FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

COURSE DESCRIPTION:
To evaluate or understand fully any instantiation of political leadership one must first recognize the significance of a fundamentally related question: Where are we going? After all, one leads toward a desired political end. Therefore, the study of leadership is necessarily bound up in the study of ideology and government types. Just as leadership must be understood differently in autocratic regimes than democratic ones, so too must it be evaluated differently when given liberal, conservative, Marxist, or fascist ends.

With all this in mind, this course has two purposes. They are as follows: 1) to investigate some of the most crucial texts of political philosophy, with special focus paid to their articulations of the principles, sources, and responsibilities of leadership, and 2) to contextualize this literature by better understanding the political ideologies informing their authors’ world views in order to better understand the ends – the goals to which we lead and are being led. The foundations of leadership, in other words, are to be found in questions of political ideology and government type.

The careful reader of this syllabus will notice something that seems unusual at first. Although the course will detour through some conceptions of leadership that seem absolute and singular – relegating leadership to the lonely work of a powerful elite – the course both begins and ends with a discussion of democracy. Democracy, in contrast to monarchy, oligarchy, or other types of exclusive or autocratic regimes, may initially seem to be the style of government where leadership is valued least. After all, in a style of government in which the people govern, leaders are not solely responsible for establishing a path for the polity. Nevertheless, the progression of this course should lead us, as it were, to a renewed appreciation for democratic practices. Moreover, we will be able to begin to make sense of leadership not as the masterful work of an elite few, but as the collective responsibility of informed citizenship. Therefore, this course will work to educate and prepare students “for a lifetime of learning and responsible leadership,” irrespective of the direction that their future paths may take them.

In doing so, the course will take on a colloquium format. This means that the course will be structured as a conversation between all participants. The conversation will use the readings as a point of entry to perennial questions about politics, leadership, and responsibility, including questions about respect for minority options, strategies for rule, and legitimate tactics to achieve political ends. Our discussions will be grounded in the literature, and will address our own responses to these themes that have recurred over the millennia.
COURSE GOALS:
By the end of this course, you will have had the opportunity to develop your thinking on:
• Leadership as an “essentially contested concept”
• The role of ideology in political leadership
• The intellectual history of democracy
• The history of political philosophy
• The dual responsibilities of leadership: to populations and to goals
• The ‘space’ for leadership within a political system: who leads, and from where
• The relationship between a government and the governed
• Your own political values

You also will have developed the following skills:
• Writing rigorous, economical, and crisp prose
• Locating, using, and properly citing evidence, including primary-source material
• Timely and effective synthesis of printed information
• Communicating your ideas through presentations
• Critically analyzing theoretical arguments, through an sustained inquiry of political leadership
• The practice of leadership, itself, through your careful commitment to the course discussions

COURSE POLICIES
Attendance:
Regular and punctual attendance is expected. Students are held accountable for knowledge of all materials covered in class and all announcements delivered in class whether or not they are in attendance. To encourage your regular attendance, roll will be taken at the start of each class session. Beyond the expectation that students attend class, students are expected to be attentive and to come prepared for each class. Remember, attendance is logically prior to participation, but it does not constitute participation.

Classroom Courtesy & Decorum:
In a course about political leadership, where we discuss large questions about the ends of government and the responsibility of leaders to the governed, disagreements will naturally arise—perhaps even heated disagreements. Students are, of course, encouraged to disagree—to raise scholarly concerns, to voice nagging doubts, to offer counter-points, to expose logical absurdities, etc.—with the arguments offered by the texts, by each other, and (especially) by their instructor. Nevertheless, such disagreements must fall within the grounds of appropriate classroom decorum. Inappropriate classroom disruptions, disregard for speakers, and/or personal attacks will not be tolerated. Students acting in violation of these principles will be reprimanded, and may be asked to leave the classroom. Severe and/or repeated infractions may result in a failing grade. In short, always show respect to your fellow students and scholars.
**Laptops & Gadgetry:**
Please turn all cell phones, blackberries, laptops, etc. off during class. Engage in the social fiction that our classroom is akin to an ascending airplane: any portable device with an on/off switch should be set in the off position. I ask this of you because I have found that students are very adept at multi-tasking, but have fewer opportunities for deep focus and concentration on a single subject. Think of our time together as an exercise in deep concentration. If special circumstances require you to use an electronic device regularly, please speak with me at some point during the first two weeks of class.

