressive rule, conditioned emotional reactions in the dynamics that allowed him, the “synonym of mediocrity and unprincipledness” to save France doomed to collapse from occupation, contribution, humiliation, rule by foreign tribes. In addition, in a well-packaged, insidious plan, he proposed to the Congress of Vienna to remain within the legitimate boundaries of European countries, thereby maintaining Europe's geostrategic status quo.

Leaders can significantly affect foreign policy, in both democracies and authoritarian states. As Hermann and Hagan have argued: “state leaders play a pivotal role in balancing international imperatives with those arising from, or embedded in, domestic politics.” Leaders influence the motives, strategies, and policies of their own states and are therefore a critical component of their countries diplomatic capabilities.⁹

In the same context, another good example is the work of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

At the end of the First World War, the terms of the temporary truce of Mudros - the peace treaty practically represented the capitulation of the Ottoman Empire, which was signed on October 30, 1918 between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente countries.¹⁰

The national movement founded by Atatürk prevented the victorious allies from collapsing the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the heterogeneous, mental resistance of the population, it created a republic of politically, economically, and culturally western values.

The impact of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's devotedness to the reformation of the Turkish state remains a key element of modern Turkish identity. In 1923, Atatürk founded the Republic of Turkey, and his presidency is marked as a period of major societal reform and modernization that launched Turkey into a new era of prosperity. During his time as the leader of the Turkish republic, Atatürk re-designed the political and legal system, revitalized the economy, secularized both government and education in abolishing the caliphate, granted equal rights to women, altered the alphabet as well as traditional attire requirements, and finally, advanced the cultivation of wisdom from the arts, sciences, industry, and agriculture. Atatürk had long believed himself to be the savior of the Turkish state and he was determined from an exceedingly young age to see this conviction come to fruition.¹¹

The philosophies of Plato and Machiavelli in describing the attributes of competent and effective leaders each call for differing qualities of personal character with the common goal of reaching an ideal state.¹²

Let us consider the case of a third, different leader, Adolf Hitler. When Hitler becomes chancellor, Germany is a diplomatically isolated state with no allies. All his first and subsequent decisions were precisely calculated in time and international environment. First, he demanded parity in armaments within the League of Nations, but when he was refused, he left the organization, held a plebiscite and showed Europe that this was the decision of the German people. Hitler played politically precisely with all ideologically opposed countries, he took advantage of the fact that Germany was seen as the only

7 Tornike Turmanidze, associate professor of the Department of International Relations. Tbilisi. 23.10.2023

8 J. Kaarbo, *Personality and International Politics*. Published by: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2017, p 14.

9 J. Kaarbo, *Personality and International Politics*. Published by: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2017, p 3.

10 N. Emir, *DEVLETLERARASI HUKUKU ve SİYASİ TARİH METİNLERİ*. ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ HUKUK FAKÜLTESİ YAYINLARI. 1952. z 1-7.

11 R. Tolhurst, *Atatürk vs. Soleimani: Political Philosophy & Contemporary Archetypes*. 2021. P.44.

12 Ibid. P.21

country capable of restraining the Soviet threat, he consistently cut off the existing European alliances, and at the same time, in public speeches in the Reichstag, he always stated his unselfish support for European peace. It was the support of his own public that ensured the formation of his foreign policy and support in future wars. Politically, he opposed the French and the British, and subsequently he disrupted the peace processes by the hands of the Poles themselves, thereby destroying the French-Polish alias. The achievement of his foreign policy as a leader is the “non-aggression pact” and the deceived Stalin.

What were his strengths and weaknesses, his goals and methods? The answers to these questions reveal a man who was indeed responsible for Germany’s downfall. Answer to the question, do the beliefs of leaders matter in reinforcing or qualifying the democratic peace? Yes, the answer is simple, notion that democratic states are more peaceful than nondemocratic states-as strictly a state-level phenomenon.

Leaders who were high in nationalism and distrust were more likely to act negatively towards others. Building on Hermann’s earlier work, Keller’s study (of 39 leaders in 154 foreign policy crises), found leaders’ traits statistically significantly correlated with the centrality and severity of violence in states’ crises behaviors.¹³

From a democratic point of view, the comparative characteristics of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton will be interesting.

