Course description (651): “Exploration of political leadership as a focus for research, teaching, and applied political science.”

My description for this semester: This course focuses on the nature of politics and leadership in general, and political leadership in particular over the last few decades. The books are available at the UHM Bookstore. In addition, my personal library of books on leadership will also be available (see below for a partial listing of some of the titles). By the end of the course you should have acquired an acquaintance with the literature, the various theories and approaches taken, and some of the most important contemporary problems which political leaders face. We’ll also look at the dynamics of the current presidential election.

Leaders imply followers. What constitutes “leadership?” What are the dynamics in relations between leaders and followers? We’ll explore these and many other relations using the classic “3-levels” of analysis.

Topics covered by the books at the UHM Bookstore include the following:
1. A mini-encyclopedic guide to the organization of power and leadership in America, addressing the question of whether the USA today is better described as oligarchical or polyarchical in the structure of decision making; the text is Thomas Dye’s *Who's Running America? The Obama Years*
3. An autobiographical example of upward mobility touching on personal integrity and cultural issues of race, wealth, social position, and education: Douglas Walker, *Son of Virginia*
5. How power in American politics is acquired and lost as a function of personal strategy and tactics:
   - Carville and Begala, *Buck Up, Suck Up...and Come Back When You Foul Up*
   - Matthews, *Hardball: How Politics Is Played Told by One Who Knows the Game*

Overview of the Texts and Authors

Dye’s book is an encyclopedic reference to how leadership in America is structured, how and why public and corporate policy is made and by whom. Dye has written many books of a similar nature focusing on Reagan, Clinton, and both Bush’s, as well as on public policy and oligarchy generally.

The Heifetz, Grashow and Linsky text is one of the latest in a long history of “self help” literature on how to be a leader, in this case in organizational contexts. This book addresses problems of adapting oneself and one’s relations with others to organizational settings to better discern and cope with issues of significance to society. It’s about learning adaptive leadership. The authors are professional consultants to leaders and leadership groups. Their focus? “Exercising adaptive leadership is at its heart about giving meaning to your life beyond your own ambition” (p. 224).

The Walker book is an autobiography of the first black governor of Virginia and first black governor in the USA since the Reconstruction Era. His story opens up not only the subjects of race relations and inequalities in income and educational opportunity, but the roles played by military service (army, Korean
War), segregation, education, and his legal and political career in creating opportunities. More importantly, he provides insights into his personality and how parental leadership shaped his values and aspirations.

Gergen's book *Eyewitness to Power* is an insider's view of presidential leadership, his book consists of reflections based on his experience as a White House speech writer for Nixon, Ford, Reagan and Clinton—and about how they rose to the presidency, how they coped with various issues, and why they succeeded and failed. He also provides brief biographical material on each of these presidents relevant to understanding their leadership styles and decisions. See Gergen on the 2016 campaign. His website: http://davidgergen.com/

Similar to Gergen's book, Matthews *Hardball* and Carville and Begala's *Buck Up…* books, give you insiders in political campaigns for Congress, and on how power is wielded in Congress. The authors are political commentators, campaign advisers and political strategists, whose vignettes about politicians and how they coped with problems are organized in the form of do's and don't's that provide general advice on participating in politics. Brief bio' on the authors: Matthews, Carville's, Begala's. They also have their own websites: http://www.carville.info/.

In addition to these texts, lecture material will deal with some basics of social psychological and sociological theory related to understanding how social systems impact potential leaders and leadership, weaving together theories of Lasswell, Maslow, Easton, Coplin, Parsons, Burns and others.

Our discussions will range widely on the nature of political leadership and political power, its use and misuse by leaders, some at the peak of political hierarchies and some challenging those hierarchies and supporter-leader relations. We will usually look through the eyes of observers, analyzers, and critics of such leadership dynamics. How and why people become recognized (or shaped) as leaders, how they maintain their position and reputation (or are maintained by their followers and other interested parties), and how they decline, fail, or are removed as leaders by their followers or enemies also will be among the questions raised and discussed.

Three paradigmatic perspectives will be used to focus some of our discussions: (1) the use of scientific methods for studying leadership and editing insights, (2) development of applied policy frameworks for leadership, usually in connection with biographical examples, and (3) philosophical approaches to leadership issues and understanding the nature of leadership.

By the end of this course you should have an understanding of how politics actually works—at least as understood by some of those who study leaders and leadership—how to acquire more knowledge of the subject, and how to apply such understanding to your own circumstances.

I encourage visits during office hours and by appointment if you'd like to discuss topics related to the course. If you want to come in during office hours check with me after class because sometimes (infrequently) I do have to cancel them. Remember, as a University of Hawaii employee I am a public servant, paid for by taxes and tuition. Faculty work for you. Take advantage of the opportunity.

**Writing and Reading Assignments**

For about the first two thirds of the course I expect weekly written commentaries, which may include summaries to set the background for your evaluations later. They should include the assigned readings but should also include optional readings from texts discussed in class. Below is a list of possible outside readings, a sample to which you are not limited. You should select on average one non-assigned book a week to incorporate into your writing. These commentaries should be about 5 pages,
double spaced, but may be longer if you wish.

The last third of the class (about four weeks) you should focus on writing a term paper on some aspect of leadership theory, practice, or normative inquiry. The term paper should be about 15 pages.
Sample List of Outside Readings

There are several hundred thousand books on leadership in general and political leadership in particular. Below is a tiny but growing sample of books which I have found interesting for various reasons over the years and would encourage you to review and comment on a few of them. I have almost all of them in my office or at home and you are encouraged to borrow them (no more than two at a time, for about one week). This list is growing and will be substantially revised by the time classes start this Fall.