**Academic Honesty:**
The Academic Honor Principle applies to all Dartmouth students at all times. You can find the Honor Principle at the following web address:

http://www.dartmouth.edu/~reg/regulations/undergrad/acad.honor.html

Please make certain that you are familiar with the Academic Honor Principle, as you will be expected to conform to it. If you ever have doubts as to whether you are in compliance with the Academic Honor Principle, then it is a good idea to speak with me before you hand in your work.

**Papers:**
All written assignments must be typed, in 12 pt. Times New Roman, double-spaced and single-sided, with normal margins and numbered pages. Make certain that your name, the course number, and a title appears somewhere on the first page of your paper. Failure to meet these formatting guidelines may result in a penalty to your grade.

Except when given prior permission, written assignments *must* be printed and handed in; no e-mailed submissions allowed.

**Late Work:**
For the three reading reaction papers: Late papers will be accepted only if we’ve worked something out in advance. Otherwise, if you miss a deadline, then you’ve missed an opportunity to write about that session’s readings. This rule holds unless you owe me more papers than we have course sessions remaining at the mid-semester and final deadlines. In these cases, I will accept late papers at a penalty of 1 point per day (or part of day).

For all other work: Except in cases of medical emergencies, or cases in which we have worked out alternate arrangements in advance, late work will be downgraded by 10% per day (or part of day). After four late days (weekends are included here), late work *will no longer be accepted.*
X-hours:
This colloquium is designed to help students develop their perspectives on political leadership by focusing our conversations on some of the enduring writings about politics. These authors are not always directly writing about leadership, but it is our task to glean the demands that they make of leaders. This requires careful consideration of the texts. Because the conversations will be most effective when students have already engaged with the written material, it is crucial that students devote time to the readings. To ensure that you have that time to spend with the texts, I will not convene the class during our x-hour. X-hours will only be used to reschedule class sessions in the unlikely event that we could not meet during our regularly scheduled hours.

STUDENT SERVICES:
Student Needs:
Students with disabilities enrolled in this course who may need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see me before the end of the second week of the term. All discussions will remain confidential, although the Student Accessibility Services (SAS) office may be consulted to discuss appropriate implementation of any accommodation requested. Find out more about Dartmouth’s SAS office, and how it may be able to help you, here: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~accessibility/current/index.html

Moreover, students desiring other accommodations that do not fall under the purview of the SAS, such as students who may need to miss classes due to religious observances (or other reasons), are also encouraged to consult with me during the first two weeks of the term.

Academic Support
The Student Center for Research, Writing and Information Technology (RWiT) is a place where you can meet with an undergraduate tutor to discuss a paper or project at any phase of the process. Find out more at: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit

The Academic Skills Center (ASC) is open to the entire Dartmouth Community. Here are some common reasons why you might visit the ASC:
- You’re getting B’s but want to get A’s
- You don’t feel comfortable talking in class
- You’re attending class regularly, but feel like you’re missing important points
- You feel like you’re a slow reader
- You feel like you don’t have enough time to get everything done
- You’re not sure how to take notes
- You’re not sure if you should get tested for a learning disability

Find out more at: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~acskills

Academic Development
Dartmouth College has student resources (including scholarships, internship information, honor societies, and information about opportunities for study abroad) that you may not be aware of, so don't hesitate to ask about things that can make your academic experience more rewarding. If I do not know the answer to your question, I will connect you with the right person who can help you find the answers you need.
Leadership Training
The Rockefeller Center offers opportunities for leadership training, including the Rockefeller Leadership Fellows Program and the Management and Leadership Development Program. If you would like more information on these, or any other Rockefeller Center co-curricular programs, just ask.

