COLLOQUIUM: FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

COURSE DESCRIPTION:
Political leadership is different from any other kind of leadership. Coaches routinely cut players from teams. CEOs fire disgruntled workers without a second thought. Except in rare instances, politicians do not kick citizens out of their communities; they're stuck with the followers they have. Political leadership, therefore, poses a unique puzzle—how do you lead towards desired ends when some element of your community disagrees about what the ends should be? To understand political leadership, then, one must first recognize the significance of a couple basic questions: 1) Where are we going? and; 2) Who are “we”?

In this course, we investigate the ways these questions shape our understanding of leadership by considering some foundational texts from political leaders, from the Ancients to Machiavelli, from the USA's founding fathers to its Civil Rights leaders. 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. The foundations of leadership, in other words, are to be found in considerations of political ideology and government type. Through discussions of these thinkers and their historical circumstances, we will strengthen our understanding of political leadership and prepare students to be ‘citizen leaders’ – better able to understand and shape political debate. 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.

With all this in mind, this course has three 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, 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, and 3) to synthesize this historical material into leadership lessons which we can then attempt to apply in the contemporary age.

In doing so, the course will take on a colloquium format, 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.
**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. This means that you’ll need to make print copies of the online material. Let me know as soon as possible if this will pose a difficulty for you.

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 paper deadlines. In these cases, I will accept late papers at a penalty of 1 point (out of 4 possible points) 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 the written material, it is crucial to 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 regular hours. Something like a terrible snowstorm, which—who knows?—could be a real possibility this spring term.

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 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attendance &amp; Participation</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Short Reading Response Papers</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Position Essay</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simulation Exercise &amp; Team Leadership Memo</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>30%</td>
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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.

Moreover, each student will be responsible for leading course discussion (alone, or in a group of two) for one class session during the term. On the first day of class, I will distribute a sheet where you can rank your preferences for which course session you will be leading. Every effort will be made to try to assign you one of your top choices, although this cannot be guaranteed.
When you lead, or co-lead course discussion, you should be prepared to provide a short presentation about our readings. In these presentations, you will introduce our readings for the week. However, to be clear, your goal in these presentations is not summary. After all, everyone is expected to have read and considered the text(s). Instead, you should focus your comments on how the text(s) address or evade key points, and contextualize the readings according to the semester-long conversation that is underway.

You are also expected to submit a series of questions that will guide our discussion following your presentation. Submit these questions to me, via an email attachment, no later than 5pm (a hard deadline) on the day before our meetings. I will then upload them to blackboard, for everyone’s benefit, as soon as possible. If you wish, you may meet with me as you begin to prepare to lead the class discussion for advice and suggestions.

Finally, there may be one or two opportunities over the course of the semester where we want to meet outside the regularly scheduled class sessions in order to attend a lecture from a visiting speaker, watch a film, or pursue some other unforeseen opportunity that is of interest to the class. Should any one of these situations arise, I will make every effort to accommodate everyone’s schedule. Furthermore, for these potential events, attendance will not be mandatory, and your participation grade will not suffer if you cannot attend.

**Short Response Papers:**

These short (2-3 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 April 25th.

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.
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.”

Simulation Exercise and Team Leadership Memo
On the 9th week of class, we will suspend the normal class structure to participate in a simulation exercise. While more details will be forthcoming in class, the basics are as follows: Together, we will choose an issue of contemporary political significance. And we will act out the different leadership solutions that the theorist we read this term would recommend, consider them in turn, and determine the best way to proceed based on the arguments and analysis offered in class. Students will form small groups, like Team Thucydides, Team Machiavelli, or Team Madison, etc. They will chart a path forward based on the leadership principles gleaned from those thinkers’ texts. And they will advocate for their approach above others.

The simulation will be followed by a short leadership brief, co-written by the members of each team. In it, students will elaborate on the leadership strategy for which they advocated in class. Each team will hand in only one document, and each team member will be graded on the collective paper.

More information about the simulation exercise, and the team leadership memo, will be made available in class, as week 9 approaches.

Final Exam
This is a take-home final exam, due at the end of the term. In this exam, you will be asked to respond to your choice of questions from a series of questions given. One of the questions will ask you to revisit your value position essay. Others will invite you to reflect upon the leadership lessons learned from one or more of the primary-source authors we read this term. More information about the essay topics will be made available in class as the due date approaches.
**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:

- Thucydides *The Peloponnesian War*, New York: Penguin

A note on the books: 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 a book, and you do not want another, then by all means, use yours. You will, of course, have to make it clear which edition you are using in the works cited page of your writing.