“Are these differences between the two leaders consistent with the pragmatic leadership styles of “muddling through” attributed to Britain and the dogmatic, “legalistic-moralism” attributed to the United States? It appears that the reverse is true-Blair’s leadership style appears to be relatively dogmatic while Clinton’s seems to be more pragmatic-even though the institutional constraints on a president’s exercise of power are less than those on a prime minister’s. Clinton’s operational code toward both types of states is a more pragmatic, flexible leadership style with a choice propensity for strategies of conciliation and appeasement to reach a political settlement. In contrast, Blair’s operational code toward nondemocracies is associated with a more dogmatic, dominant leadership style characterized by a propensity for choosing conflict behavior”.¹⁴

In order to find out what influences the change of beliefs of a particular leader, which subsequently completely or partially changes the nature of decisions, I introduce the issue of change of beliefs using the construction of an “operational code”.

“State leaders play a key role in shaping their country’s foreign policy. Neoclassical realism, which links power dynamics with internal factors, helps explain their moves. For example, President Nixon’s approach with the Soviet Union, the détente policy, wasn’t just about global power balance. He also had to address U.S. concerns post-Vietnam War. On the other hand, Turkey’s President Erdoğan chose to buy the S-400 missile system from Russia. This move was about regional strategy but also about local politics and Turkey’s changing global role. A leader’s personal beliefs can guide their decisions. Nixon, for instance, was strongly anti-communist, which influenced his actions during the Cold War. Then there are pure strategy decisions, like Erdoğan’s missile purchase, which aimed to strengthen Turkey’s defense and possibly change its global partnerships. Sometimes, decisions are made to boost popularity at home. Erdoğan’s strong actions abroad often helped him secure more support within Turkey. Economic growth is another driving force. The U.S. working closely with China, despite disagreements, shows how economic benefits can shape diplomacy. Finally, many leaders, when they’re about to leave office, look to leave a lasting positive impact, to be remembered well in history. In short, a leader’s personal views, strategic goals, domestic politics, economic aims, and legacy wishes all influence how they approach foreign policy”.¹⁵

Operational codes are a particular subset of an individual’s beliefs? those focused on the political universe. These beliefs structure and order reality for decision makers and help them to sort the signals in their environment from the noise. They exert a tremendous influence on how leaders interpret information, perceive the social environment, and make decisions. As such, they have a prima facie claim to relevance in political leadership and decision making. The foreign policy operational code of George W. Bush(GWB) over four distinct time periods: (1) prepresidential beliefs, (2) pre-September 11th beliefs, (3) post-September 11th beliefs, and (4) end-of-term presidency beliefs.¹⁶

GWB’s view of the political universe and other related philosophical beliefs all reversed direction, becoming more negative and conflictual after the terrorist attacks in 2001. The change in role also had an effect on GWB’s beliefs though it seemed to reinforce his prior beliefs, and strengthen them in cer-

13 J. Kaarbo, *Personality and International Politics*. Published by: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2017, p 9.

14 M. Shafer, S. Walker, *Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace: The Operational Codes of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton*. 2014. P. 19.

15 Interview with Sergi Kapanadze Think tank GRASS - founder and former director. Tbilisi. 19.10.2023.

16 j. Renshon, *Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush*. Sage Publications, Inc. 2008. p 3.

tain cases, rather than changing them.¹⁷

We will find out what was the political world-oriented “operational code” of George W. Bush’s successor, President Barack Obama, which really belongs to a specific subset of individual beliefs of the leaders, what was his personal profile, which had a significant impact on the decision-making process in determining domestic and foreign policies.

For analytical purposes we may distinguish separate components or variables of personality, but it is important to remember that in real life these components interact and modify each other. As an example, consider Obama’s striking quality of calmness, discussed above. Certainly his strong trait of emotional stability, which may have some genetic basis, is an important foundation of this calmness. However, media discussions of Obama’s calmness typically confine their explanations to temperament factors with a presumed genetic heri-tage.¹⁸

Barack Obama’s divergent approaches to the Libyan and Syrian crises are indeed an important case to describe his individual profile. Non-interference in the Syrian conflict was determined by his experience gained from the Libyan conflict, a value conflict occurred in his consciousness, Obama’s belief was that his intervention in the Libyan conflict accurately responded to the challenges of US national security, he perceived himself as a democratic leader, according to his political beliefs, the minimum US The intervention was to protect national interests and values. The conflict in Libya brought enormous economic costs to America, and failed to achieve the goal, which determined the future changes of Obama’s political “belief” towards the Syrian crisis.

It is interesting how Recep Tayyip Erdoğan looks Operational Code Therefore, a Personality Profile of Erdogan’s asks, “did Erdogan’s foreign policy beliefs change in his 20 years of incumbency?”

Turkey foreign policy change is not solely determined by international or domestic factors, but also by the prism of individual leaders’ personal beliefs, such as p resident Erdoğan, or minister Ahmet Davutoğlu.