GRADING:
Overview:
Your grade will be comprised of the following components:

- Attendance & Participation: 15%
- 3 Short Reading Response Papers (3-4 pgs): 15%
- Value Position Essay (5-6 pgs): 20%
- Mid-Term Exam (5-6 pgs): 25%
- Final Exam (10-12 pgs): 25%

Attendance & Participation:
Since this is a colloquium, which has fewer students and requires conversation between everyone in class, its success depends on the regular participation of each student. Accordingly, attendance is required here. Without documented notice of a medical emergency, or advance planning and coordination, recurrent absenteeism will result in a lesser grade for the course. Egregious absenteeism will result in a failing grade for the course – irrespective of the quality of your other work.

Attendance is logically prior to participation; you cannot participate if you do not attend. But, attendance does not constitute participation. Beyond your regular attendance, I expect the following:

- Timely Presence — you are seated in class when class begins.
- Preparation — your contributions demonstrate that you carefully read the assignment and understand the key points.
- Quality of Argument — you contribute accurate, relevant evidence with sound and insightful reasoning.
- Quality of Expression — your contribution is clear, concise, audible, and directed to your peers.
- Contribution to the Process — your contributions demonstrate that you are listening to others' comments, building upon their ideas, responding to them, respecting them, constructively criticizing them, or asking constructive questions.
- Critical Thought — your contributions show critical awareness, and avoid basic logical fallacies.
Value Position Essay:
This course, if it is successful, is likely to challenge many of your most deeply held beliefs about the world, how it is organized, and how it works. This essay assignment asks you to state your values and beliefs about political leadership at the beginning of the semester, so you are clear where you stand, where you are “coming from,” and what you would wish to defend in our discussions.

In a brief, introspective essay – which requires no research at all, just some serious thinking and self-analysis on your part – explain your personal feelings (values and beliefs) about the responsibility of leadership. To whom ought a political leader be responsible? Toward what ends should a political leader lead? Should these two responsibilities ever come into conflict, which is more important, the population or the goals?

Ask yourself “what are my values and beliefs regarding these issues? Why do I hold them, why do I believe what I do?” Clear logical writing and reasoning are necessary. Outside research and footnotes make no sense in an introspective essay such as this. Obviously, in an essay like this, you’ll have to get out of the habit (that many of you have developed) of refusing to refer to yourself in your writing. There’s no way to write this essay without using the word “I.”

Short Response Papers:
These short (3-4 page) papers may be submitted at the beginning of each class session, starting in Week 2. You must submit 3 response papers, but you can choose whichever sessions you’d like to submit them. For your sake and mine, you may not leave these papers for the final three sessions. Therefore, I require at least one response paper to be turned in on or before May 3rd.

In these papers you are to respond to the works that you’ve read for class that week, by analyzing the major ideas offered by the authors. If you need a prompt, you might consider one or more of the following questions: 1) What are the animating assumptions behind the texts? 2) How do the texts conceive of the ends of leadership? Toward what goals must a leader move? 3) What is the responsibility of leadership for our authors? To whom must a leader answer? 4) What subsequent questions do these readings raise for you?

To write these successfully, you must advance some sort of argument. When you do this, you might focus on one small part of the reading, and that’s okay. Critical engagement is the key here, not a broad overview. What you should not do in these papers, however, is offer a simple summary of the texts. Such a paper will not satisfy the demand for critical engagement.

These reports will be given a mark between 1-4. This is not equivalent to a letter grade scale: 4s may be given sparingly, and only to concise and clear analyses of clearly superior quality. 3s will be given when reports demonstrate a careful reading of the texts, and show that some thought was put into them. 2s are given to papers that show that the text have been read, but show relatively little critical thought, or to otherwise interesting analyses rendered unintelligible by glaring grammatical errors. 1s will (hopefully) be given rarely; they indicate evidence that the texts have not been read carefully.
Mid-Term Exam
This is a take-home mid-term exam, due Monday 23 April 2012. This exam, which will consist of a series of essay questions from which you may choose, is designed to give you the opportunity to display your understanding of the course texts and themes. More information about the exam will be made available in class as the exam date approaches.

Final Exam
This is a take-home final exam, due the last day of finals. In this exam, you will be asked to respond, in 9-12 double-spaced pages, to your choice of questions from a series of questions given; one of the questions will ask you to revisit your value position essay. More information about the essay topics will be made available in class as the due date approaches.

IMPORTANT DUE DATES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mon 16 Apr</td>
<td>Value Position Paper due in my office by 5:00pm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mon 23 Apr</td>
<td>Mid-Term due in my office by 5:00pm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thu 03 May</td>
<td>At least one response paper due on or before this date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tue 29 May</td>
<td>Last day to turn in response papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tue 05 Jun</td>
<td>Final Exam due in my office by 5:00pm</td>
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READING:
Students are expected to have read their assignments before class and to be prepared to discuss them. Toward that end, it’s a good idea to have your texts with you in class each week. Although I have taken care not to overload the reading list, the total pages for any given class session will vary, and may occasionally be heavy. Therefore, you should be sure to look ahead so that your reading is not left for the last moment. The reading from the texts are noted in the syllabus with a bolded letter T in brackets: [T]. The following texts should be available at Wheelock Bookstore:


A note on the texts: These are perennially important texts that belong on the shelves of any serious student of politics. They may well already be on your shelves. I have chosen these editions as a reasonable mix of price, clarity, and quality for those with general interests. But I do not require that you use these editions of these texts. If you already have a copy of the text, and you don’t want another, then by all means, use your copy.
There are a set of additional readings for this course that are not in any of our textbooks. These articles and book chapters will be available in our course’s Blackboard website. These readings are noted in the syllabus with a bolded letter B in brackets: [B]. They are as follows:

Arendt, Hannah (1951) “The Origins of Totalitarianism”
Aristotle (1998) “Politics: Actual Constitutions & Their Varieties”
Berlin, Isaiah (1959) “John Stuart Mill & The Ends of Life”
Burke, Edmund (1790) “Reflections on the Revolution in France”
Burns, James MacGregor (1977) “Wellsprings of Political Leadership”
de Tocqueville, Alexis (1845) “Democracy & Equality”
Gandhi, Mohandas (1951) “Satyagraha: Non-Violent Resistance”
Hitler, Adolph (1924) “Nations & Race”
Huntington, Samuel (1957) “Conservatism as an Ideology”
King Jr, Martin Luther (1963) “Letter From a Birmingham Jail”
Lenin, V.I. (1902) “What Is To Be Done?”
MacCallum, Gerald (1967) “Negative & Positive Freedom”
Mill, J.S. (1869) “On Liberty” (excerpts)
Mussolini, Benito (1932) “The Doctrine of Fascism”
Orwell, George (1936) “Shooting an Elephant”
Weber, Max (1953) “Three Types of Legitimate Authority”
COURSE SCHEDULE:

Week 1: Why Study Leadership?

Tue 27 Mar
Introductory session: no reading required

Thu 29 Mar
Orwell, George “Shooting an Elephant” [B]
Weber, Max “Three Types of Legitimate Authority” [B]
James MacGregor Burns “Wellsprings of Political Leadership” [B]

Week 2: Foundations of Leadership: A Primer on Ideology & Gov. Types

Tue 03 Apr
MacCallum, Gerald “Negative & Positive Freedom” [B]
Carver, Terrell “Ideology: The Career of a Concept” [B]
Keohane, Nannerl “Philosophy, Theory, Ideology: An Attempt at Clarification” [B]

Thu 05 Apr
Aristotle, “Politics: Actual Constitutions & Their Varieties” [B]
de Tocqueville, Alexis “Democracy & Equality” [B]

Week 3: Democracy and its Dissolution

Tue 10 Apr
Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War (excerpts) [T]
Lee, Ronald “Justifying Empire: Pericles, Polk, and a Dilemma of Democratic Leadership” [B]

Thu 12 Apr
Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War (excerpts) [T]
Forde, Stephen “Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism” [B]
Palmer “Alcibiades and the Question of Tyranny in Thucydides” [B]

Week 4: Societal Responsibility in the Ancient World

Mon 16 Apr
[value position paper due in my office by 5:00pm]

Tue 17 Apr
Plato, “The Statesman” [B]
Stern, Paul “The Rule of Wisdom & The Rule of Law in Plato’s Statesman” [B]

Thu 19 Apr
NO CLASS SESSION
**Week 5: Machiavelli: From Ancient to Modern Rule**

**Mon 23 Apr**
[mid-term examination due in my office by 5:00pm]

**Tue 24 Apr**
Machiavelli, *The Prince* (excerpts) [T]
Ball, Terence “The Picaresque Prince: Reflections on Machiavelli and Moral Change” [B]

**Thu 26 Apr**
Machiavelli, *The Prince* (excerpts) [T]
Machiavelli, *The Discourses* (excerpts) [T]
Deitz, Mary “Trapping the Prince: Machiavelli & The Politics of Deception” [B]

**Week 6: Thomas Hobbes and the Language of Leadership**

**Tue 01 May**
Hobbes, Thomas *Leviathan* (excerpts) [T]
Mara, Gerald “Hobbes’ Counsel to Sovereigns” [B]

**Thu 03 May**
Hobbes, Thomas *Leviathan* (excerpts) [T]
Ball, Terence “Hobbes’ Linguistic Turn” [B]
[at least one response paper due on or before this date]

**Week 7: Where We’re Headed: Conservative & Liberal Ends of Leadership**

**Tue 08 May**
Burke, Edmund “Reflections on the Revolution in France” (excerpts) [B]
Boyd, Richard “‘The Unsteady and Precarious Contribution of Individuals’: Edmund Burke’s Defense of Civil Society” [B]
Huntington, Samuel “Conservatism as an Ideology” [B]

**Thu 10 May**
Mill, J.S. “On Liberty” (excerpts) [B]
Berlin, Isaiah “John Stuart Mill & The Ends of Life” [B]
Vincent, Andrew “The New Liberalism & Citizenship” [B]

**Week 8: 20th Century Challenges to Democratic Leadership**

**Tue 15 May**
Lenin, V.I. “What Is To Be Done?” (excerpts) [B]
Mussolini, Benito “The Doctrine of Fascism” [B]
Hitler, Adolph “Nations & Race” [B]
Arendt, Hannah “The Origins of Totalitarianism” (excerpts) [B]

**Thu 17 May**
Guest Speaker: Prof. Stefan Dolgert, Department of Political Science, UConn
Reading TBA
Week 9: Leadership & the Extension of Rights: On Violence and Non-Violence
Tue 22 May
Arendt, Hannah “Reflections on Violence” [B]
Frazier, Elizabeth & Kimberly Hutchins “On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon” [B]
Bienen, Henry “Leaders, Violence, and the Absence of Change in Africa” [B]

Thu 24 May
King Jr, Martin Luther “Letter From a Birmingham Jail” [B]
Gandhi, Mohandas “Satyagraha: Non-Violent Resistance” [B]

Week 10: A Democracy, If You Can Keep It: Reflections on Leadership
Tue 29 May
Keohane, Nannerl “On Leadership” [B]
Keohane, Nannerl “Leadership in a Democracy” [B]
[last day to turn in response papers]

Week 11: Finals
Tue 05 Jun
[final exams due in my office by 5:00pm]

THIS DOCUMENT IS IMPORTANT. DO NOT LOSE IT.
AND BE SURE TO REFER TO IT REGULARLY THROUGHOUT THE TERM.