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]. It is required that you read these texts; it is not required that you buy them.

**COURSE SCHEDULE:**

**Week 1:**
- **Tue 25 Mar**: Introduction
  - no reading required

  **Thu 27 Mar**: Foundations of Leadership: Authority
  - Burns, James MacGregor “Wellsprings of Political Leadership” [B]
  - Weber, Max “Three Types of Legitimate Authority” [B]
  - Orwell, George “Shooting an Elephant” [B]

**Week 2:**
- **Tue 01 Apr**: Foundations of Leadership: Ideology
  - Heifetz, Ronald “Values in Leadership” [B]
  - MacCallum, Gerald “Negative & Positive Freedom” [B]
  - Carver, Terrell “Ideology: The Career of a Concept” [B]

  **Thu 03 Apr**: Leadership in the Ancient World: Democracy in Action
  - Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (excerpts) [T]
  - Lee, Ronald “Justifying Empire: Pericles, Polk, and a Dilemma of Democratic Leadership” [B]
Week 3:
Tue 08 Apr: Leadership in the Ancient World: Democracy in Trouble
Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (excerpts) [T]
Forde, Stephen “Thucydides on the Causes of Athenian Imperialism” [B]

Thu 10 Apr: Leadership in the Ancient World: Democracy, Doomed?
Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (excerpts) [T]
Palmer “Alcibiades and the Question of Tyranny in Thucydides” [B]

Week 4:
Tue 15 Apr Mirror of Princes: Aquinas & the Origins of Authority
Aquinas, Thomas “De Regno” [B]
Murphy, Mark “Consent, Custom, and the Common Good in Aquinas's Account of Political Authority” [B]

Thu 17 Apr Mirror of Princes: Machiavelli and the Making of the Modern Leader I
Machiavelli, *The Prince* (excerpts) [T]
[value position paper due]

Week 5:
Tue 22 Apr: Mirror of Princes: Machiavelli and the Making of the Modern Leader II
Machiavelli, *The Prince* (excerpts) [T]
Deitz, Mary “Trapping the Prince: Machiavelli & The Politics of Deception” [B]

Thu 24 Apr: Machiavelli’s Leader vs. the People? Machiavelli’s Leader and the People?
Machiavelli, *The Discourses* (excerpts) [T]
Ball, Terence “The Picaresque Prince: Reflections on Machiavelli and Moral Change” [B]
[at least one response paper due on or before this date]

Week 6:
Tue 29 Apr: Thomas Hobbes and the Absolute Language of Leadership
Hobbes, Thomas *Leviathan* (excerpts) [B]
Mara, Gerald “Hobbes’ Counsel to Sovereigns” [B]

Thu 01 May: Ends of Leadership I: The Conservative Leader
Huntington, Samuel “Conservatism as an Ideology” [B]
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]
Week 7:
Tue 06 May: Ends of Leadership II: The Liberal Leader
Mill, John Stuart “On Liberty” (excerpts) [B]
Berlin, Isaiah “John Stuart Mill & The Ends of Life” [B]

Thu 08 May: Leadership In the US Context: The Federalist Papers I
The Federalist Papers, (excerpts) [T]
Lawler, Peter "The Federalist's" Hostility to Leadership and the Crisis of the Contemporary Presidency” [B]

Week 8:
Tue 13 May: Leadership In the US Context: The Federalist Papers II
The Federalist Papers, (excerpts) [T]
Weiner, Greg “James Madison and the Legitimacy of Majority Factions” [B]

Thu 15 May: Contemporary America: Race, Civil Rights, Factions, and Leadership
King, Martin Luther “Letter From a Birmingham Jail” [B]
Olson, Joel “The Freshness of Fanaticism: The Abolitionist Defense of Zealotry” [B]
Olson, Joel “Whiteness and the Polarization of American Politics” [B]
Olson, Joel “Whiteness and the Participation-Inclusion Dilemma” [B]
[at least two response papers due on or before this date]

Week 9:
Tue 20 May: Simulation Day I
reading TBA, as determined by class

Thu 22 May: Simulation Day II
reading TBA, as determined by class

Week 10:
Tue 27 May: Thinking and Doing Leadership
Keohane, Nannerl “Leadership in a Democracy” [B]
Keohane, Nannerl “On Leadership” [B]
Heifetz, Ronald “The Personal Challenge” [B]
[last day to turn in response papers]

Wed 28 May: Last Day of Classes
[team leadership memos due in my office by 5:00pm]

Week 11: Finals
Mon 02 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.