

**The GSPM                      Summer Semester, 2007                      Mondays: 6:00 - 9:30 P.M.**  
**Instructor: Christopher Arterton; 202-994-5843; arterton@gwu.edu**

**PGMT295 - ADVANCED PROBLEMS & STRATEGIES IN POLITICAL MANAGEMENT**  
**"STRATEGY, NEGOTIATION AND LEADERSHIP IN POLITICS"**

"Leadership and learning are indispensable to each other."

--            President John F. Kennedy  
                 November 22, 1963, Dallas Texas

Democracy is not self-executing. It takes leadership to bring democracy to life. Great democratic leaders are visionaries. They have an instinct for their nation's future, a course to steer...

--            Arthur Schlesinger

"There is this tension between two forces I am engaged in, between raw political power versus what is probably a little more deeply inside of me, the real quest, the drive strive for substantive issues, of really changing things for these few years I am in the United States Senate."

--            Senator William Frist

"To say a leader is preoccupied with power is like saying that a tennis player is preoccupied with making shots his opponent cannot return. Of course leaders are preoccupied with power! The significant questions are: What means do they use to gain it? How do they exercise it? [And] to what ends do they exercise it?"

--            John W. Gardner

"Leaders must offer moral leadership. They can express the values that hold society together. Most important, they can conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations, carry them above the conflicts that tear society apart, and unite them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts."

--            James MacGregor Burns

"Few will have the greatness to bend history itself; but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation... It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped."

--            Robert F. Kennedy

"The essence of leadership is... to motivate people to perform to the maximum potential to achieve goals and objectives that **you** set.

William Cohen

In politics, poker and negotiations, success derives not only from holding a strong hand, but from analyzing the total situation so the cards can be skillfully played.

--            Herb Cohen

"I had discovered the political imperative: the desire to expand upon personal experience and transform it into a public agenda, to develop an issue of individual importance and merge it into a generally felt community need."

--            Madeleine M. Kunin

Where have all the leaders gone? They're out there pleading, temporizing, putting out fires, trying to avoid too much heat. They're peering at a landscape of bottom lines... They resign. They bum out. They decide not to run or serve... Thus, at precisely the time when the trust and credibility of our alleged leaders are at an all-time low and when potential leaders feel most inhibited in exercising their gifts, America most needs leaders -- because, of course, as the quality of leaders declines, the quantity of problems escalates.

-- Warren Bennis

"Developing yourself begins by *servicing*, by striving toward an idea outside of yourself -- not by leading. Leaders are not born, nor are they made -- they are self-made... Effective self-development must proceed along two parallel streams. One is improvement -- to do better what you already do reasonably well. The second is change -- to do something different. Both are essential.

-- Peter F. Drucker

"To achieve a collaborative result in a competitive environment, you have to play the game!"

-- Herb Cohen

Whether a man [or woman] is burdened by power or enjoys power; whether he is trapped by responsibility or made free by it; whether he is moved by other people and other forces or moves them -- this is the essence of leadership.

-- Theodore White

There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things.

-- Nicolo Machiavelli

"It is not the critics who count, or how the strong man stumbled and fell, or where the doer of deeds could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strikes valiantly, who errs and comes up short again and again, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotion, and spends himself in a worthy cause; and if he fails, at least he fails while daring greatly, knowing that he'll never be with those cold and timid sons-of-bitches who know neither victory nor defeat. "

-- Theodore Roosevelt

I met a traveler from an antique land  
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone  
Stand in the desert . . . Near them on the sand,  
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,  
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read...  
And on the pedestal these words appear:  
"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:  
Look upon my works, ye Mighty, and despair!"  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare  
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

-- Percy Bysshe Shelley

## **COURSE OVERVIEW:**

In the capstone seminar, students will examine the personal, strategic and institutional circumstances that political leaders confront as they go about their work. The course focuses upon (1) the development of strategy, (2) upon negotiation and conflict reduction, and (3) upon leadership in contemporary politics. Students explore the strategic calculus employed by those in politics as they attempt to mobilize political support, acquire personal influence, build coalitions, exercise institutional authority to accomplish their objectives, and achieve workable solutions to social problems.