Erdoğan’s life experience, due to his socio-economic background, is completely different from his predecessors.

Erdoğan’s profile and his political ambition has largely been deliberated to be a results of the institutional and the natural political world.

On Erdoğan’s profile, Yavuz argued that the Turkish populace perceives Erdoğan as a kabadayi and a mazlum. A kabadayi is a figure of reputation, authority, honor, and someone with a role of ‘neighborhood disciplinarian. A mazlum, on the other hand, refers to someone who was wronged. Erdoğan’s worldview is primarily shaped by his religion; Erdoğan does not place much emphasis on notions of a nation or nationalism.¹⁹

The domestic and foreign political vision of the 45th President of the United States of America, Donald Trump, his beliefs, starting from the election debates and the decisions made during his presidency, still cause surprise in scientific and political circles. A clear example is even moving the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, or even withdrawing military units from Syria. Trump’s foreign policy decisions were part of a long-term, institutionally changed foreign policy. In general, his foreign policy was unpredictable, as his speeches and decisions often did not coincide.

Overall, the results suggest that although the difference is not extreme, Trump differs from a typical US leader in certain important parameters. His main divergence from a liberal-interventionist US leader lies in his reluctance to involve in foreign policy decisions that cannot be narrated as a success story in short term. He has a high belief that he can control events, so he is likely to challenge constraints. This result is in line with Trump’s campaign record, challenging many material and ideational constraints from both within his party and outside it.²⁰

Operational code analysis and leadership traits analysis approaches are used to analyze candidate Trump’s foreign policy beliefs and strategies associated with them. Research results show that Trump’s profile indicates a foreign policy orientation that avoids involvement in affairs that are perceived as beyond immediate interests.²¹

His psychodiagnostic analysis, which is a synthesis of biographical data and media reports, is interesting for assessing Biden’s domestic and foreign activities.

Due to the fact that the president of the USA has a rather important role in the formation of

17 j. Renshon, *Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush*. Sage Publications, Inc. 2008. p 23-24.

18 ,D.J. Winter *Philosopher-King or Polarizing Politician? A Personality Profile of Barack Obama*. International Society of Political Psychology. 2011. p 18.

19 B. Kesgin *Turkey’s Erdoğan: leadership style and foreign policy audiences*. 2020. p 11.

20 Ö. ÖZDAMAR, Do Campaign Speeches Predict Foreign Policy? An Operational Code and Leadership Trait Analysis of Donald Trump’s MENA Policies. 2023. Pp 2-13.

21 Ö. ÖZDAMAR, Do Campaign Speeches Predict Foreign Policy? An Operational Code and Leadership Trait Analysis of Donald Trump’s MENA Policies. 2023. Pp 2-13.

foreign policy, the change of the first person of the White House, in the form of Joe Biden, also caused significant changes in the perceptions of foreign policy and aspects of the “operational code”. Joe Biden’s main ideas, perceptions, attitudes in terms of foreign policy were strategically formed by deepening cooperation with his allies, creating democratic alliances against America’s adversaries and competitors. Unlike the previous president of the White House, Biden’s foreign strategy aimed to restore the role of the US as a leading country through the “dictation” of national security.

In order to more clearly present the psycho-analytical portraits of the above-mentioned leaders, the opinion of Shadiman Bitsadze, academic doctor of history, associate professor of the Department of Security Studies of the National Defense Academy of Georgia named after SSP-Davit Agmashenebeli, is interesting. “Foreign policy is a constituent part of international relations, through which the national interests of the country should be effectively realized in the international arena. In the 20th century, the role of political and religious leaders in the process of foreign policy formation has increased dramatically. In the decision-making process, the individual factor characteristic of the leader as a person is of great importance. The US Central Intelligence Agency developed the so-called “Psychobiographical” methods, which represent a kind of analytical modeling based on the analysis of the leader’s biographical data and lifestyle in a four-module format - I. Emotional factor, II. Biographical data, III. Psychological portrait, IV. Motivation.²²

Leaders with Biden’s personality profile are likely to exhibit an interpersonal leadership style, characterized by flexibility, compromise, and an emphasis on teamwork; they tend to be conflict-averse and risk-avoidant. In terms of Margaret Hermann’s leadership trait analysis framework, Biden is classified as a leader who respects constraints, is open to information, and is motivated primarily by a relationship focus — prompting a collegial, accommodative leadership style with a focus on reconciling differences and consensus building.²³

Ultimately, whatever one may think about America’s foreign policy as it relates to the Middle East and Israel, Biden’s leadership style and demeanor in this time of crisis are most certainly “presidential”.²⁴

The role of religious leaders

Religion has a special role in the political system and its functioning. The political system, legal-political regime determines what place religion should occupy in the life of the state. Religion plays a rather large role, and sometimes a decisive one, in the formation of public opinion. The authorities of the country often use the role of religion to achieve political goals, since its influence on people is very large. Often religion and politics are so intertwined that it is difficult to know where the line between them is. In some Islamic countries, the spiritual leader functions as a political leader.