**Academic theorizing (“abductive” reasoning and grounded theory, case studies)**

James MacGreggor Burns (2004), *Transforming Leadership*

Anthony R. DeLuca (2000), *Gandhi, Mao, Mandela, and Gorbachev: Studies in Personality, Power and Politics*

Jack Godwin (2009), *Clintonomics: How Bill Clinton Reengineered the Reagan Revolution*

Ole R. Holsti (2006), *Making American Foreign Policy*

Robert Jay Lifton (1968), *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*

Craig Shirley (2009), *Rendezvous with Destiny: Ronald Reagan and the Campaign that Changed America*

**Whistleblower studies and whistleblowers**

Riccucci, *Unsung Heros: Federal Execurats Making a Difference*

**Self-help (how to lead, rule, and so on)**

Stephen Covey, (1990) *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*

Napoleon Hill (edited by Matthew Sartwell) (1994, 2007), *Napoleon Hill's Keys to Success: the 17 Principles of Personal Achievement*

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*

John C. Maxwell (2007), *The 21 Irrefutable Laws of Leadership*

Donald Phillips, *Martin Luther King, Jr., on Leadership: Inspiration and Wisdom for Challenging Times*

Wes Roberts, *Leadership Secrets of Atilla the Hun*


**Leaders' philosophy and evaluations (where we're headed, why, and what to do)**

Jimmy Carter, *Our Endangered Values: America's Moral Crisis*

Jimmy Carter, *The Personal Beliefs of Jimmy Carter*

Dick and Liz Cheney, *Exceptional*

**Autobiographies of Leaders**

Madeline Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty*

George Bush, *Decision Points*

Benjamin Cayetano, *Ben: A Memoir, from Street Kid to Governor*

Hillary Clinton, *Hard Choices*

Rudolph Giuliani (2005), *Leadership*

David Hackworth, *Hazardous Duty*
Barack Obama, The Audacity of Hope
Margaret Thatcher (1996) The Path to Power
Margaret Thatcher, Statecraft

Applied organization theory (by consultants, entrepreneurs)
Max DuPree (2004) Leadership is an Art

Historical studies of leaders by leaders
John F. Kennedy (1956), Profiles in Courage
Henry Kissinger, Crisis
Henry Kissinger, World Order
Richard Nixon, Leaders

Leaders planning
Ashram Ghali and Clare Lockhart, Fixing Failed States (Ghali is currently President of Afghanistan)

Assignments:

Expect revisions to this schedule. Discussions of topics sometimes take more time (or less) than anticipated, and supplements to the readings (usually provided by lecture notes and media) may take longer. There will also be a substantial number of “oral histories” focusing mostly on the financial crisis of 2008 precipitated by the bursting of the housing “bubble” in 2007. We’ll discuss the timing of these half hour interviews in class.


Week 1 Aug. 23, 2016 -
- Introduction to the course and character of political studies (science, practice, philosophy)
- For class discussion: Michel Oksenberg’s guesstimate of the next Chinese leader following Mao (source: https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/collection/data/663199854 ) (slide) What, if any, are leaders' basic characteristics? What is leadership?
- Read Dye: Chapter 1 “Elitism in a Democracy” pp. 1-12. Focus on discussion of conflicting concepts of governance: elitist vs. pluralist. Is Dye right about the USA being an oligarchy?

Week 2 8/30
- Read the introductions to these texts for discussion Wednesday:
  - CB (Carville and Begala): Introduction, pp. 15-18. American superpower status important?
  - M (Matthews): Introduction, pp. 15-20. What's the “only game for grown people to play?”
  - G (Gergen): Preface, pp. 11-15. What does Gergen say could create a “new golden age?”
  - H (Heifetz, Grashow, Linsky): Introduction, Chapter 1 “How to Use This Book” pp. 1-11, Note the 2x2 matrix on page 6 and how their following paragraphs systematically follow it.
How do these authors differ in their orientation to leadership? What is unique to each? How do they appear to overlap? How do they compare with Dye?

- **Watch** Johnson and Kwak interview, part 1 (the transcript is also available on the same webpage and can be downloaded). Video interview on the 2007-9 financial meltdown. Discussion.
- Lectures: concepts of power, roots of politics (classic theory: charisma vs. authority)

### Week 3 9/6
- H: Ch. 2, pp. 13-19, 23-40 – theory: what does it take to be an adaptive leader?
- G: Ch. 1 “The Stuff of Shakespeare” (compare G, pp 30-31, with H, p. 35 top), look for similarities between Gergen’s evaluation of Nixon’s antisemitism and (pp. 20-21) and online (not in the text!) Trump on women (and on the more flattering side). (If you are unfamiliar with Nixon, get some background via Wikipedia and the Nixon Library.)

### Week 4 9/13
- H: Chs. 5 and 6 on diagnosing the “adaptive challenge” and the “political landscape”
  - Do you have experiences in your own life to which these chapters apply?

Assignments with my commentaries for next quarter will be sent in week 4, or earlier, depending on your interests and background. Note that this field of inquiry and research has no “standard model” around which to organize the subject matter of the class. So I leave some considerable flexibility in content and schedule. Get a head start, feel free to drop by my office or email me to discuss your interests in political leadership so I can select some books for optional readings relevant to you.