The overall topic is "political" leadership, which, as the above quotes illustrate, is both complex and poorly articulated. The "capstone" seminar in political management challenges students to become leaders, not necessarily in the formal sense of seeking public office, not necessarily in the sense of pursuing a career of public recognition, but in the general sense of articulating a vision and influencing those around you so as to achieve political purposes. To accomplish this ambitious task, students must define their own political goals and values, refine their analytical skills, and develop strategies appropriate to accomplishing their vision. If successful, the course should launch each student upon a process of self-discovery incorporating both the articulation of values and the strategic moves to achieve them.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Since much of the learning in Capstone takes place through in-class exercises, class attendance will be mandatory. Students who miss more than two sessions will be penalized in course grading. All students

will contribute \$20 to the "class fund." [Think of it as a lab fee, details to follow.] Each week, students will be expected to undertake a substantial amount of reading in preparation for class discussions. During six weeks, students will also complete written assignments. The final grade will be calculated from the instructor's evaluation of your work in five areas. In ascending order of importance, these are: (1) the smaller homework essays, (2) participation in class exercises, (3) involvement in class discussions (especially participation that gives evidence of mastery of the assigned readings), (4) the two longer written assignments (on "Strategy" & "Negotiations") and (5) the conceptual essay on Leadership.

The written assignments will be evaluated as "competent" (./), "excellent" (+), or "lacking" (-). The difference among these evaluations reflect primarily the instructor's estimate of the **depth of thought** with which each assignment was undertaken. Some of the assignments might appear to be easily completed "off the top of the head" (i.e., with a high "bs quotient"). However, truly grappling with these questions will require considerable thought on your part. The best one-page memos are boiled down from a five-page first draft. **[Warning:** the instructor takes a dim view of essays that have not been carefully proofread and failure to "spell-check" your essay is deemed as particularly reprehensible. Note especially one common error that drives the Instructor crazy: personal pronouns should agree in number with the nouns they replace. Thus, "A leader .... his/her ..." {not "their"!}.]

### **BOOKS FOR PURCHASE:**

#### REQUIRED:

Dixit and Nalebuff, *Thinking Strategically*

Freund, *Smart Negotiating*.

Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*

HBS, *Power, Influence and Persuasion*.

#### HIGHLY RECOMMENDED:

Greene, *The 48 Laws of Power*

Cohen, *The Art of Leadership*

Gardner, *On Leadership*

**In addition, readings and case studies marked "BB" are available on Blackboard.**

A [MUCH TRUNCATED] BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LEADERSHIP, NEGOTIATION & STRATEGY:

**ON LEADERSHIP:**

Geoffrey Bellman, *Getting Things Done When You Are Not in Charge*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1992.

Warren Bennis. *Why Leaders Can't Lead*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989.

James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership*. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

William A. Cohen. *The Art of the Leader*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990.

Stephen R. Covey. *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*.

Peter F. Drucker. *Managing the Non-Profit Organization*. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

John W. Gardner. *On Leadership*. New York: The Free Press, 1990.

Robert Kelley. *The Power of Followership*. New York: Doubleday Currency, 1992.

James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner. *Credibility: How Leaders Gain and Lose It, Why People Demand It*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993.

**ON NEGOTIATIONS:**

Herb Cohen. *You Can Negotiate Anything*. New York: Citadel Press, 1980.

Stephen Kozicki. *Creative Negotiating*. Holbrook, MA: Adams Media, 1998.

Roy J. Lewicki, Joseph A. Litterer, John W. Minton, and David M. Saunders. *Negotiation*. Burr Ridge, IL: Irwin, Second Edition, 1994.

Howard Raiffa. *The Art and Science of Negotiation*. Cambridge, MA.: Belknap, 1982.

H. Peyton Young. *Negotiation Analysis*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, 1991.

**ON STRATEGY:**

Adam Brandenberg and Barry J. Nalebuff. *Co-opetition*. New York: Doubleday/Currency, 1996.

Chin-Ning Chu. *Thick Face; Black Heart*. Mill Valley, CA: AMC Publishing Inc., 1992.

Robert Greene and Joost Elffers. *The 48 Laws of Power*. New York: Viking, 1998.

Michael A. Ludeen. *Machiavelli on Modern Leadership*. New York: St Martins/Turman Talley Books, 1999.

Edward N. Luttwak. *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1987.

Jeffrey Pfeffer. *Managing with Power: Politics and Influence in Organizations*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1992.

**WEEKLY CLASS TOPICS, READINGS AND HOMEWORK:**

<b>Class 1.</b>	<b>May 21</b>	<b>Introduction and Course Overview</b>
<b>Class 2.</b>	<b>June 4</b>	<b>Strategic Behavior</b>
<b>Class 3.</b>	<b>June 11</b>	<b>Simple Strategies</b>
<b>Class 4.</b>	<b>June 18</b>	<b>Strategy in Complex Circumstances</b>
<b>Class 5.</b>	<b>June 25</b>	<b>Elements of Negotiations</b>
<b>Class 6.</b>	<b>July 2</b>	<b>To be Arranged</b>
<b>Class 7.</b>	<b>July 9</b>	<b>Negotiating Strategies</b>
<b>Class 8.</b>	<b>July 16</b>	<b>The Art of Negotiating</b>
<b>Class 9.</b>	<b>July 23</b>	<b>Leadership Styles for Political Management</b>

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**CLASS 1.    MAY 21<sup>ST</sup>                    INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OVERVIEW**

Course overview  
The nature of strategy  
The nature of leadership  
Strategy versus Leadership  
Strategy and Leadership

In-class exercises:

Beat the Clock (A) and (B)  
Thinking Like Sun Tsu  
Dick Francis's Race Day  
Dollar Auction

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**READINGS FOR JUNE 4<sup>TH</sup>:**

James McGregor Burns, Leadership, last chapter. **(BB)**

Dixit and Nalebuff, Thinking Strategically, Introduction and Ch. 1 & 2.

William Riker, The Art of Political Manipulation, Preface and Ch. 1 & 2. **(BB)**

## HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JUNE 4<sup>TH</sup>:

Write a personal statement (6 pages) of your own political beliefs. Use the first page to summarize your own political history. How did you acquire your beliefs? How active in politics have you been? Then, give **much greater attention (four pages total) to the values that you believe should be achieved through politics.** How would you “type-cast” yourself (if that is possible)? What directions in public policy are worth devoting your life to? What do you want to do with your life? In the last two pages, sketch out a career plan for the next ten years. What would you like your professional life to be like in 2016? **Title this essay: “VISION.”**

## CLASS 2. JUNE 4<sup>TH</sup> STRATEGIC BEHAVIOR

The Art and Science of Strategy  
The Game and Its Rules  
Lessons of "Ten Tales of Strategy"  
Strategic Anticipation

### In-class exercise:

Airwars 2  
Campaign '92: Issues or Character  
Matrix Exercises  
Dominant Strategies  
Minimax and Maximin Strategies  
Battle of the Coral Sea  
Go Home or Stay  
Ultimatum Games

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## READINGS FOR JUNE 11<sup>TH</sup>:

Dixit and Nalebuff, Chapters 3 - 6.

William Riker, *The Art of Political Manipulation*, Chapters 2, 9, 11. **(BB)**

Caro, *Master of the Senate*, Pp. 353-66, 386-419, 474-515, & 557- 80 **(BB)**.

Von Senger, *Book of Stratagems*, (excerpt) **(BB)**

Greene, *The 48 Laws of Power*, Rules 4, 13, 23, 43, 47 & 48. **(BB)**

**CLASS 3. JUNE 11<sup>TH</sup> SIMPLE STRATEGIES**

Commitment and Credibility  
Drama Theory  
Prisoner's Dilemma  
Definitional Issues  
Acquisition of power  
Formal Power and Authority  
Bases of Power and Influence

**In-class exercise:**

Promises, Promises  
LBJ and the acquisition of power  
Prisoner's Dilemma

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**READINGS FOR JUNE 18<sup>TH</sup>:**

Dixit and Nalebuff, Chapters 7-9.  
Von Ghyczy, et. al., *Clausewitz on Strategy*, Introduction (**BB**)  
William Riker, The Art of Political Manipulation, Chapters 2, 9, 11 (**BB**)  
John Pitney, *The Art of Political Warfare*, Ch. 2. (**BB**)  
Sun Tzu, The Art of War, entire and handout on The 18 Strategems

**HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JUNE 18<sup>TH</sup>:**

Preparation for AIRWARS 8

**CLASS 4. JUNE 18<sup>TH</sup> COMPLEX STRATEGIES**  
[NOTICE: This class may run late.!] ]

Deciphering Sun Tzu  
“Strategic Misrepresentation”  
Chicken and Deterance  
Commitment and Credibility  
Summarizing Strategy

In-class exercises:

AIRWARS, GAME 13  
The Capstone Strategic Contest

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**READINGS FOR JUNE 25<sup>TH</sup>:**

J. Freund, *Smart Negotiating*, pp. 13-129.

D. Druckman and V. Robinson, *Negotiation Narratives*, Part I (**BB**)

**HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JUNE 25<sup>TH</sup>:**

In two pages describe an instance of an interactive dynamic between two or more parties in which one player carefully planned and executed a successful strategy. In another two pages, describe a similar (but different) situation in which one party failed to act strategically or adopted a poor strategy. Do not, however, draw upon the winner and loser in the same situation. Conclude your essay with three more pages in which you draw some general conclusions or principles about strategy as revealed by these instances. You can draw upon situations from election campaigns, legislative fights, issue disputes, or even a personal power play. HINT: The last 3 pages are by far the most important. Think!  
Total length = 7 pages. **Title this essay: “STRATEGY.”**

**CLASS 5     JUNE 25<sup>TH</sup>                    ELEMENTS OF NEGOTIATIONS**

Power and Leverage  
Information  
Positional vs. Principled Negotiation  
ZOPA, BATNA & MAD  
Multilateral vs. Bilateral Negotiation  
Time Pressures

In-class exercises:

The Great Food Bazaar  
The Used Car Sale (A) and (B)  
Merging Media or Party Time at The GSPM

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**CLASS 6     JULY 2<sup>ND</sup> -     TO BE ARRANGED**

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**READINGS FOR JULY 9<sup>TH</sup>:**

James Freund, *Smart Negotiating*, pp. 91 - 129.

D. Druckman and V. Robinson, *Negotiation Narratives*, Part II (**BB**)

**HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JULY 9<sup>TH</sup>:**

Pre-Negotiation: The Big Job Interview

**CLASS 7. JULY 9<sup>TH</sup> NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES**

Negotiating Complex Problems  
Information  
Credibility and Judgment  
Affect and Relationships

**In-class exercises:**

Salary Negotiations  
Campaign Decision Making (Worthington/Cornelius)

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**READINGS FOR JULY 16<sup>TH</sup>:**

Freund, *Smart Negotiating*, pp. 130-224.

James Freund, *Smart Negotiating*, pp. 175 - 224.

Fischer & Ury, *Getting to Yes*, Chapters 1-3. **(BB)**

Druckman and Robinson, *Negotiation Narratives*, Part III **(BB)**

**HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JULY 16<sup>TH</sup>:**

Presidential Debates Teams (Consideration of Initial Positions)

**WRITTEN HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JULY 16<sup>TH</sup>:**

Write a 5-page essay in which you address the following issue: What conditions, do you feel, are likely to lead to interaction in which conflict between two parties escalates? What conditions are more likely to create a situation in which the conflict between parties can be reduced? Provide concrete examples. **Title this essay, "NEGOTIATING."**

**CLASS 8      JULY 16<sup>TH</sup>                      THE ART OF NEGOTIATING**

Two Stage Negotiations  
Rewards  
Concession Making  
Constraints  
Multi-party Negotiations  
Integrative and Distributional Bargaining  
“Best Outcomes” in Negotiations

In-class exercise:

Negotiations over Presidential Debates

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**READINGS FOR JULY 23<sup>RD</sup>:**

P. Drucker, *Managing the Non-Profit Organizations*, Chapters 1 & 2. (BB)

R. Kelley, *The Power of Followership*, Ch 1, 5 and 6. (BB)

Gardner, *On Leadership*, Chapters 1 - 3. (BB)

Warren Bennis, *Why Leaders Can't Lead*, Ch. 2. (BB)

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**HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JULY 23<sup>RD</sup>:**

For the final paper, read three of the books from the bibliography on page 4, one from each section: leadership, negotiation, and strategy. [With the instructor’s advance approval, you may substitute a book.] After reading these books, write an essay (10 pages or more) which considers the phrase “*political leadership*” as distinct from other types of leadership (such as in corporate settings). This is not a book review, but an expression of your own views on political leadership. What is different about leadership in politics? How does *political* leadership integrate the subjects of negotiation and strategy? What ingredients do you consider most important in producing effective leadership in the political realm? **Title this essay, “Leadership.” [See alternative assignment on next page.]**

## ALTERNATIVE HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT FOR JULY 23<sup>RD</sup>:

As an alternative assignment, students registered in Capstone may opt into a team project called “Advancing the GSPM.” Those students who do not choose to opt in will complete the final paper as described in the syllabus.

“Advancing the GSPM” is a team-based assignment in which self-selected teams of 3 – 5 students will create and present their ideas for advancing the GSPM. The potential for ideas could range across the full spectrum of GSPM activities: academics, administration, marketing, career programs, alumni relations, external programs, international programs, University relations, fundraising, public relations, and so on. Either in person or by email, the course instructor will serve as a confidential resource for any or all of the teams, answering questions about the current operation and such realities as budgeting, University decision-making, school history, etc.

On Monday evening, July 24<sup>th</sup>, each team will be given 10-15 minutes to make a presentation of its idea in class. The order of team presentations will be drawn by lot. The team ideas will be evaluated on various measures of achievement: creativity, feasibility and effectiveness of the idea itself as well as the sophistication of the oral presentation, supporting materials and other elements of the presentation. These ratings will generate **a team grade for this exercise.**

### CLASS 9. JULY 23<sup>RD</sup> LEADERSHIP STYLES FOR POLITICAL MANAGERS

The Great Man in History?  
Management and Leadership  
Followership  
Personal Vision statements revisited  
Leadership styles;  
Individual strengths and Institutional positions;

#### In-class exercises:

Movies and Cranberries  
Snow and Politics  
Debriefing the GSPM Experience