The influence of religion on the development of the political system varies among the nations of the region, since the effect of religion finds its roots in the past of a particular nation and depends on the genetic code of that nation.

According to Giorgi Muchaidze, executive director of the Analytical Council of Georgia, “the visions and personal decisions of the state leader have a great influence on the formation of foreign policy in both democratic and autocratic states. In secular states, the influence of a specific religious leader is quite limited, especially when the society is multi-confessional and one religion is not dominant, and atheists represent a significant part of the population. In states with theocratic rule and one religion prevailing, the influence of the views and personal decisions of the religious leader on the formation of foreign policy is higher. Nevertheless, if we are not dealing with totalitarian rule, the domestic context and public visions form the boundaries within which both religious and state leaders have to operate in the formation of foreign policy”.²⁵

Conclusion

As the research showed, political and spiritual leaders are responsible for the formation of the country’s internal policy and are responsible for the formation of foreign policy and the resulting results, respectively. An important manifestation of leadership qualities is a deep analysis of domestic political and global events, an accurate perception of events and facts, consolidation of society and its correct direction based on national interests, the ability to demonstrate special skills in a crisis situation.

22 Interview with Shadiman Bitsadze, academic doctor of history. Tbilisi. 30.10.2023.

23 A.M. Griebie, A.Immelman, *THE PERSONALITY PROFILE AND LEADERSHIP STYLE OF U.S. PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN*. 2021. P 3.

24 Ch. A. Devega, *crisis of moral clarity: There's no contest between Trump and Biden — why are Americans confused?* . October 20, 2023.

25 Interview with Giorgi Muchaidze, executive director of the Analytical Council of Georgia. Tbilisi 26.10.2023.

Leaders in democracies are very important, but not so much as in authoritarian countries, since there are more factors that affect leaders, they have to consider more things, and in this case they have less freedom to act.

The leader's beliefs and role are crucial in foreign policy decisions and foreign policy formation. The more diverse the personal values and values, the greater the chances of peace and stability. But, unfortunately, in the real international situation, leaders are characterized by unreasonable and selfish morality, which is constantly changing and uncertain.

References

აკობია ე. საერთაშორისო ურთიერთობების თეორია. სალექციო კურსი. სოციალურ-მეცნიერებათა ცენტრის გამომცემლობა, 2006.

Wendt, A. Anarchy is What States Make of it: the Social Construction of Power Politics. International Organization, Vol.46, No.2, 1992

Nobel J. W. Morgenthau's Struggle with Power: The Theory of Power Politics and the Cold War. Cambridge University Press, 1995. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097396> (last access 24.10.2023).

Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy. Cambridge University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25054068> (last access 25.10.2023).

Tolhurst, R. Ataturk vs. Soleimani: Political Philosophy & Contemporary Archetypes. Utah State University. 2021. <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/8252/> (Last access 2.11.2023).

Shafer, M. Walker, S. Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace: The Operational Codes of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton. The International Studies Association. 2014. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4092793> (Last access 2.11.2023).

Karbo, J. Personality and International Politics Author. European Review of International Studies, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26593792> (Last access 5.11.2023).

Winter, D.J., Philosopher-King or Polarizing Politician? A Personality Profile of Barack Obama. International Society of Political Psychology, 2011. <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu> (Last access 6.11.2023).

Kesgin B. (2020). Turkey's Erdoğan: leadership style and foreign policy audiences. Department of Political Science, Elon University, Elon, NC, USA. <https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php> (Last access 6.11.2023).

Griebie, A.M. Immelman, A. (2021). THE PERSONALITY PROFILE AND LEADERSHIP STYLE OF U.S. PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN. Department of Psychology College of St. Benedict and St. John's University. <https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology> (Last access 7.11.2023).

Interviews

Interview with Giorgi Muchaidze, executive director of the Analytical Council of Georgia. Tbilisi 26.10.2023.

Interview with Shadiman Bitsadze, academic doctor of history, associate professor of the Department of Security Studies of the National Defense Academy. Tbilisi.30.10.23.

Interview with Sergi Kapanadze Think tank GRASS - founder and former director. Tbilisi. 19.10.2023.

Interview with Tornike Turmanidze, associate professor of the Department of International Relations of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences.