LEADERSHIP

Fifty Great Leaders and the Worlds They Made

Mark Robert Polelle

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To the Ohio Military Reserve and Lt. McNeill

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Preface

Great leaders are artists whose canvas is whole societies or civilizations. Recorded history began as a paean to great men and the gods they worshipped. Then, beginning in the age of mass politics and continuing on through the twentieth century, historians started to show that leaders are often enslaved to deeper and impersonal "forces of history." As Karl Marx said, "Men make their own history, but not in conditions of their own making." The "great man" theories of history espoused by writers such as Thomas Carlyle seemed as dead as corsets and Conestoga wagons up until just recently. Yet at the turn of the twenty-first century, recent research in fields as diverse as history, leadership studies, and evolutionary psychology seems to be giving us license once again to stand in awe of the great leaders of history. It seems that the individual can—like the proverbial butterfly causing great storms on the other side of the globe—actually make a difference in history.

This book begins with a few simple questions. Can individuals really make that much of a difference in history? If so, how do we demonstrate this? How do such individuals "make history"? What is the relationship between the individual and the society or societies he wishes to shape in one way or another? Are leaders born or made? Are there any patterns to be discerned in the study of great leadership in history that can prove practical or intellectually stimulating to us in our everyday lives? Do men and women have equal chances to become great leaders? Is great leadership relative to time, place, and culture? Are there universals in the art of great leadership that transcend the differences of time, place, and culture? Can there be great leaders without great followers? Do mature democratic societies still need great leaders? What role does biology play in the formation of such leaders? What role does culture play here? Are such questions fundamentally unanswerable? If so, does this mean it is time to change the questions we ask about great leadership in history?

What this book hopes to do is synthesize the best of the existing literature on the topic of great leadership in history for a nonexpert audience. After summarizing debates and theories about the subject in Chapter 1, we will focus in subsequent chapters on case studies of particular great leaders. The goal of this book is to give readers the theoretical tools and

content database to make up their own minds about the eternal questions we seem to have concerning the mystery of great leadership. Another book on the topic might seem superfluous until we realize that "leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth."[1]

What criteria go into deciding which case studies of great leaders we will focus on in this book? To some extent, I am relying on my judgment derived from teaching history at the university level for over a decade. I also rely on lists of great leaders that show up again and again in history textbooks and the more specialized literature of leadership studies (see Bibliography at the end of the book). I also seek to study leadership in the following domains: the political, the religious, the artistic, and the scientific. Another consideration is: to what degree did the great leaders dealt within this book influence not only their own world during their lives but the world today? We can also ask the counterfactual question (made respectable again by leading historians such as Niall Ferguson): what if leader X had never been born? Would history have turned out more or less the same way? If history would have turned out more or less the same way, the leader in question will not appear in this work. What about morality? Should this be a book only about good leaders? One obvious problem is that even good leaders were never saints in their day (nor were they expected to be). Another problem is the one identified by historian John Lukacs. Leaders such as Hitler were "great" because of their effect upon history and because of their leadership abilities. The judgment we must have of the Hitlers and the Ivan the Terribles of history is, according to Lukacs, that they "used their great gifts for evil ends" but must still be considered important for our purposes because of their impact upon history. The great leaders examined here all had the ability to get people to do that which they would not ordinarily have done by articulating a grand vision for their people. Lesser leaders by definition can't get followers to do the seemingly impossible time and time again nor do they have the gifts of rallying people around a vision that they themselves are largely responsible for.

NOTE

1. Barbara Kellerman, Ed., *Leadership: Multi-disciplinary Approaches* (Prentice-Hall, 1984), ix.

Introduction

MAKING SENSE OF THE DATA: THEORETICAL CONCERNS ABOUT GREAT LEADERSHIP

People have always been fascinated with the topic of leadership. Many of the canonical great books of the western tradition are about leaders and how they wielded power for good or for bad. Plato, Confucius, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and untold others have attempted to nail the proverbial jelly to the wall by defining the nature of leadership and its relation to society. A whole book could in fact be written about how the ultimate book—the *Bible*—is but an extended commentary on the nature of leadership in divine and human form. How might we define leadership? Harry Truman helps us. As he said, "Leadership is the ability to get people to do what they don't want to do and like it." More prosaically, we might say that leadership is a "process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal."

With the rise of Enlightenment thought in the eighteenth century came the attempt to apply reason and scientific concepts to topics that had previously been explained in theological or belletristic terms. For much of the twentieth century, the social sciences of political science, psychology, and leadership studies have had much to say in terms of attempting to craft general theories and models of leadership. History's role in this process has usually been to serve as a passive data bank to be raided by such social science disciplines and their theorizing ambitions. As we shall see, the new leadership studies are increasingly sensitive to the historian's focus on the uniqueness of each great leader's story.

What have the social sciences contributed toward an understanding of great leadership? Early in the twentieth century, the study of common traits that leaders shared was the main concern. The goal of such studies was to find correlations between such variables as intelligence, appearance, height, etc. and leadership. Such studies went against the cultural grain of American democracy by seeming deterministic in suggesting that great leaders are born and not made. One either had the requisite characteristic or one did not. The behaviorist

school that followed emphasized objective measurements of what leaders actually did in positions of authority. The objective study of leaders' behavior on the job was thus the focus of research for University of Michigan and Ohio State psychologists in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Both the trait school of leadership and the behaviorist school of leadership ambitiously sought after universals in the exercise of leadership (always a Holy Grail of sorts for students of the topic). Later contingency theorists of leadership such as Fred Fiedler were more sensitive to the idea that leadership arises in specific situations and contexts that are not necessarily repeatable. Leadership qualities that might work in a factory environment might well fail in an academic setting, for example.

The modern dean of leadership studies, James MacGregor Burns, has been influential in differentiating the transformational leader from the transactional leader. The transformational leader is Burns' hero: he is someone like Franklin Roosevelt who reacts to a crisis such as the Great Depression with vision, big ideas, and a willingness to foster grand experiments in solving the great problems of the day. Where the transformational leader sees a problem as an opportunity to transform society itself, the prototypical transactional leader for Burns is someone merely interested in superficially dealing with a situation by tinkering around the edges of a great problem or challenge (Herbert Hoover and Bill Clinton are examples Burns uses in this regard). In short, transformational leaders are visionary leaders of potentially world historical significance, whereas transactional leaders are often mere managers—not true leaders—putting band aids on problems that merit more radical treatment.

Cultural environments differ—so must leadership do so too? In the modern Anglo-Saxon world, individualism and rationalism shape the expectation of the kind of leader who is deemed acceptable in business and politics. Other cultures may be more group-oriented, class-conscious, hierarchical, or less-risk taking as the case may be. While such traits may lead to different definitions of what great leaders are in various cultures, surely there are universal expectations on the part of followers as to certain qualities their leaders should possess. Indeed, research shows that followers worldwide expect their leaders to be encouraging, intelligent, decisive, communicative, positive, motivational, capable of building confidence, dynamic, and thoughtful about the future.[1] No matter what the cultural milieu, it would seem that people universally dislike leaders who are nonexplicit, noncooperative, ruthless, and loners. Perhaps the best way to put it is that leadership is simply "enacted differently in different cultures." One might also suggest that the conjuncture of a social crisis and the rise of a great leader is also a phenomenon that cuts across cultures. Erik Erikson's work on Martin Luther even advances the idea that a great leader is often one who can only solve his own existential crises by way of solving those of his general society at the same time.

There can be no doubt that what writers such as Walter Bennis call "emotional intelligence" plays a role in great leadership as well. As we will see in our portraits of great leaders, a common bond that all such leaders share is an ability to uncannily intuit what their followers' deepest wishes and dreams are. The more such concepts as emotional intelligence come to the fore in helping us analyze great leaders, the less leadership remains a "black box" affair according to Jerrold Post. Post finds, in fact, that before the mid-1970s, the topic of "leadership" was not even commonly found in the index of leading political science textbooks.[2] The use of rational choice theory and other such tools by sophisticated social scientists have tended to put the subject of leadership into the background altogether. How indeed does one use a quasi-scientific theory or discourse to measure or even comprehend such leadership tools as *Fingerspitzengefühl* (the uncanny ability to rely successfully on one's intuitions)? Perhaps elements of great leadership need the talents of a novelist or historian to reconstruct. Perhaps part of the genius of great leadership is also knowing when to be a comprehensible

"rational actor" and when not to be such a predictable figure. As one commentator on the topic observes, "great leaders are many men in one."[3]

Another stream of leadership theory posits that leaders are by definition malformed individuals desperately in search of self-esteem and validation from potential followers. This "compensation theory of leadership" (as formulated by political scientist Harold Lasswell and others) would naturally seem to posit that the greater the leader, the greater the mental pathology propelling the leader to seek power. This and similar theories help us in a democratic age feel better about ourselves. We can rationalize away great leaders by doing "pathographies" of them (i.e., explaining that their vaunted virtues and talents are outweighed by their vices. The ultimate "no man is a hero to his valet" school of leadership studies!). Yet, if leadership is an inherently pathological enterprise, what are we to say about the followers who continually express a need for such leaders in the first place?

Why do we obey great and not-so-great leaders even in a democratic age? Some have suggested the workings of habit, interest, and personal devotion explain such a situation. As mentioned earlier, Erik Erikson suggests that great leaders may in fact be trying to solve their personal problems by transforming the wider society in which they live. Martin Luther for Erikson is one such individual who faced problems of such import that they could only be solved at a societal level (i.e., finding peace with God required making a community of believers who were like-minded on what such a peace should look like). Someone once suggested that all statecraft is stagecraft. Surely in the case of Luther, famous incidents in his life such as the dramatic moment when he said "*Ich stehe hier, Ich kann nicht anders* (Here I stand I can do no other)" illustrate the fact that great leadership is also great drama; a drama made continually fresh and exciting by a leader who mysteriously is both an individual and a personification of his society at the same time.

Another question which our survey of great leaders will hopefully answer has to do with whether being something of an outsider at the margins of elite society is actually an advantage to the rising great leader. Particularly in the modern age, Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, Lenin, and Mao come to mind in this regard. Does being an outsider—all things being equal—perhaps give a potential great leader an advantage in terms of drive, ambition, and resilience? No matter what our answer to this question, there can be no doubt that great leaders become great in no small part due to their luck in having "good" enemies. Roosevelt had his Hirohito and Churchill his Hitler. Both Roosevelt and Churchill surely would not have reached the commanding heights of great leadership had it not been for the sharply defined and determined opponents they faced. Perhaps utopia will have been reached when there are no longer great and evil leaders around who need to be opposed by great and good leaders. No doubt the good society we all aspire to create in a democratic age is one in which all can be leaders and followers at different times. "Woe betide the society that needs great leaders" sayeth the wise man.

Another possibility we will have to deal with in our case studies of leadership is the Tolstoy thesis that states that leadership, as we conventionally conceive of it, is an illusion. What after all is *War and Peace* but a meditation on how leaders such as Napoleon appear most foolish when they actually begin to view themselves as master drivers and directors of history? For Tolstoy, leaders are but superfluous figurehead or symbols of more truly real and deeper underlying causes in history. Tolstoy claims: "Man lives consciously for himself, but is an unconscious instrument in the attainment of the historic, universal aims of humanity. . . . A king is history's slave."[4] The modern version of the "leadership as illusion" school posits that leadership is a disabling myth that ratifies the power of the few at the expense of the many.

Such a worship of great leaders is in fact disempowering and impedes the development of leadership skill inherent in all of us according to critics of traditional notions of leadership.

However, leadership may be akin to belief in God, free will, and utopia—we can never quite prove the beliefs (let alone live in full accordance with them), but we cannot authentically live without them either. We may in fact end up agreeing on purely intuitive grounds with the idea that "leaders don't just ride the wave [of Tolstoy's History]; they persuade us it is coming."[5] Maybe one reason Tolstoy had a visceral dislike of "great leaders" is because of the arrogance implied in the very concept; the arrogance of the great man on horseback who comes to see himself at the center of the universe. But does a great leader always have to preen like a peacock on the stage of history? Lao Tzu suggests another way of identifying the truly great leader: "A leader is best when people barely know he exists. . . .When his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will say: we did it ourselves." Sun Tzu certainly thought the best military leaders were those who were able to get what they wanted without force. Great leaders are perhaps indeed greatest when they are able to follow the precepts of Lao Tzu and Sun Tzu.

One can't discuss the topic of leadership without mentioning Machiavelli. Many great leaders face the paradox of having to use underhanded means to get the necessary power to achieve their vision of the greater good. How can great leaders remain moral in an immoral world? Is greatness even linked to morality or does success "make its own morality" as Nietzsche might have it? While many still consider Machiavelli to be a false guide to leadership for his perceived "immorality," I would make a different argument. Machiavelli in his own time turned out to be the most naïve of idealists for believing that his book *The Prince* could itself inspire a leader to unite a deeply fragmented Renaissance Italy (and even bring back the republican virtue of Roman times!).

Nonetheless, Machiavelli articulated in powerful form ideas about leadership we cannot do without today. For example, a leader is perhaps wise to have many personas and takes care to match persona with audience. Even the most moralistic of leaders such as Woodrow Wilson have been known to play both the lion and the fox during their moment in the sun. In some cases, we may find that it is, in fact, better to be feared rather than loved. Aspiring leaders would do well to cultivate *virtu* (or excellence) by acquiring the technical skills needed to be a great leader (ranging from social etiquette to the art of being a warrior). Why does the concept of *virtu* loom so large in *The Prince*? Clearly, any great leader by definition believes at a practical level in the efficacy of his free will. But, how does the great leader combat *fortuna*, or the forces of chance and contingency? Like the irrational wrath of the gods, chance and contingency can never be completely avoided, but they can be at least temporarily tamed and controlled by a leader's well-developed *virtu* according to Machiavelli.

Another question: Is there an "iron law of oligarchy" that explains why just about every society ever recorded by anthropology and history is marked by political hierarchy with a leader on top and the mass of followers below? Theorists such as Mosca and Michels thought so. Are we to accept such hierarchies even in a democratic age such as ours? Liberal writers such as Gary Wills seem able to assume the continued existence of such hierarchies without assuming at the same time that leaders in such hierarchies must be antidemocratic. For writers such as Wills, great leaders by definition have to understand and share their followers' wishes in order to become leaders in the first place. As Wills states in his study on leadership, *Certain Trumpets*, "show me your leader and you have bared your soul."[6] For Wills, an overfocus on great leaders may miss the fundamental point that "we don't lack leaders—we lack sufficient followers."[7] For Wills, a *sine qua non* of becoming a great

leader is to find right and worthy followers . . . and the right and worthy goal. The ability to intuit the right moment to act is another feature of great leadership that Wills helpfully illuminates.[8] Wills also raises another point that any study on great leaders must address: Are styles of leadership time-bound? Would Caesar, Napoleon, or FDR (Franklin Delano Roosevelt) make it as a leader anywhere today in the modern world?

So far we have been discussing, by implication, mostly political leadership. Are scientists generally poor leaders who are too focused on problems rather than on people? Certainly, a feature of great leadership is the ability to understand a wide range of human types and human nature in general. The bible of leadership studies, *The Handbook of Leadership* by Bass and Stodgill, postulates that "leadership is the art of dealing with human nature."[9] As the military analyst Edward Luttwak also points out, there is a paradoxical logic of war due to the fact that leaders in war have to take into account how they are perceived by opponents in order to upset these very perceptions to attain victory. Scientists tend to study a physical world that does not react back in conscious ways to the observer and his attentions (except perhaps at the subatomic level of reality in which the Heisenberg principle comes into play). There is no doubt that there is a self-reflexive element in human affairs that the leader can't ignore if he aspires to become a truly great one. Another paradoxical element in the logic of great leadership is the fact that many great leaders can easily become slaves to their own best qualities. Napoleon—conscious of his military genius—easily fell into the trap of over-relying on this strength time and time again. He began seeing every problem as solvable by the military talents that initially brought him fame and fortune. Even great leaders can become "one-trick ponies" if they are not gifted in the art of self-reflection (which itself can lead to paralyzing indecision if taken too far). Such examples show why leadership is most profoundly an art, not a science.

When discussing leadership as an art and not a science, we would be remiss if we did not bring up the subject of charisma. One universal trait that seems to be shared by great leaders even across the chasm of time and culture is the ability to exercise a charismatic hold over one's followers. But what exactly is charisma? In Christian terms, it is the gift of grace, an extension of the Holy Spirit itself.[10] The German sociologist Max Weber ingeniously redefined this concept to apply to the topic of secular leadership. Indeed, he was able to discern with great insight that in democratic, rationalistic, and materialistic eras, people might be even more prone to seek out charismatic leaders. Such people would gladly transform themselves into ecstatically loyal followers of such figures, according to Weber, because of their need to escape the "iron cage" of rationality and routinization that so marks the modern age; a rationalization and routinization that has led to a demystification or *Entzauberung* of modern life. The emotional and irrational side of our natures hungers for a leader who appeals to us on a visceral, preverbal level. Perhaps we may—*pace* Nietzsche—divide leaders into the charismatic Dionysians (who appeal to the heart) and the imposingly rationalistic Appollonians (who appeal to the intellect). In presidential history, for example, we might compare the emotional charisma of FDR with the staid rationalism of Jimmy Carter to make this comparison come to life.

Another way to comprehend the eruption of charismatic leaders onto the historical stage is to notice that such leaders often emerge in times of crisis. Is it any accident that the Great Depression and World War II led to the rise of such leaders as FDR, Churchill, and Hitler? The dynamic leader is often seen as a revitalizer of tired routine.[11] Think here of Otto Strasser's comment on Hitler as a charismatic leader: "Hitler responds to the vibration of the human heart with the delicacy of a seismograph. . . . [he acts] as a loudspeaker proclaiming the most secret desires [of the people]."[12] The problem, of course, has always come when the

great charismatic leader departs from power. How does a society deal with the problem of leadership succession in such a case given that charismatic leaders are not always available? In short, how does one routinize the gift of charisma? Every society must enter some equilibrium after a period of trauma or disequilibrium (think of America, France, and Russia after their respective revolutions). While the charismatic leader is still in power, the leader and his followers are embraced in a charged relationship: the leader and his followers need each other to fulfill each other's utopian hopes and dreams.[13] One must hope that modern society will seek out reparative charismatics in times of crisis instead of destructive charismatics given the amazing, yet potentially destructive, social energies that can be unleashed by such leadership. Leadership theorists such as Burns hope as well that charismatic transformational leaders are wise enough to engage in a mutually stimulating dialogue with their followers. The results of such a dialogue should encourage followers to become leaders in their own right.

Yet another way to understand the great leaders of history is to see them as great storytellers. They purvey to their followers stories of identity: where we come from, who we are, and where we are going.[14] It would seem to be axiomatic that the great leaders become great because they give their followers a proud identity and embody that identity in their very being. According to Howard Gardner, there are two types of leaders: the innovative leader who renews a culture's identity narrative, and the visionary leader who invents a whole new crystallizing and compelling identity for his followers (think here of Jesus or Mohammed). Such leaders also may very well exhibit what Gardner calls "multiple intelligences": high abilities not just in formal or abstract reasoning, but amazing skills in such things as interpersonal intelligence, verbal acuity, and aesthetic sense. Indeed, the aesthetic dimension of leadership is often ignored, but don't we admire great leaders precisely because they are often great performance artists too? Whether a leader manifests his aesthetic intelligence in architecture, uniforms, blueprints for social reform, or even whole new theologies, the result is often that the follower—in Yeats' words—"cannot tell the dancer [leader] from the dance [successful leadership]." A great leader is indeed the one who has found his role of a lifetime.

Great leaders may have to tell great stories that glorify the identity of themselves and their followers. But in order for such stories to have resonance with their followers, great leaders have to tell such stories in a way designed to attract the most support. Often, this leads to originally sophisticated and complicated concepts being simplified for public consumption. There is then the natural tendency of leaders to focus on simple themes of good (our society) versus evil (the enemy society or societies). Leading, alas, can also involve being a divider as much as a uniter. Indeed, leaders who are too inclusive, such as Gandhi, run the risk of being killed by their own followers because they threaten the standard narrative of "us versus them."[15]

In any serious discussion of great leaders, the question of whether such figures really make that much of a difference inevitably comes up. Are great leaders merely a concept we use to personify deeper causes that we can't so easily understand? Is leadership a concept like determinism or consciousness—something our poor brains were never designed to fully understand? To unravel this question, we have to understand what "cause" in history means. For our purposes, "cause" refers to a force that can change history in a significant way (history being defined here as the study of change over time). Unless we assume history is predetermined in some way (and how could we ever test this proposition anyway?), we must look to individuals and natural causes as the ultimate agents of change in history. Even Marxist debunkers of the idea that great leaders are agents of change end up invoking some

other equally mysterious, impersonal, and untestable *deus ex machina* ("the Zeitgeist," "class conflict," the "idea of progress," etc.).[16]

Ockham's razor would favor in this case singling out great leaders (and their followers) as better explanations for change than any number of abstract and pseudoscientific "forces" of history. Though out of favor up until recently, commentators as various as Sydney Hook and Thomas Carlyle have argued well for the ability of leaders to make great changes in history. As Carlyle pithily puts it, the "little man has a vested interest in disliking heroes."[17] Jerrold Post—a U.S. government analyst devoted to the study of foreign leaders and what makes them tick—helps us to figure out exactly when a leader can make a difference. First, the leader in question must occupy a strategic location in his society. Second, there must be an ambiguous situation the leader can shape one way or another (we all recognize that some historical moments are more fluid and less frozen than others: just think of periods of war or revolution). Third, there must be no or few precedents available for such leader to draw on in order to offer a stereotyped response to the novel situation. Fourth, spontaneity of response is necessitated such that the leader must rely more or less on his own instincts to decide how a critical situation should be handled (think here of John F. Kennedy and Khrushchev during the Cuban Missile Crisis).

After all is said and done, great leaders by definition exercise great power. James MacGregor Burns makes the excellent point that coercion is not leadership. Hitler ruled, but he did not lead. Great leaders are all the more powerful for their ability to get followers to voluntarily enact their will. Bad or weak leaders have to rely on force to get things done. Power can be based on the legitimacy of the leader, the rewards the leader can bestow upon his followers, coercion, vision, expertise, and, as we have seen, sheer charisma. To influence followers, leaders can use persuasion, inspiration, consultation, ingratiation, personal appeals, coalitions, and pressure. Followers can, in turn, resist, comply, or consent to the will of the leader.[18] Leaders and their followers are thus engaged in a continual dance of negotiation with one another. If ever even the great leader becomes unwilling to participate in this dance of mutual recognition, disaster may follow. Some leadership theorists rightly imagine that the highest form of great leadership may well be "leading people to lead themselves" (is this not the overall genius of democracy and capitalism in their idealized forms?). Great leadership also entails modeling behavior that followers at their best genuinely want to emulate. As Gandhi famously said, "Be the change you want to see in the world."

Great leaders must be able to tolerate ambiguity since any aspect of history that looks inevitable in retrospect was, of course, quite fluid and malleable to those making it at the time. Leaders who seek premature closure of a crisis run the risk of missing an opportunity as well if they try to run away from a particularly fluid, but potentially fruitful, historical situation. This is true, as we shall see, in domains as different as business, war, politics, culture, and religion. Can leaders truly be this important in such situations? Bass and Stogdill, in their *Handbook of Leadership*, cite a study, which shows that "leaders can explain 45 percent of an organization's performance."[19] Leaders should follow the Israeli's lieutenant's adage: "follow me" (in order to successfully lead an organization). Leading from the front and taking responsibility are, in fact, key ways in which leaders bond most effectively with their followers in times of stress and great change. This is, after all, how great leaders build up the capital to survive later challenges to their leadership. The proverbial CEO who deals with the failures of his organization by firing others and protecting his own paycheck is often going to have to use cronyism and coercion to maintain power. As Napoleon said, the "moral is to the physical as three is to one"—followers who are motivated in a positive sense are going to be more effective than followers who are not.

As we witness the rise of evolutionary psychology and the ever more sophisticated study of the human genome, we are becoming better equipped than ever before to see if biology has a role in the shaping of great leadership. Evolutionary psychology states that evolution has shaped our behavior and cognition as much as our bodies. Our craving for sugars, for example, comes from our Stone Age heritage in which sugar signaled the presence of scarce sweet fruits—the body's way of rewarding the organism for doing the right thing in a culinary sense. In our "supersized" food environment of today in which sugar and food are too easily available, such a behavior is, of course, no longer functional. Might we make similar arguments regarding leadership? Before the modern democratic era, it was perhaps inevitable and even functional for an all-powerful, patriarchal, "man on horseback" to be in charge of a given society or tribe. Some believe, in fact, that great leadership is a pernicious legacy of the Stone Age designed to keep us in our place when it is no longer necessary to do so. Still, others think that all can or must be leaders in a truly democratic society. Leadership is not a social atavism for these thinkers, but a concept we can democratize for today's world.

Yet, even today, most societies are hierarchical in some way. Most societies are still social pyramids. Most leaders are still male even in our advanced democracies where affirmative action policies have been in place for almost two generations. Many of these male leaders, in fact, still resemble the type of "alpha males" seen in primate societies, according to political scientist Fred Willhoite. Such alpha males in human societies will show high degrees of "intelligence, alertness, verbal ability, dependability, aggressiveness, sociability, cooperation, and adaptiveness."[20] Willhoite argues that hierarchy and rank ordering regimes offer primates and humans the kind of order and predictability that any society needs to succeed and thrive. In this theory, great leaders will continue to arise even in democracies (particularly at times of crisis) since strong leaders still win us over at some deeper level of our psyches. We might even say that while we are outwardly democratic, rational, and egalitarian, our inner selves are still antiegalitarian in terms of deeper drives and ambitions. Do we not see cabdrivers even today in Moscow and Beijing who hang icons of Stalin and Mao in their respective cabs?

Recent studies even suggest that high serotonin levels are correlated with leadership ability.[21] Testosterone too may explain the gender gap when it comes to leadership differences in men and women. Can the "leadership gene" be next in terms of discovery? While the former president of Harvard, Larry Summers, was pilloried for his hypothesis that men are genetically more inclined—on average—to succeed at the upper reaches of science and mathematics, much of the research that has been done on the topic seems to bear him out (cf. recent works by Charles Murray and Stephen Pinker on this issue). We may be able to extrapolate the issue of gender difference to our topic of great leadership in history. In many fields of endeavor, it may be the case that men will dominate since they do not have to bear children, tend to be physically stronger, and dominate the right tail of the bell curve in terms of extremely high intelligence. The downside for men, of course, is that disproportionately more of them than women are to be found at the left tail or low end of the bell curve in terms of having low IQs, learning disabilities, and the like. There simply may be more variability in men's intelligence than in that of women.

Maybe Plato and other classical philosophers are not too far off the mark when they suggest that while individuals differ in all sorts of ways, there may be but a few basic types of human typologies in any political regime. Plato argues in the *Republic*, for example, that any society will have but a few social classes: the intellectual elite, the fighters, the traders, and the farmers. Only when philosophers become kings and kings become philosophers will the polity find peace, according to Plato. Why should this be? Since all men are not—contra

Jefferson—born equal, a society that does not reflect this fact (or even worse, denies it) is doomed to discord and eventual demise. The "superorganism" of any polity is imagined by philosophers such as Plato as consisting of the head (philosopher king), muscles (the warrior class), and the rest of the appetitive body (traders and farmers). In this conception, human society is analogous to that of the beehive; the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and the parts participate in the division of labor needed to get the job done. Sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists such as E. O. Wilson update the work of Plato by placing human societies in a biological context.

Howard Gardner cites studies which routinely show how size, strength, skill, intelligence, attractiveness, and gender are all correlated with leadership abilities.[22] He writes that "our primate heritage is actually fundamental to an appreciation" of leaders and leading minds.[23] For example, Gardner finds that "born leaders" may actually show natural proclivities for leadership at a young age when they directly confront individuals over matters of principle.[24] Nahavandi, in his book *The Art and Science of Leadership*, mentions that the average CEO is male, the first-born son, comes from a two-parent family, is married, right-handed, taller, and more educated than average. Interestingly enough, some commentators on the topic have mentioned that being "too intelligent" is actually a hindrance to becoming a great leader. Perhaps, at this level, the lack of a sense of personal connection with less bright followers may hinder the leader's desire to lead and followers' desire to follow.

Also fascinating in regard to the topic of biology and leadership are Charles Murray's findings in his work *Human Accomplishment*. He refers to Lottka's law, which shows that in a variety of leadership domains (particularly in the arts and sciences) one invariably finds that major advancements in the field are attributable to a handful of superachievers. Based on the statistics Murray amasses, one would almost think that the average or below average member of any given profession is indeed little more than a "free rider" on the work of such superachievers. Murray finds that truly great achievers are endowed with a deep sense of purpose, a sense of autonomy, and a transcendental sense of the good. For Murray, Aristotle utters a profound truth when he says that the best society is one in which we are all capable of realizing our highest capacities for productive and joyful endeavor. Murray also smartly draws inspiration from Dean Simonton, the leading scholar in the field of historiometry, or the scientific study of human accomplishment in history whose work also inspires this one.[25]

We can see the origin for Murray's thinking about achievement in the career of Francis Galton. Francis Galton played a great role in the whole investigation of the heritability of human traits in the nineteenth century. While Galton gave succor to those who believed that intelligence might in some way be a heritable trait (just like leadership to some degree?), he also believed that raw potential without zeal and effort would fail to result in productive endeavor. David Lykken refines the heritability thesis by way of his theory on emergenesis. This is the idea that a genotype (the whole of an individual's genetic makeup) is greater—in terms of effect on the individual—than the genetic subparts. This raises the possibility that no "leadership gene" will ever be discovered since it is the interaction among genes rather than individual genes which produce behavioral effects.

The school of elitist political theorists (Mosca, Pareto, Michels, etc.) also contributes to the Platonic-biological paradigm of leadership. They imply that every society is governed by an elite which differs from their followers even in a physical sense (one British study shows how members of that society's elite suffer less stress, physical illness, and early death when compared to subordinates). Scholars up until Antonio Gramsci and Arnold Toynbee were cognizant of the fact that there has always existed a "trickle down" cultural effect in human

societies. That is, up until recently, the high culture produced by the leaders of society was emulated by those lower in the social hierarchy. This process was termed cultural mimesis by Toynbee in his magnum opus, *A Study of History*. According to Toynbee, once the masses no longer emulate the elite for whatever reason, the civilization was ready to die or be reborn in some other guise. Some new and more vigorous elite led by a great leader would start the process anew by imposing its culture on the changing civilization. Great leaders in this view have the capacity to leave their imprints on even the basic orientation of whole civilizations. But in the good society, great leaders will refuse to see their vocation as mere "work" or domination. The best leaders will be best precisely because they approach their vocation in a spirit of play and experimentation. When we talk about leaders and leadership in a modern context, we always have to talk about the best way to organize society to allow for the full unleashing of human capital at all levels of the social hierarchy.

While some believe that "leaders are born" and others believe that they are "made," we may still find middle ground in this polarized debate. In Europe and Japan, for example, it is recognized that even "born leaders" need training and cultivation to turn these rough stones into precious diamonds. As societies become more complex in their division of labor systems, the cliché may come true that we are all capable of being leaders within a specific niche. There will always be great leaders occupying the commanding heights of a given social structure, but those leaders will rely on untold numbers of other leaders in various domains to ensure that an increasingly complex society succeeds as a going concern. At various social levels, all great leaders, according to Nietzsche, will emerge as fully developed individuals only within the context of a unique time, place, and culture. Nietzsche reminds us too that a true leader is one who recognizes the folly of seeking to copy a preexisting model of leadership.

If the root word for lead is the Old English word "laed" (which originally meant path), can we learn more about great leaders by understanding their opposites, the worst leaders of history? In her compelling work *Bad Leadership*, Barbara Kellerman explains that studying bad leadership is a key to understanding good leadership. As she puts it, one "can't teach health without ignoring disease."[26] Followers can't be let off the hook either. Kellerman notes that there are "crimes of obedience" followers should be accountable for (one might think here of the case of Nazi Germany). Stanley Milgram's experiments painfully show to what lengths followers are willing to go in obeying even patently immoral orders by authority figures.[27] Indeed, if the key to great leadership may lie in mature followership, so too the key to ending bad leadership must lie in the behavior of the followers. To paraphrase Edmund Burke, "All that is necessary for evil men to triumph is for good men to do nothing." Why are followers so often willing to follow bad leaders? Because we all share the Hobbesian fear of social chaos and anarchy without strong leadership. We are thus often willing to put up with bad leadership so as to enjoy even a modicum or order. Ultimately, this urge too may be understood in light of our primate heritage and our concomitant need to cure social anxiety in the absence of a well-defined hierarchy. We are as much "homo hierarchicus" as we are "homo sapiens."

Typical features of bad leadership are ineffectiveness and unethical behavior. Bad leaders are also typically incompetent, rigid, intemperate, callous, corrupt, insular, or just plain evil. What are some of the solutions Kellerman offers to bad leadership? A checklist of items to combat such leadership include: limiting tenure in office or power; making sure power is shared; avoiding groupthink; having a historian nearby to talk about precedents to emulate or avoid; and giving incentives to followers to remain loyal to the deeper values of a society or organization rather than simply owing loyalty to the leader alone.[28]

A few words should be said about the special topic of military leadership. Many of the greatest leaders in history are, of course, military men. In military life, as in civilian life, Bismarck's adage still rings true: "the wise man profits from others' mistakes." Leadership is especially important to give one side in a conflict the necessary edge to more successfully cope with the fog of war. Thucydides' view that men are perpetually motivated to action by fear, interest, and honor translates into the military world as follows: (1) the military man has a fear of letting down his peers, (2) he has a fear of not measuring up at the critical moment of battle, and (3) he fears directly dishonoring oneself. The great leader must understand these factors if he is to understand the men he commands on the battlefield. At the summit of his powers, the great leader should exhibit the kind of charisma and joy in his work that can give the little platoons, squads, and sections their sense of cohesion and camaraderie. Another mark of great leadership in the military realm consists of the ability to identify and trust subordinate leaders throughout the organization to make the right decision at the right time and on their own initiative. The German practice of *Auftragstaktik*, or the reliance on leaders in tactical units to make their own decisions with only basic guidance from above, is a model that to this day separates successful conventional militaries from unsuccessful ones.

The *U.S. Army Leadership Field Manual* states that a military leader of "character and competence acts to achieve excellence."[29] He must be imbued with the values of loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage. He must work to develop his mental, physical, and emotional skills to their fullest. He must demonstrate superior interpersonal, conceptual, technical, and tactical skills. He must demonstrate the ability to act via influencing others (through communication, decision making, and motivation); by planning, executing the plan, and assessing it; and improving by learning from experience. Above all, he must set the tone in preconditioning the will of his subordinates to sacrifice their lives if necessary. The only consistently credible way to do this—if the history of great military leadership is any guide—is to lead from the front and share the risk of death with the lowliest foot soldier. Such a philosophy of leadership may underline why the Israeli Army is often thought of as the best military organization today on a small-unit level.

Bernard of Chartres said: "If we have seen farther, it is because we stand on the shoulders of giants." Are we not ourselves but the product of the ideas, values, and systems created to one degree or another by the great leaders of history? While it is easy to be cynical about leaders today in the modern West (because we have the freedom to do so), we in the West can't afford mediocre leadership at the highest levels for much longer. As China, India, and other heretofore underdeveloped regions of the world start to catch up with the West, a new round of inter-civilizational strife might well be starting. Samuel Huntington already sees this phenomenon coming to life in regard to the West's current struggle with Islam. With western hegemony being contested for the first time in five hundred years, it behooves us in the West to look to history for inspiration and ideas in order to develop the necessary leadership wisdom to meet current and future challenges. One way in which the West can meet such challenges is to develop leaders who are able to transform crisis into opportunity; defeat into victory; and victory into lasting peace. It may very well take a crisis of immense proportions for such leaders to arise and end the "stalemate society" that is America today (a society in which the material needs and wants of the richer sectors of society are taken care of first while greater challenges in domestic and foreign policy are addressed in mediocre fashion).[30] We are the inheritors of the great deeds accomplished by the leaders of the past. How can we insure we leave to our heirs a similar inheritance before we spend all our remaining social and leadership capital?

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1

THE LEADER AS POLITICIAN

WINSTON CHURCHILL: THE DOGGED PATH TO SUPREME LEADERSHIP

Prime Minister Winston Churchill. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USW33-019093-C]

Winston Churchill (1874–1965) was a British statesman who successfully served as Prime Minister of Great Britain during World War II. In addition to leading Britain to victory in World War II, Churchill was a Renaissance man of sorts. He was a best-selling writer (primarily of history books), a soldier, and even an amateur painter. He was particularly noted for his stirring oratory during World War II.

Churchill is an example of a leader who was both cursed and empowered by his family background. As a direct descendant of the Duke of Marlborough (the military nemesis of Louis XIV), Churchill inherited a rarefied social position in Victorian England merely due to the accident of birth. Gifted as Churchill was, it is hard to see how he could have achieved all he did without being born with all the advantages of a high social station (this is especially true when we take into account the learning disabilities Churchill suffered during his school years). The negative side of his family background consisted in the tortured relationship he had with his father, Lord Randolph Churchill. His father was a gifted politician who expected too much too soon from the late-blooming Winston. Nothing Winston did could please his demanding father. His mother was an American beauty, Jennie Jerome, who drifted apart from her husband at a critical time during Winston's development. The

tensions in the family exploded as the effects of Randolph's syphilis increasingly manifested themselves in public life. Randolph stubbornly persevered in his political career to the point where he was weeping, slobbering, and stammering incoherently in his final parliamentary speeches.

A key to Churchill's leadership abilities may be found in his belief that "famous men are usually to the product of an unhappy childhood. The stern compression of circumstances, the twinge of adversity, the spur of slights and taints in early years are needed to evoke that ruthless fixity of purpose and tenacity without which great actions are seldom accomplished."[1] Winston's drive to become a great leader stemmed from his desire "to lift again the flag I found lying on a stricken field . . . to vindicate my father's memory." Given British upper-class childrearing practices of the day, Churchill found emotional succor from his nanny (nicknamed "Woom") rather than from his mother and father. Churchill's one fundamental leadership quality that he exhibited even as a schoolboy was his sheer doggedness. He struggled mightily to overcome his dyslexia while at Harrow. He also sought out opportunities to demonstrate his leadership in other fields beyond the academic. Given that he only grew to be only 5'6'' and that he was constantly in weak health, his success in fencing and other sports was a tribute to his persistence and tenacity. He was also quite accident prone—in 1931, he was almost killed by a car on the streets of New York.

Driven to prove himself in the eyes of his father, he scraped by to pass an entry exam to enter Sandhurst, England's prestigious military academy. Joining the Fourth Hussars, he began his practice of only dealing with those at the top of British society to advance himself or his causes. Doggedness and social connections allowed him to make a name for himself as an army man and as a journalist. He served in India and enjoyed the experience of fighting and skirmishing with Muslim Pathans on behalf of British interests there. While in India, Churchill used his time efficiently to catch up with all the reading he had put off at Harrow and Sandhurst. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was typical of the books he read at this time. More importantly, Churchill showed leadership acumen here by getting to know the "Tommy Atkinses," or regular foot soldiers, in the British army. Other officers of Churchill's class could have led the easy life in India by enjoying club life and polo. Churchill chose the harder path in order to keep improving himself in order to be ready to take advantage of new opportunities in the future.

Churchill also showed great leadership instincts by going to where the action was. In 1898, he found himself in Sudan helping to wage war on a Muslim fundamentalist uprising that threatened British interests in Africa and Egypt. He observed the effects of modern artillery, machine guns, and Lee Enfield rifles on a technologically backward opponent. His appreciation of the role of technology in such conflicts would serve him well when he would later face the Nazis with radar, code-breakers, and the A-bomb provided by researchers he had striven to support with all his power. During his days of military adventurism and journalism, Churchill visited Cuba where he witnessed guerrillas fighting Spanish authorities with some success. Finally, he journeyed to South Africa during the Boer War and became a hero as he again combined journalism with military derring-do on behalf of British imperial interests. After being imprisoned by the Boers he escaped back to England to begin his career in politics. In the heyday of European imperialism before the Great War, it could truly be said that "king and country was about all the religion Winston had."

The zealous faith Churchill had in Britain and her empire gave him the will to persevere in politics as his military career wound down. In 1901 he was first elected to Parliament as a "people's aristocrat." As he put it, "I see little glory in an empire which can rule the waves and is unable to flush its own sewers." Churchill was shrewd enough to see that the great powers of the twentieth century would have to nurture social strength at home in order to

pursue ambitious foreign policies abroad. Churchill was not always a great speechmaker. He worked hard to hone his craft and pay his dues while in parliament before war came in 1914. Churchill chose to marry a strong woman with an independent mind. Clementine was able to warn her husband at various times during his career to beware of false friends who did not have his best interests in mind. John Keegan surmises that Churchill was anything but a natural with women and that—like many great leaders—he was something of a monomaniac in terms of advancing his political fortunes.

Like Hitler, Churchill found in World War I an animating cause and a spur to further achievement. Having command of the admiralty at the opening of the war, Churchill deserves credit for mobilizing the Royal Navy effectively and securely against its German counterpart. Churchill—like many of his contemporaries—was deeply frustrated with the military stalemate that developed on the western front. Unlike them, however, he was willing to risk much as a leader on unorthodox plans to overcome the stalemate. His advocacy of the risky Gallipoli campaign (the attack on Turkey was designed to open up communication and supply lines with Russia) cost him dearly and nearly discredited the idea of his ever becoming Prime Minister. Only the sheer doggedness and resiliency of Churchill's character allowed him to bounce back from a disastrous defeat that would have permanently silenced any other politician. Instead of receding into the shadows and sitting out the rest of the war, Churchill spent time as a lieutenant colonel of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers in the trenches and expedited the development and employment of the first tanks to be used in warfare (so secret were they that they bore the code name "water-tanks").

Churchill also became a better leader, I think, because of his willingness to develop other facets of his character. He trained himself to be a Nobel Prize-winning author and even took up painting, primarily for relaxation. Perhaps, such activities were especially healthy for Churchill as they allowed him to fight off what he called the "black dog" of the deep depressive fits he was prone to fall into. Slowly, Churchill earned back his reputation by becoming Minister of Munitions, Secretary of War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Colonial Secretary in the aftermath of the Gallipoli campaign. Still, the years after the Great War were true "wilderness years" for Churchill. He never seemed to get to the center of power and politics that he long aspired to. His Tory politics seemed increasingly out of sync in the twenties as socialism and the Labour Party became ever more acceptable. Even his finances were badly affected by the stock market crash of 1929. The low point of his wilderness years probably came in 1931 when he nearly died after being hit by a car in New York City. His health, never robust, seemed worse than usual at this time. As he said regarding his plight at this time, he was a man "without an office, without a seat, without a party, and even without an appendix."

While these burdensome challenges may have overwhelmed a lesser man, Churchill hunkered down and began to write again in earnest about history, the Great War, and current events. He recouped his financial fortunes sufficiently enough to be able to send his children to elite schools, wear silk underwear, enjoy Havana cigars, and freely imbibe his beloved whiskey and soda. At this point, Churchill could have chosen the easy path of life as a leisured gentleman. However, the rise of Hitler in the 1930s gave Churchill a new focus. Like a modern day Cassandra, Churchill warned the world of what was to come, but to no avail. The public mood supported appeasement, if only to prevent another war as ghastly as World War I. Churchill had the strength of character to go against the common wisdom of his day. He proved himself a true leader, and not a mere politician, by taking a consistently hard-line stand against Hitler when such a policy was not popular.

Churchill's worst fears were realized when war broke out with Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939. By May 1940, Hitler's forces were already deep into France when the British people

finally turned for succor to the prophet in the wilderness, Winston Churchill. It is easy to forget how awkward it was to be handed the booby prize of the prime ministership at this time. Britain's strategic situation looked hopeless. Hitler's pact with Stalin made Russia a neutral force at best in the East. Hitler's occupation of France allowed him to prepare for an invasion of England itself. America did not want to fight another war in Europe. Why continue the war at all? John Charmley and other revisionist historians argue that Britain may well have been better off after making a separate peace with England. Churchill would have none of such thinking, though he had surely thought through the options. Churchill quickly made up his mind to fight. This was probably his greatest leadership decision of his career. Had he bargained with Hitler, he would merely have guaranteed his people a temporarily comfortable life at the expense of the next generation of Britons who would inevitably have had to pay a high price for such a decision by becoming a satellite of Nazi Germany.

Instead, Churchill not only decided to fight, but decided to risk everything in a fight unto death with Nazi Germany. Churchill deserves ultimate credit for mobilizing Britain to fight a global total war with limited resources. On a per capita basis, Britain under Churchill's leadership outperformed every other major economy in war mobilization (as shown by the economic historian Alan Milward). Churchill even planned to use poison gas on Nazi-invading forces had they ever dared to land on English shores. He used all the diplomatic resources at his command to accommodate Stalin once the latter was attacked by Hitler in 1941. The reactionary Tory found a way to make his alliance with communism work. Churchill, being the leader he was, knew the overriding objective had to be the utter destruction of Nazi Germany. Churchill honestly admitted that his fixity of purpose on this point was so strong that he was willing to make common cause with the Devil himself if such an alliance could guarantee Hitler's defeat. Frankly, Hitler had never encountered a leader of Churchill's caliber before. Even the ruthless and Machiavellian Stalin could never quite figure out whether he should befriend or bedevil Hitler. In short, where other leaders were weak, obtuse, or just too clever-by-half in meeting the threat posed by the Nazis, Churchill straightforwardly took on Hitler from the moment he came to power.

Churchill, his nation bereft of soldiers and equipment after being pushed out of France, relied solely on oratory to keep the English in the fight during the summer of 1940. As one observer notes, Churchill proved himself a great leader at this time by being able to "mobilize the English language and bring it into battle." His coolness under pressure made Hitler look bad in comparison. Whereas Hitler flew into irrational rages upon facing a crisis or serious challenge (thus the self-defeating decision to bomb London after Berlin was mistakenly bombed by the British in 1940), Churchill maintained his poise throughout most of the war. His schedule was rather constant during the war: bed by 2 A.M., up at 8 A.M., breakfast in bed while going over his official papers (and enjoying partridge, pheasant, or steak), followed by meetings and other official appearances. Unlike his nemesis Hitler, Churchill also showed himself to be the better leader because of his willingness to tour the front, visit bombed cities, and talk to average citizens during the course of the war. He also did not isolate himself from fine and independent minds who could offer him original advice. In times of intragovernmental conflict, he never went against the Cabinet's will. Churchill wisely recognized that democracy might be the worst form of government, except for all the others. As his military advisor Alan Brooke put it: Winston had "ten ideas every day; one good, nine bad." Unlike Hitler, Churchill showed wisdom as a leader in letting himself be overruled by sage counsel. Churchill's greatest act of leadership then was to maintain Britain in the war alone against Hitler from 1940 to 1941. By doing so, he ensured Hitler's defeat once the latter became embroiled in war with Russia and the United States.

Churchill proved how great leadership can turn defeat into great victory with enough dogged tenacity.

Further Reading

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ADOLF HITLER: GREAT TALENTS USED FOR EVIL ENDS

Hitler in Nuremburg [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-12667].

Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was dictator of Germany from 1933 to 1945. Starting out his career as a common soldier in World War I, Hitler rose to power in Germany, thanks to the Depression and anger in Germany over the Versailles Treaty that ended World War I. He is widely attributed as having played the biggest role in the outbreak of World War II. His extremist Nazi ideology proved exceptionally unappealing to the people he conquered and led to Germany to total defeat in 1945.

Against all odds, the nobody Adolf Schicklgruber grew to be the leader of the German nation, a nation that many expected to be one of the superpowers of the twentieth century. Perhaps never in history has a leader used such great talents, energy, and ambition for such base ends. Hitler was born in Braunau, Austria, in 1889. Most historians discount the claim that Hitler had Jewish ancestry (although Hitler later may still have worried about this aspect of his lineage). His father Alois was a customs official for the old multicultural Austro-Hungarian empire. While his mother Klara doted on him and spoiled him, his father engaged in beatings of the young Adolf that would be considered child abuse today. Although Hitler would later claim that he excelled in history during his school years, his interest in the subject greatly exceeded his performance in it. Early photos of him catch his pugnaciousness even at an early age. One could imagine him fitting right in as a young bully in William Golding's novel *Lord of the Flies*.

Beginning with his teenage years, Hitler developed ambitious ideas about the great career that lay ahead of him in the future. One gets the sense that he had the outlook of a young Walter Mitty—his dreaming always exceeded his ability to do the work needed to realize his multifarious aims. Many of his teachers and peers commented on the odd combination of his basic laziness coupled with his penchant for feverous dreaming on the grand scale. After his father died, Hitler made it to Vienna where he hoped to become a great *Kunstler*, or artist. He applied to and was turned down by the Vienna Academy of the Arts. The postcards that Hitler painted at this time show a conventional realist style. People do not loom large in his paintings. One wonders whether later, when Hitler had become a politician, he still saw

himself as an artist and people as mere features of the landscape to be rearranged according to his aesthetic designs.

His one friend during this period, August Kubizek, noted that Hitler would alternatively spend hours at the library, stay up all night and work on an opera that would never be completed, or talk nonstop in monologue fashion about some political event or theory of the day. His bohemian lifestyle in Vienna was financed by his doting mother. Contrary to the story he later made up for his autobiography *Mein Kampf*, he was not a poor working man during this period of his life. Never having gone to university, his de facto university was living the life of a bohemian bum in Vienna with "tuition" paid for by his mother (who sent him money constantly during this period). While in Vienna, Hitler was influenced by the demagogic mayor of the city, Karl Lueger. Lueger kept power by playing the antisemitic card, a popular card to play at a time when *Ostjuden* or Jews from the East were making their way westward to escape hard times and pogroms in the old Russian czarist empire. Lueger famously said, "I define who is a Jew," and did so to his political benefit for the rest of his mayoral career. Hitler was influenced too by Georg von Schonerer's pan-German nationalism as he came of age politically in Vienna. He was also influenced greatly by the gutter racist popular press, collecting and reading obscure journals such as *Ostara* that discussed theories of Nordic Superiority and Jewish perfidy.

The only reason we know about Hitler today is due to one event: World War I. After Hitler's mother died of cancer, Hitler was truly alone in the world (ironically, he was thankful for the care the Jewish doctor Eduard Bloch gave to his mother). With money running out and a respectable career in the arts unavailable, the Great War proved to be Hitler's one great chance to make something of himself. To escape military service in the Austro-Hungarian empire, Hitler became a draft dodger by moving to Munich, Germany by 1914. By September 1914, Hitler had volunteered for service in the German Imperial Army. He would serve on the western front until 1918 as a *Meldenganger*, or message runner. He only advanced to the rank of corporal because superiors saw him as lacking in leadership ability. His best friend in the trenches was a dog. Not surprisingly, his comrades remember him as a loner who actually enjoyed the war. He was apparently abstemious and Victorian in his moral conduct even when on leave from service at the front (another trait that did not endear him to his comrades). Hitler was finally given the Iron Cross by a Jewish officer for his meritorious service in the war. Luck began to run out on Hitler when in 1918 he was gassed at the front and suffered temporary blindness. Some historians in fact believe that the nobody Hitler metastasized into the fanatical politician as a result of the "conversion experience" he underwent due to the psychic and physical trauma he experienced at this time. His gradual recovery in the hospital did not alleviate his anger over Germany's formal defeat in November 1918. In his range and disbelief at the news, he embodied the average German's reaction to the shocking and unexpected reversal of Germany's fortunes. The average German felt that victory was close in the Summer of 1918. Had not Russia already been defeated in the East in 1917?

Hitler could only conclude that Germany had been "stabbed in the back" by a combination of war shirkers, left-wing politicos, and Jews. The unexpected harshness of the Versailles Treaty that emerged from the Paris Peace Conference only confirmed his belief in this theory. In short order, he decided to become a politician after the war ended. His new family, the German Army, gave him temporary employment as a spy whose task was to watch various radical groups in the Munich area. Eventually, he was to take over a minor party he was originally spying on: a party later to be known as the National Socialist Party, which consisted of but a few dozen members who were mostly dedicated to drinking and

complaining about capitalism, the Jews, and the great future of German nationalism. The party from its early days was a classic "anti-party"—more against things such as communism, democracy, and Judaism than for something positive. Hitler, who believed that the art of leadership consisted of concentrating the attention of the people on a single adversary, later made the Jews the ultimate scapegoat for Germany's past and present sufferings.

Interestingly enough, Hitler was something of a tactical opportunist in his leadership of the party in the 1920s. He focused continually on the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and on the inability of the new German democratic government to solve any of the people's problems. At this time, he actually downplayed his own antisemitism when he sensed his audience's discomfort over it. He developed his trademark speaking style, even taking care to arrive late for his speeches in order to drive the crowd wild with the frenzy of anticipation. Indeed, one of the things that made Hitler distinct as a leader was his ability to fuse his peculiar artistic vision with conventional politicking. He had a great role in designing the Nazi flag, Nazi regalia, and the theater-like environments in which he gave his famous speeches. He approached leadership as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*—a Wagnerian total work of art designed to overawe and overwhelm his followers' senses. Hitler knew how to overcome the rational instincts of his audience and appeal directly instead to its deepest inner drives and demons.

By 1923, Hitler was ready to make a direct bid for power in the confused political milieu of Weimar, Germany. That year's Beer Hall Putsch coup attempt in Munich was a disaster. The general uprising he expected in support of his nationalist aims never materialized and he was put on trial for his actions. Hitler showed great resiliency and cunning as a leader by using the trial to make himself a martyr for sacred German nationalist ambitions. He used the trial as a means of attacking the government for its obeisance to the Versailles Treaty. For treasonous behavior against the state, Hitler received an extremely light sentence. His stay in Landsberg prison was actually positive for Hitler's growth as a leader. It forced him to learn from his recent experiences and gave him the chance to read and write in a disciplined way as he worked out his finished *Weltanschauung*, or master ideology.

While in prison, he wrote *Mein Kampf*, or "My Struggle." Hitler would later prove as a mature leader that he actually meant what he said and said what he meant. What I mean by this is that Hitler laid out political views that he would not deviate from until his suicide in 1945. What were the key ideas in *Mein Kampf*? In sum, they were a potent synthesis of nineteenth-century German nationalism, judeophobia, and racial Darwinism. Hitler believed he had discovered the key to history: historical change results from racial struggle and the struggle of nations for survival. Races warred with one another over space, or *Lebensraum*. Once Germany dominated Europe by exploiting the vast resources of Russia, Hitler foresaw a time when Germany would be the dominant superpower of the world. At this point, the annihilation of an entity he called "Judeo-Bolshevism" could begin. For Hitler, every Jew was a communist, and every communist a Jew. Both were two sides of the same "evil bacillus" that threatened Europe and Germanic civilization. These ideas formed the core of the National Socialist worldview. Hitler as *Fuhrer* of the Germans saw himself as the indispensable element for achieving this racial utopia. Hitler was thus gifted as a synthesizer of others' ideas. Indeed, his masterstroke was to combine two of the most powerful ideas of the twentieth century (nationalism and socialism) into one party: the National Socialist Party.

After his prison experience, Hitler showed a wily tactical ability in his political maneuverings that was to take him far until about 1936 when he fell into the trap of believing in his own propaganda about his infallibility. Once released from prison, Hitler decided that he would take power with the appearance of legality so as not to scare

off the conservative and *Ordnung*-loving middle classes of Germany. He was willing to downplay his antisemitic message, make short-term alliances of convenience with German communists, and focus on Germans' resentment over the economy and its humiliating position in world affairs after World War I. Hitler proved himself to be one of the most modern leaders of the day as he used new technology such as the radio to disseminate his message across Germany and the world. He was the first major politician in the world to use the airplane regularly to barnstorm throughout Germany to spread his political program. His party even used direct mail techniques that are still used to this day.

Hitler's greatest opportunity came with the depression that hit Europe after the crash of the American stock market in 1929. Seizing on the economic discontent of the German people, Hitler turned the Nazis into the dominant party of Germany. After much backstage maneuvering, Hitler was finally appointed Chancellor in a legal manner by President Hindenburg on January 30, 1933. Hitler shrewdly took advantage of the German elite's view that he would be but a puppet for their interests. Instead, Hitler quickly moved to seize control of the state apparatus by seizing control over the police. Hitler had indeed been building his private armies all along—the SS (originally Hitler's personal bodyguard) and the SA (the party's streetfighting elements). Hitler opportunistically took advantage of the *Reichstag* fire to all but end the young German democracy in the name of "law and order." He then sought to make his power long-lasting by streamlining German society through *Gleichschaltung*, or coordination. All collective groupings in German society were to be "coordinated" or made subservient to Nazi goals, from the boy scouts to professional associations. Hitler's most troublesome problem turned out to be his own SA, or storm trooper organization. The SA represented the socialist side of National Socialism and expected to be rewarded by becoming the new army of Germany. Hitler showed shocking alacrity in deciding to cut out one of the last independent-minded sectors of his movement by having the leader of the SA, Ernst Rohm, and many of his other political enemies executed during an episode that was later appropriately named the Night of the Long Knives.

However, as many commentators have asked in regard to charismatic leadership, how does one routinize and stabilize the powers unleashed by it? Once the great leader has won all power and makes all the decisions, what happens if he errs? Who will check him? After risking much in remilitarizing the Rhineland in 1936 and getting away with it (an action that could easily have been stopped by a united show of force by England and France), Hitler began to feel that he could not fail. Now he began planning his wars of conquest in earnest. Hitler was successful in his foreign policy early on because he held a trump card that no other European statesman of the time did: namely, the willingness—even enthusiasm—to risk war if he did not get his way. While all the other leaders of Europe were still dealing with the wounds left by the Great War, Hitler was using his oratorical skills to convince the Germans that war was the highest activity of man. Hitler was also exceptionally shrewd in using his opponents' rhetoric about democratic self-determination against them. If Wilson said every people deserves self-determination, why couldn't Germany form a union with Austria? Why were there millions of Sudeten Germans living in Czechoslovakia? Also, if the rest of the world disarmed, claimed Hitler, he would be glad to do so himself. The world's uncreative leaders of the day never answered Hitler's early aggressive moves and paid the price in the form of World War II.

Once union with Austria was achieved and the Sudetenland was gained after the Munich crisis in 1938, war was destined to break out once England and France realized that Hitler's appetite could not be appeased. That he got as far as he did in his prewar diplomacy is attributable to his ability to take advantage of the West's fear of Russian communism. For a man who never traveled outside of Germany as a leader, he had a shrewd understanding of the enemy's psychological weakness. Britain and France had to draw a line in the sand after Hitler gobbled up the rest of the Czech state in the Spring of 1939. Poland was given security guarantees by Britain and France after this action. How was Hitler to get himself out of the dilemma of a two-front war that Germany found itself in during World War I? Hitler brilliantly exploited the Soviet dictator Stalin's cynicism by agreeing to a nonaggression pact with Russia that called for the two powers to divide up Poland between them in August 1939.

After conquering Poland in short order in the Fall of 1939, Hitler prepared for war in the West. He showed flexibility in planning the campaign against France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland by heeding the advice of his generals about the unfeasibility of attacking in winter. Once the initial invasion plans had fallen into the hands of the allies, Hitler showed himself willing to try the unorthodox plan advanced by his general, von Manstein. Instead of attacking through Belgium to get at France, Hitler risked much by having his panzers drive through the Ardennes forest to the south of Belgium. Victory came in short order. In essence, Hitler had accomplished what few great leaders since Charlemagne had done: he conquered all of Europe at a relatively small cost and in a short time. Hitler had won "the last European war." That he was to lose the World War to follow (with the entry of Soviet Russia and the United States against him in 1941) might be attributable to his having achieved too much, too soon, and too easily.

It is, in retrospect, easy to say that the obvious solution to finishing the war against England would have been to wipe out the British position in the Middle East (thereby cutting off the Royal Navy's oil supplies). Finishing off Britain while maintaining an alliance with his fellow dictator Stalin was the optimal solution to the problem of "catastrophic success" just described. But Hitler would not have been the leader he was—a combination of a gambler, a utopian charismatic, and an ideologue—had he not been willing to follow -up success in the West with the true war he always wished to wage: a crusade against Russia, the center of Judeo-Bolshevism.

By coming to believe in his infallibility, Hitler made the following errors. He tried to do too much too soon, believing as he did that Nazi aims must all be achieved while he was alive since no leader could finish the job after he died (Hitler had a morbid fear of early death). After the invasion of Russia turned sour, he became increasingly rigid and unwilling to listen to the advice of others. He somehow believed in the magic touch that brought him success up to this point in his career and so never seriously considered such advice as making peace with Stalin while it was still possible. He allowed himself to believe that any successes achieved by Germany were due to his leadership while any failures could be blamed on convenient scapegoats. More crucially, he increasingly surrounded himself with "yes men" whose only function was to ratify his preconceptions about himself and his enemies. In short, Hitler had invented a political system and ideology that ultimately relied on a perfect leader to make sure the whole system worked and lived on. Once the infallible leader erred, all of Germany was to pay the price. In the end, Hitler's leadership was an all or nothing affair: *oder Weltmacht oder Niedergang*, that is, either total victory or total defeat. The real question about Hitler's

leadership is not why did he fail, but why did he get as far as he did given his gambling nature?

Further Reading

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MAO ZEDONG: MOBILIZER OF THE MASSES

Mao meeting with Soviet leader Nikita Khruschev in 1958 [Courtesy Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-111093].

Mao Zedong (1893–1976) led China from 1949 until his death in 1976. He turned China into a communist state. Although he successfully solidified his position as China's paramount leader and restored Chinese pride after nearly a century of imperialism, he also initiated policies that seriously hurt China and communism's international reputation. His attempt to rapidly modernize China under communism led to the death of millions of his own people. He also helped inadvertently to end the Cold War by cooperating with the United States against Russian power. His disagreements with the communist Russian world helped to divide the international communist movement in the middle and later stages of the Cold War.

The career of Mao raises the issue of the role cultural universals and particulars at play in the study of leadership. In Robert Nisbett's book *Thinking Through Cultures*, the claim is made that Asians and Westerners have different cognitive styles. Many studies have long claimed to show that east Asian cultures tend to privilege the group over the individual; tend to be more socially and intellectually conservative; and tend to be more motivated by shame than internalized guilt in terms of moral thinking. Such studies essentially claim to show that small differences in culture and biology can reach a tipping point over time and eventually have major effects on history. We need not fully believe such generalizations to note that a strong argument should be made that great leadership in Chinese history is enacted in significantly different ways than it is in the West. Going back to the roots of Chinese history, one can see that the leader in Chinese society has the burden of appearing to be, above all, as a moral exemplar who is therefore effective at getting things done. Since China has remained outside the monotheistic framework for much of its history, there was never an official priestly or holy class that took responsibility for the moral health of the people. Instead, in the Confucian tradition, it has been the scholar-gentry or mandarin class that—in conjunction with the institution of the emperorship—has assumed the burden of moral and political leadership of society. Mao, in short, does not emerge as a great leader *ex nihilo*. As we will see, his leadership style is clearly rooted in the Chinese tradition.

Mao was the son of a fairly well-off peasant farmer. The son had a penchant for the intellectual life and the world of education that the pragmatic father could never quite comprehend. The Chinese curse "may you live in interesting times" is indeed a curse for most people, but for others such as Mao, interesting times can lead to great opportunity. This opportunity for self-development and fulfillment came in the aftermath of China's

revolution of 1911. The old Ch'in dynasty that had controlled the Chinese empire since the seventeenth century was no more. China slowly continued its effort to catch up to the West by becoming a republic. For a short time, Mao found a distant mentor in the figure of Sun Yat Sen, the leader of China's effort to modernize China's government. Mao even served as a soldier for a few months in the service of the revolutionary movement. While still a student, Mao studied the lives and careers of the Chinese emperors. Like many twentieth-century Chinese, Mao was also fascinated by the careers and models of leadership provided by figures such as George Washington and Napoleon. He finally graduated from Changsha Normal School in 1918. While Mao fancied himself an intellectual, his social background and the peripheral schools he attended made him something of an outsider in regard to both the country's elite and its illiterate masses. Arguably, this very dilemma was turned by Mao to his advantage as he later proved able—from a distance—to take an objective look at the strengths and weaknesses of these two social groupings and use this knowledge to his advantage in his long march to power.

As with many of China's idealistic and politically aware youth, the May 4, 1919 Movement aroused Mao's hopes for a better China. In 1919, mass demonstrations broke out in Beijing when China got word that its demands were not to be met at the Paris Peace Conference and that Japan would be allowed to impinge upon China's sovereignty. While in Beijing, Mao eked out a living as an assistant university librarian. Mao moved to the political left as he became disillusioned with the failures of China's republican government. Like many other Chinese at this time, he also found Marxism's emphasis on science and empiricism a refreshing change from the antiscientific strains in traditional Chinese culture. Mao joined the Communist Party in 1921. Unlike other intellectuals in and outside the Communist Party, Mao never dismissed the illiterate peasant masses as a political force. Again, Mao's upbringing and marginal status allowed him to shrewdly understand the strengths and weakness of each of China's social classes, including the self-defeating elitism of the Communist Party's own leaders. His understanding of the peasantry would go a long way in the future to allow Mao to claim a special leadership status for himself based on his being "a man of the people" and their moral leader.

While Mao had an early intuitive understanding of the peasantry's revolutionary power, China's politicians on the Right (such as Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalists or Guomindang) as well as those on the Left spent much of their time wrestling over control of the cities. The Guomindang and communists even had a short-term alliance that lasted until 1927. In that year, Chiang Kai Shek turned on the communists in an attempt to destroy them altogether. Mao and the communist cause were now on the defensive and would remain so for nearly twenty years. Things got so tough that Mao and his hard-core supporters had to embark upon the famous Long March deep into the interior of China in order to escape from the Nationalist Army. Ironically, the Japanese attacks on China throughout the 1930s helped to keep communism alive in China as it forced the Guomindang to spend its precious resources in keeping the Japanese at bay. Historians have recently begun to show that Mao was hardly an infallible leader during the Long March era. He did not exactly lead from the front during military skirmishes; he made many bad decisions, and lived a decidedly nonspartan existence. Nonetheless, Mao clearly was inspired in his ability to craft an image of himself as a champion of the peasantry. Here, his background as the son of a peasant clearly paid off. His genius was to see this background as an asset rather than a liability.

Another key to Mao's acumen for leadership is found in his patient ability to keep his party and army intact over many years in the face of so many domestic and foreign opponents. By the end of World War II, the communists were finally able to begin moving on

the offensive. As the Japanese left China, Russian communists made sure that both Japanese and Russian arms were provided to Mao. With these weapons and the moral advantage in fighting a deeply corrupt Chinese government, it was only a matter of time before Mao's control over the countryside would lead to his control over China's cities. By 1949, Mao was able to take power and announce to the world in Beijing, "We [the Chinese people] have stood up." Mao had shown flexibility and creativity in his long struggle for power by revising Marxism to incorporate the revolutionary potential of the "backward peasantry." Once in power, Mao would face the test of putting theory into practice at home and abroad during the height of the Cold War.

Mao took advantage of the powers inherent in communist dictatorship to reverse many longstanding practices in Chinese society and culture. By 1955, the countryside was being rapidly collectivized as private property reverted to the state. Mao also was decisive in ending old feudal social customs such as female foot-binding and blind worship of China's imperial cultural patrimony (including reverence for Confucianism itself). As de-Stalinization proceeded in the Soviet Union after 1953, Mao appeared to follow suit in China. The so-called "hundred flowers campaign" of the 1950s made it seem as if a variety of competing ideas were to be allowed on the political stage in the same way a good farmer allows for a healthy diversity of plant life in his garden. Instead of being allowed to thrive, however, the new shoots of independent thought were cut down almost as soon as they popped up. Even worse, the Great Leap Forward campaign was started in 1958. The idea was to use communist social engineering and turn China into a modern industrial behemoth almost overnight. Peasants were ordered to install miniature steel mills in their backyards, at the same time they were being ordered to increase agricultural output. The result was a disaster of unbelievable magnitude. Twenty to thirty million died of starvation in a few short years, conclusively proving that totalitarian central planning of every major aspect of life is almost guaranteed to lead to disaster.

While Mao was a genius at taking power, he proved himself a great leader once in power only in the same way that Hitler or Ivan the Terrible are considered "great": that is, great only in the sense of wreaking terrible havoc of an untold scale and scarring the lives of untold millions of people. The great helmsman proved not so innovative after all once he was ensconced in power. He rather grew to resemble Chinese tyrant emperors of the past such as the founder of the Ch'in dynasty who burned books and people with equal abandon in his attempt to impose his megalomaniacal vision upon the Chinese people. In short, Mao harnessed his personal charisma for vain and selfish ends. In order to insure that the communist bureaucracy never contested his authority even when he was clearly wrong, Mao initiated the disastrous cultural revolution. Mao proclaimed to his loyal Red Guard outfits that "to rebel is justified." Of course, such a rebellion had its limits when it threatened him personally.

While Mao cultivated an image of himself as a simple man of the people, he actually enjoyed the life of a debauched raconteur. He kept himself isolated from unpleasant facts and independent minds. He was often too busy pursuing wine, women, and song. He was especially furious when his special train was spied upon by elements of the Chinese secret service while he was dallying with his latest concubine. He also grew into something of an eccentric, believing, for example, that tea alone could take care of all important matters pertaining to dental hygiene.

His foreign policy on the whole was uninspiring. He lost a million or so men fighting on behalf of North Korea while getting little in return for the investment. He abruptly broke with the Soviet Union in the early 1960s, preferring the road of ideological purity instead

of taking advantage of the superior Soviet technology of the day. He then reestablished ties with America, which led to a partnership that would, ironically, help end and discredit communism first in the Soviet Union and then the rest of the world. His legacy today is to have left most Chinese feeling cynical about politics of any sort. Besides a vague pride in China's imperial past and culture, the only unifying element left in Chinese society, seems to be the hope of becoming rich and getting revenge against the Japanese and other uppity foreigners. Mao's legacy is that of a despotic emperor, feared and admired for the power he was able to amass without being remembered for the moral leadership which he once promised. The communist purity that he claimed to stand for is no more, precisely because of his failures as a leader. Indeed, China's emergence as a modern power will be held back by the remnants of communist dictatorship left by Mao. By killing independent thought and the spirit of innovation, the communists may make China the workshop of the world, but it will be a workshop relying on foreigners to perpetually provide the blueprints to make China a going concern.

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LINCOLN: THE LEADER AS NATION-BUILDER

Abraham Lincoln [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USP6-2415-A].

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was the American president who led the northern states in the American Civil War against the southern states. The war was devastating in terms of human and material losses endured by both sides. However, Lincoln's powerful leadership allowed the northern states to endure early southern victories. He rallied the north to victory by successfully mobilizing the North's superior resources and by turning the war into a crusade to end slavery in the United States.

Abraham Lincoln, like his contemporary Otto von Bismarck, made his mark as a leader by using war as a tool of national unification. Lincoln transformed the United States from a loose confederacy of semi-sovereign states into a modern nation-state. In so doing, he altered the course of world history by laying the foundation for a new United States that would soon develop into a superpower. Before Lincoln, "the United States were," after Lincoln, "the United States is." American unification as the result of the civil war was hardly inevitable. Lincoln provided the indispensable leadership that remade the nation.

Unlike many American presidents who claimed to have been born in a log cabin and to have known the hardships of poverty, Lincoln was the real deal: he was born in a log cabin in Hardin County, Kentucky, to simple but hardworking parents, Tom and Nancy Lincoln (Nancy was even esteemed as a formidable wrestler!). If young Lincoln was ever to

enter the ranks of the American elite, he would have to be mightily driven in order to begin the long rise out of his Hardin County environment. For a time, Lincoln's parents, Tom and Nancy, attended an antislavery church with young Abraham. Such churches at the time were not numerous even in the North, let alone in a border state such as Kentucky. Such influences in young Abraham's life certainly encouraged his ability to be able to question received wisdom. Even as a boy, the young Lincoln showed a preternatural sensitivity and thoughtfulness uncommon in his roughhewn environment. After shooting a turkey as a boy, Lincoln felt different from those around him who thought nothing of shooting, killing, or even abusing animals. Instead, he felt a sense of disgust and remorse about the act. Such thoughtfulness, of course, would later serve Lincoln during the course of his political career.

By 1816, the family moved to Indiana. His mother soon died and a woman named Sarah became his stepmother. Lincoln was lucky to enjoy good relations with his stepmother. She encouraged his love of books, those indispensable virtual reality machines that have from time immemorial allowed potential leaders to sharpen their wits and sensibilities. He was a voracious reader. He enjoyed readings as various as Parson Weems' *Life of Washington*, the tales of Daniel Defoe, Aesop's fables, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the Bible, and even the *Revised Statutes of Illinois* (in those days, one could avoid the tribulations of law school and read law on one's own). Lincoln could not read as much as he liked given the arduous chores and duties he was responsible for (many noted Lincoln's habit of even using his rest breaks to read, however). Given his awkward and ungainly appearance, Lincoln was made to endure the taunts of his rougher peers. On one notable occasion, Lincoln was able to outwrestle a bully and earn the respect of his enemies. Lincoln was always able to take advantage of his enemies' mistakes in underestimating him.

Another biographical detail that affected Lincoln for the rest of his life was his Mississippi flatboat river trip to New Orleans. Not only did he earn money by piloting goods down to New Orleans, but he gained a first-hand look at the institution of slavery along the way. Seeing enchained and shackled slaves left a huge imprint on Lincoln's active mind. He gained a visceral, not just intellectual, dislike of slavery after his trip through the deep South. Always in search of opportunity and self-improvement, Lincoln moved to Salem, Illinois, when he was twenty-one. During the Black Hawk War, Lincoln demonstrated his leadership skills by being elected captain of his military unit. The time he spent as a soldier was short—the campaign lasted only for some ninety days. Still, in actively seeking to broaden his experience, Lincoln gained some familiarity with military affairs and psychology. Such familiarity could only help him later when he became war leader of the North during the civil war. Lincoln was no braggart—this too endeared him to his followers. He was always modest and self-deprecating when he talked about his experiences in the Black Hawk War.

As Lincoln made his way up the social ladder, he worked alternatively as a postmaster, laborer, surveyor, and even as an entrepreneur. The latter occupation was not fruitful for Lincoln, however. The general store that he partially owned was a dismal failure. As one observer noted, the store failed because "one partner read all the time while the other drank all the time." Lincoln showed great character in refusing the easy way out by pursuing bankruptcy proceedings. Instead, he worked hard for years to pay off his creditors with his own money. Lincoln learned from both failure and success. He came to admire Henry Clay and the American Whig Party partly because he saw Clay as the champion of a developing "American System" that would favor social mobility and meritocracy based on free labor and talent. The banks and tariff system proposed by Clay would, in Lincoln's view, help turn America into an economically progressive society in which the little man could hope to rise by dint of his work, rather than through his bloodlines and connections. As Lincoln began to study law, he was proud of how far he had come. "I too was a slave," said Lincoln

about his life before the beginning of his self-education. But he was now escaping his days of impoverishment by personally embodying the "free soil, free labor" ideology he believed the Whigs stood for.

Psychologically, Lincoln's Calvinist upbringing helped in the sense that he could always rationalize setbacks as being somehow fated. Lincoln could move forward to tackle the next problem without dwelling too much on the past. In 1834, Lincoln was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. While his political career looked promising, his personal life was troubled. With the death of his first and perhaps only true love, Anne Rutledge, Lincoln struggled through arduous bouts of depression. Lincoln was never a natural with women. He awkwardly approached the door of one young lady and asked naively, "is miss Rodney handy?" His lack of social *savoir faire* indeed would be used against him in politics, but Lincoln was always smart enough to neutralize his handicaps or even make them a source of strength through a disarming ability to poke fun at himself. While the elites looked down upon him for his way of speaking and his roughhewn appearance, Lincoln's sharp wit and modesty endeared him to average voters.

Lincoln eventually married Mary Todd, the temperamental daughter of a plantation owner. To be fair, Lincoln was not the most doting of husbands. Indeed, he seemed to prefer work to life at home. By all accounts, he was a good but rather lenient father (his law partner was aghast at the sight of Lincoln's son being allowed to run amok at the office). His long focus on a legal career (1837–1861) trained him well for a career in politics. His already powerful mind was made razor-sharp through the practice of law while his speaking skills were well honed through much practice before the court and in the political arena. Amazingly, he handled roughly five thousand cases (three hundred of them before the U.S. Supreme Court). By 1847, he had made it to the U.S. Congress. His opposition to the U.S.-Mexican War (which threatened to expand the southern slave power) was ineffective. Still, Lincoln did not falter in his upward ascent. Even though Stephen Douglas beat him for a U.S. Senate seat in 1858, Lincoln captured the northern imagination in his publicized debates with Douglas. Lincoln showed great acumen as a leader in being able to sense how far he could go in terms of his antislavery views without alienating the mass of northern whites. So, while he found slavery to be abhorrent, he refused to become a pure abolitionist. As the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, struggles over slavery in Kansas, and the John Brown raid further frayed relations between North and South, Lincoln found himself the leader of the new Republican Party in 1860. He was perfect for the role—he had embodied its "free soil, free labor" ideology for all of his life. No more fit a leader for the party could be had. By November 6, 1860, Lincoln found himself officially elected president of the now disunited states of America. He had won only 39 percent of the vote. Lincoln was able to simplify the major political issue of the day in a way that anyone could understand: "you [the South] think slavery is right and ought to be extended. We [the North] think it is wrong and ought to be restricted."

Lincoln's first act of superior leadership as president was to lay the mighty burden of initiating war with the South. As he put it, "in your hands . . . is the momentous issue of civil war." Had the South been able to match Lincoln's leadership, it would have been canny enough to avoid falling into Lincoln's trap of appearing the aggressor and starting the war. A savvy southern leader would have taken advantage of Lincoln's willingness to be fairly moderate on the question of slavery. But southern leadership was not up to the task. Time and again, Lincoln would use his superior skills as a leader (particularly his coolness under pressure, deliberative judgment, ability to juggle many tasks, strategic thinking, fixity of purpose, ability to improvise, freedom from personal vendettas, and his ability to talk with friend and foe alike) to keep the South boxed in at critical points during the war. When the South worked to bring in Britain and France on its side, Lincoln shrewdly

raised the stakes by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation (thus making it harder for the progressive nations of the day to fight on behalf of a slaveholding aristocracy).

When the South won great battles, Lincoln doggedly raised new armies and promoted new generals in order to get the job done. When the South took wild gambles, Lincoln responded by taking calculated risks. Lincoln arguably broke lesser laws in order to save the only higher law he truly cared about: the law of eternal American union. He spent money without proper authorization, suspended *habeas corpus*, and turned other corners in order to guarantee that the United States would remain whole. As if this were not enough, Lincoln's war leadership forged the modern presidency and its awesome powers. Before the war, Congress ruled the roost. By the end of the war, the power of the presidency was developed such that any future leader could exploit it for good or for ill. In a sense, Lincoln's assassination on April 9, 1865 made his leadership even more long-lasting. Lincoln the martyr now resides deep in the conscience of every politically aware American. Lincoln will forever be known as the perfecter of the promises inherent in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Before Lincoln, the badges and incidents of slavery were taken for granted throughout much of the world. After Lincoln, such thinking could never go uncontested. Even though Lincoln himself was no racial egalitarian, the logic of his public actions speaks more loudly than his private doubts in the American conscience. That this is Lincoln's legacy is a testament to his remarkable abilities as self-made leader whose loyalty was always to ideas of a more perfect union rather than to his fame, fortune, or personal privilege.

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WASHINGTON: FOUNDER OF A NATION

George Washington being appointed Commander-in-Chief, from a Currier Ives lithograph. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-2258].

George Washington (1732–1799) led America to victory in the American Revolution. His accomplishments as a military commander during the Revolution made him a nearly unanimous choice to become America's first president. By refusing to become a dictator or king of America (as some suggested he should), Washington set the standard for limited executive power in American life thereafter. He also set the precedent for presidents serving only two terms in office (a precedent that would last until the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the twentieth century).

George Washington has often been termed the indispensable man of the American Revolution. It is impossible to imagine the American Revolution succeeding without Washington. The figure of Washington gives us an example of leadership that did not depend on genius. Washington was a man who made the best of his good background and his first-class character to achieve great things through hard work.

Washington's father Augustine was a substantial and ambitious man in his own right. When his father died, Washington went to live with his half-brother Lawrence. Lawrence later built the estate of Mount Vernon in Virginia that Washington inherited after his half-brother's death. Washington enjoyed a formal education until he was fifteen years of age. Besides his formal education, he was also busily engaged in learning the arts of being a country gentleman. He learned surveying and the practical arts of agriculture. He also acquired knowledge of the wider world through Lawrence's tales of his experiences at a British school and his service in the British Navy. While Washington respected Britain, he, along with many other Americans at this time, chafed at British limitations on the rights of Americans to expand their landholdings westward.

By 1752, Washington—only twenty years of age—had to take leadership of the large estates Lawrence had accumulated once the latter died from tuberculosis. Washington showed his abilities in this regard by expanding the estate to over eight thousand acres (the estate thus became one of the most substantial properties in America at that time). He prided himself on being well-versed in the advanced farming techniques of the day. Washington, while not an original thinker, was open to the best new ideas of the day whether they had to do with politics or farming techniques. For the next generation or so, Washington lived the life of a responsible and hard-working country gentleman. He joyously participated in country activities ranging from fox hunting to wrestling. In doing so, he developed into an imposing and well-rounded man. He reached the height of 6′2″ and his social etiquette was beyond reproach (he had even taken it upon himself as a young man to study the subject on his own).

By the 1750s, it was only natural for Washington to start participating in politics by becoming a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Washington still lacked one thing that could greatly expand Washington's leadership opportunities at this time—military experience. In 1753, he got this opportunity. The British were anxious to send a message to the French in the Ohio Valley that they should acknowledge Anglo-American interests in this area without delay. Washington duly delivered the message to the French (who stubbornly maintained their claim to the land anyway) only to nearly die on his way back after being shot at by an Indian and nearly drowning. Washington was promoted to lieutenant colonel in preparation for another military effort to deny the French their claim to the Ohio territory. Washington's efforts in this regard were unsuccessful. He let himself become besieged at Fort Necessity and had to surrender in humiliating fashion in 1754. Nevertheless, Washington managed to win fame for fighting as best as he could until British regulars joined the fray in 1755 under the leadership of General Braddock. Washington was in short order invited to serve on Braddock's staff. Although Washington again suffered defeat under Braddock's command against the French, the fact that he fought bravely and honorably (he had a couple of horses shot out from under him) again saved his reputation in the colonies and mother country. Indeed, he was even put in command of all of Virginia's troops in 1755 due to his diligent if unsuccessful service in the western frontier region.

By 1758, this latest French and Indian war began to turn in favor of the Anglo-American side. In that year, the strategic goal of taking Fort Duquesne from the French was finally achieved. Washington throughout the war showed an amazing doggedness and perseverance, which was to serve him well during the many low points of the later revolutionary war effort. Washington also learned during his first taste of war the importance of discipline by showing a willingness to hang and flog men for serious infractions. After leaving the army, he married well. In 1759, he married a widow Martha Custis. In so doing, he married a well-bred woman of great wealth. More acres and slaves were added to his already considerable landholdings. Washington showed great acumen at this time in fitting the English expectation of what a leader should be. He ordered the best clothes from London

and entertained lavishly (some estimate that he hosted around two thousand guests from 1768 to 1775). Washington, in short, had plenty of accumulated social capital to make up for any deficiencies he originally possessed.

This accumulated social capital would be of great use to Washington and the colonies beginning in 1763 when the Crown decided that it was time for the Americans to do more by way of paying for imperial defense and decided to forbid settlement west of the Alleghenies. Washington from an early point favored decisive resistance to British encroachments on American liberties. He did not hesitate to sign the resolution calling for a Continental Congress to meet in 1774. When it came to open war with the British, Washington was altogether modest about his qualifications to assume leadership of the American army. He even recommended that another man take the position. In the end, however, there was no real competition. Washington—as a Virginian—was acceptable to the South and New England alike. His ability to unite rather than divide was to be a crucial element in his success as a leader of the fractious American colonies in their revolt against the mother country. Washington characteristically subordinated his interests to those of the larger cause. He would accept no payment for his services, but only compensation for his actual costs as a commander.

Washington's first military task was to keep the British checked in. He audaciously seized Dorchester Heights, south of Boston, and insured that the British would have to leave the city. The next task was to secure New York from British control. This task would show that Washington did not always shine in his generalship. Even Jefferson commented on his many failures in the field. One of the gravest mistakes on Washington's part was to allow himself to be nearly annihilated on Long Island after being defeated by British forces, thanks to British control of the surrounding waters. Washington's true military leadership lay in his imperturbability: not even near disasters such as the battle for New York could unnerve Washington or prevent him from recovering to fight another day. He was also very much inclined as a leader to listen to the other military leaders around him. Invariably, he adopted the consensus of opinion reached by his military advisers in making his decisions. Unlike flashier generals, Washington was always able to maintain a steady demeanor, and, most importantly, keep his army in being by using Fabian tactics. A lesser general would have risked all for a spectacular but nondecisive victory against the British. As a leader who valued winning the more than winning the battles, Washington knew well that time was on his side given American geography.

Washington demonstrated his resiliency when after his defeat in New York he came back to surprise and tweak the British at Trenton and Princeton in late 1776. Still, 1777 would bring but partial success. While the British lost an important battle at Saratoga, Washington suffered defeat at the battle of Brandywine and allowed the enemy to occupy Philadelphia. In the depressing winter of 1777–1778, it took all the leadership that Washington could muster in order to keep the army alive at Valley Forge. Indeed, there were serious attempts to unseat Washington from his command. But he held on until an alliance with the French was concluded in 1778. Now the British would have to leave Philadelphia of necessity due to French naval threats to their line of communications. Washington kept his ragged and underpaid army going until 1781 when he pressed upon the French the bold plan of trapping Cornwallis at Yorktown with the help of De Grasse's navy. The subsequent defeat of the British at Yorktown was to end all hopes the British had of achieving an affordable military victory in America.

Still, challenges continued that would test Washington's leadership acumen. He fended off the Newburgh conspiracy (in which he was offered kingship in return for giving the army dictatorial powers) in the strongest terms possible. He commanded the army to support

Congress even after this body showed itself unable, time and again, to meet its promises to the army in regard to pay and benefits. Like Cincinatus of Roman days, Washington, the warrior, gracefully stepped down from command of his army once the British left New York in 1783. His goal? To become a simple citizen–farmer once more.

All of course was not well in the America governed by the Articles of Confederation throughout most of the 1780s. The states did what they pleased without having to be accountable to each other. Although he did not think the newly proposed Constitution perfect, he was decisive in his support of it and the strong union it promised. Washington again proved to be the indispensable man once the country ratified the document and looked to him in near unanimous fashion for leadership by becoming its first president. Once in office, Washington tried mightily to stay above factional divisions already taking root in the nation. By bravely including polar opposites such as Hamilton and Jefferson in his administration, Washington guaranteed that his leadership skills would be sorely tested. He also set himself the difficult goal of keeping America neutral in the ongoing wars between the French and the British. Washington's two terms in office were generally successful. He kept the nation at peace as it struggled to rebuild after the Revolution and he set the precedent for how future presidents should comport themselves. It is a credit to Washington that he voluntarily stepped down after two terms when he could easily have had a third term. He was so concerned about presidential dignity that he refused to become a guest of anyone while president. He even avoided the practice of shaking the hands of any particular individual for fear of not appearing impartial. His farewell address of 1796 was sagacious in warning that America should seek to avoid entangling alliances. Washington's death itself was a bravura final act of leadership. On his deathbed, he stated in noble fashion "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go . . . I feel myself going. I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me."

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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: ARISTOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY

Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill on portico of Russian Embassy in Teheran, during conference–Nov. 28–Dec. 1, 1943. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-32833]

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) led America through the twin traumas of economic depression and world war during his presidency (1932–1945). His political popularity with the American people gave the Democratic Party dominance in American politics for decades. Although his New Deal policies did not end the economic depression in the 1930s, they gave Americans confidence that government could help alleviate the worst of economic bad times. His wartime leadership helped give America stunning victories over Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. His decision to focus on the defeat of Nazi Germany first during World War II was controversial, but ultimately successful.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) was criticized by his political opponents as a radical who sought to destroy American capitalism—a man who was a traitor to his own class. Instead, FDR ended up only slightly modifying capitalism in order to save it. In so doing, FDR avoided the extreme solutions to the depression being offered at the time by the likes of Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and communist Russia. His leadership abilities also gave Americans the feeling that they could overcome disasters such as Pearl Harbor and win the global war that began for Americans in 1941. FDR proved to be that rare American president who was, according to James MacGregor Burns, a transformational leader in both domestic and foreign affairs. It is hard to believe that any other politician of the time could have won the presidency four times in a row and led the nation in such an artful fashion through the Great Depression and World War II.

FDR had the advantages and handicaps that attend to being born to the wealthiest and most socially elite segment of the American population. On the one hand, he grew up enjoying excellent educational opportunities at schools such as Groton and Harvard. On the other hand, his predisposition for shyness as a youth was only reinforced by his isolation from average Americans. A patrician's stance toward one's fellow citizens has rarely helped the aspiring politician in American society. Even though FDR inherited his loyalty toward the Democratic Party from his family, he was enormously influenced by the progressive side of his distant cousin Theodore Roosevelt (TR or Teddy).

He in fact ended up marrying the niece of TR in 1905. Eleanor Roosevelt was to prove a leader in her own right in addition to being FDR's indispensable aid during his career in politics (especially after he contracted polio). Far from being an anticapitalist, FDR was happy to leave law school and begin his professional career by joining a legal firm that specialized in defending corporate interests from antitrust prosecutions. His first foray into politics occurred in 1910 when he ran for the New York State Senate. No one expected him to win, but win he did—largely on the basis of his ardent and enthusiastic campaign. Clearly, politics ran in his blood in a way that corporate law did not. Given New York's role in national politics at that time, Roosevelt's ability to thrive in a competitive political environment and to reform New York City's Tammany Hall politics boded well for his future political ambitions.

He caught the attention of Woodrow Wilson during the 1912 campaign. FDR was rewarded for his solid support of Wilson by being named assistant secretary of the navy in 1913. For the next seven years as the navy's assistant secretary, FDR would have another occasion to practice his natural political skills. In this position, Roosevelt would learn to see the world through the eyes of an administrator. His skills would be tested by World War I and the demands it placed on the American Navy. He was successful enough in this position to be nominated at the age of only thirty-eight to serve as the vice presidential candidate to James Cox, the Democratic presidential candidate of 1920. Unfortunately for FDR, his meteoric rise was to be interrupted by perhaps the greatest setback of his life. In 1921, he contracted the dreaded disease polio. He would be unable to use his legs for the rest of his life.

Perhaps FDR's greatest act of courage and leadership came at this point in his career. Some family members urged him to retire to the comfortable family estate in Hyde Park where he could live out the rest of his life in superior comfort and leisure. Instead, FDR chose to go back full throttle into politics in an era when a disabled politician could not expect to find widespread acceptance. In 1928, he ran for governor of New York in a year that would see the Republican Party dominate the national political landscape. During his governorship, FDR effectively met the challenges facing him. First, he worked well in reconciling the interests of upstate New Yorkers with those of urban New York City

(no small thing even in today's politics). Second, he reacted with alacrity to the Great Depression as it began to affect New York State in 1929. He initiated the creation of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, which put New York at the forefront of states reacting quickly to the depression.

The greatest phase of FDR's career was now about to begin. He was now the natural front-runner to become the Democratic nominee for president in 1932 against a weakened Herbert Hoover. FDR had as his chief campaign aid the Great Depression itself (which only seemed to get worse as the election year went on). Winning the election proved easy compared to the leadership challenges to come once he became president. With at least thirteen million people unemployed and thousands of banks closed nationwide, all FDR had to offer initially were words, hope, and the confidence he exuded in his public appearances. FDR began his administration by declaring that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Once the fear that was on everyone's mind was actually identified and acknowledged, the renewal of national self-confidence could begin. The best way to alleviate this fear was to act on many different fronts to see if one action or another would start to end the economic crisis. FDR was a superior leader because of his ability to seek out excellent advisers (the "Brains Trust") and his willingness to back their ideas. Early on in his presidency, FDR developed the habit of keeping his innermost convictions to himself so as to maintain optimum freedom for maneuver in a time when experiment was called for, rather than hardheaded ideological preconceptions.

The Roosevelt era saw the creation of "alphabet soup agencies" such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), etc. All of these agencies directly or indirectly put money back into consumers' pockets so as to stimulate an economy plagued by underconsumption. There was, however, no master plan since neither the president nor his aids were committed to Keynesian (pump-priming) economics. Instead, a spirit of experimentation was in the air that would have been unheard of among FDR's presidential predecessors. It was fundamentally this willingness to try something new that kept FDR popular with a restless American public. His lasting successes in domestic policy are to be seen in such programs as social security, the modernization of laws regulating unions and working conditions, and huge public works projects such as the TVA. Even failed policies such as the court-packing plan of 1937 had the effect of indirectly forcing conservative institutions such as the Supreme Court to begin supporting FDR's experimental approach.

Historians miss the point when they claim that, technically speaking, FDR never did "solve" the depression. No one else in the world had the magic solution either. Even Stalin's or Hitler's seeming successes in this regard were illusions maintained through brutal and immoral dictatorships. Instead, his jauntily confident leadership convinced a critical mass of Americans to maintain their faith in both democracy and capitalism at a time when both ideas seemed passé in the eyes of much of the world.

While FDR held his own against the monster that was the Great Depression, he could not afford to seek anything less than total victory against his opponents in World War II. In an era of isolationism and economic hard times, FDR had to use all his leadership skills in order to garner support for a realistic foreign policy in an era dominated by the expansionism of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Once France had fallen to Germany in 1940, FDR could see the geopolitical threat to the United States well before most of his countrymen. If the geopolitical space of Eurasia were to be controlled by a malevolent power such as Germany, the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans could not hope to protect

America any longer. He thus used all the executive power he could muster to aid England without breaking faith with an isolationist congress and public. He even ordered American naval vessels to fire on German subs and ships in 1941 well before Pearl Harbor in order to guarantee the flow of vital goods to England.

Roosevelt's leadership accomplishments would be totally vitiated were it true that he had foreknowledge of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. What in fact undoubtedly happened was that America was beginning to have some success in reading Japanese military codes, but not enough to predict the exact location of Japan's attack. The Pacific is a big area and Japan had many targets other than Pearl Harbor. The assumption was the Philippines would be the main target, not Pearl Harbor. It was hubris, not intent, that left Pearl Harbor vulnerable. Many Americans could not believe that the Japanese were capable of such a feat.

More important is the fact that when Pearl Harbor was attacked, FDR proceeded to become one of the best war presidents America has ever had. His ability to see that Germany was the greater threat led him to cooperate effectively with his English and Russian allies. He had the wisdom to see that unconditional surrender was worth fighting for so as to prevent the indecisive outcome of World War I being repeated again. He insisted on the invasion of France in 1944 when many were suggesting delay or a focus on the Pacific theater instead. He approved and generously funded the risky Manhattan project that would give America the atomic might to end the war on its terms. Finally, he had the foresight to plan for a postwar world based on decolonization, the United Nations, and a stable international trading system. Roosevelt died before he could witness the relatively stable and benign postwar world that he did so much to create.

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GANDHI: THE POWER OF THE POWERLESS

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) was instrumental in freeing India from British colonial rule by 1947. Gandhi used peaceful means of civil disobedience in the campaign for Indian independence that are still used to this day by those suffering under unjust rule. His humble lifestyle and peaceful nature inspired millions of Indians to follow his bid to rid the Indian subcontinent of British rule in a nonviolent fashion. His nonviolent resistance techniques inspired Martin Luther King and the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, repectively.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was not born a natural leader. He made himself into one by hard work, moral striving, and creative thinking about a new kind of leadership. His status as the youngest child of his family makes one wonder if there is something to the scholar Frank Sulloway's theory that younger children, such as Gandhi, have an incentive to rebel against the status quo that elder children do not necessarily feel. There was much to rebel against in Gandhi's time: colonialism, racism, and sectarianism are just a few of the evils that plagued Gandhi's native India for much of the first half of the twentieth century and beyond.

His family practiced orthodox Hinduism. One can see in Gandhi's later life the influence Jainism had upon him from an early age (this religion emphasized nonviolence or *ahimsa*, or

respect for all life). The young Mohandas was shy and at most an average student. Although his family arranged a marriage for him when he was only thirteen, he increasingly enjoyed quiet walks alone rather than immersing himself in family affairs. Indeed, there is even some evidence that Gandhi had a rebellious streak as a teenager (toying as he did with atheism and meat eating for a time). Still, he was extremely self-critical and began to engage in systematic attempts to improve himself as he tried to live up to his parents' expectations as he neared adulthood. In order to become a minister—bureaucrat for one of India's state governments (a career path many of Gandhi's ancestors had followed), he needed to receive legal training at the university level. In order to accomplish this goal, he would have to go to England in order to become a barrister.

The trip to England beginning in 1888 was to be a transformative experience for the young man. One way he escaped isolation during his stay in England was to join the London Vegetarian Society. This was one of the few groups in England that looked at a hallmark of his own native culture (vegetarianism) and deemed it superior to a comparable aspect of British culture. Although Gandhi was initially overawed by English civilization, his experience with the free thinking and radical English members of the Vegetarian Society was to make him see for the first time that England and the West were not necessarily better than India. He, in fact, found common cause with other members of the organization in struggling against materialism, racism, and the excesses of capitalism.

By 1891, Gandhi returned to India to begin his legal career. He proved to be an ineffective and bashful lawyer. His future seemed so dim in India that he jumped at the chance to work in South Africa when the opportunity arose. The racial oppression that Gandhi witnessed in India was even more severe in South Africa where both blacks and Indians were openly discriminated against by white South Africans and the English. He confronted racism firsthand when he was thrown off trains and barred from hotels that privileged whites over Indians. Instead of passively accepting the situation or simply lashing out, Gandhi instead chose a more effective response. He decided from then on to fight against such injustice without revenge or violence. This experience would later lead Gandhi to develop his notion of *satyagraha* (i.e., force which is born of truth and nonviolence), which would lead to his strategy of wearing down an oppressor by making him gradually see the error of his own ways.

One of his first productive acts in response to the crude discrimination he and his fellow Indians faced in South Africa was to organize an Indian Congress, which helped to give his community a sense of political organization and pride. Gandhi's early thinking about nonviolence was put to the test in 1897 when he was physically assailed by whites angered at his civil rights agenda. Later, he chose not to pursue the conviction of his attackers within the legal system. By avoiding a lower form of justice conceived of as revenge, he opted to adhere instead to the principles of nonviolence and nonresistance to crude acts of oppression. Indeed, even during World War I when Britain was momentarily overwhelmed with the demands of war, Gandhi chose to take the high road and not take advantage of British weakness for his own political purposes. He supported England's war efforts and even raised an ambulance corps in support of the British military. Before he left South Africa, Gandhi had gained the highest respect from key leaders of the imperial government, many of whom would later come to understand the ultimate justice of his cause. Gandhi's leadership effort appealed to the conscience of the colonial elite rather than inciting its worst instincts.

Gandhi was not only a lawyer and activist at this time. He was also reading widely and rethinking the received wisdom regarding the major moral and political issues of his

day. His comparative study of the great religions convinced him that all belief systems are but separate roads to the same ultimate truths. He became ever more convinced of the need to refuse becoming enslaved to one's material possessions and passions. He believed too that leaders should cultivate an unflappable posture in the face of the many ups and downs of life. One must constantly hold to one's convictions no matter how great the immediate victory or defeat might be. Gandhi certainly practiced what he preached. Even though he was making large sums of money from his legal work, most of it was invested in his effort to help others. By freeing himself from the bonds of egotism, greed, and petty fears, Gandhi made himself into a new kind of leader (he even tested his moral purity by sleeping with naked girls to prove he could avoid temptation). As one intelligent observer wrote about him at this time, "He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy, because his body which you can always conquer gives so little purchase upon his soul."

The harsh British antisedition legislation in 1919 led to a Gandhi-inspired form of nonviolent protest throughout India. The British overreacted by killing some four hundred Indians at a political gathering in Amritsar. The heretofore ineffective Indian National Congress now became a mass organization under Gandhi's leadership by 1920. After a few more years of largely nonviolent mass protest, Gandhi was himself finally arrested for sedition in 1922. After spending a few years in prison, Gandhi again caught the imagination of his Indian audience by leading a mass protest against the British salt tax (which inordinately affected the poor). He also worked on behalf of the untouchable caste of India, a caste that faced more discrimination from fellow Indians than from the British. Still, by the mid-1930s, Gandhi was temporarily tired of Congress Party politics. He had worked long and hard on India's many social and political problems. During his break from politics he promoted simple home-based industrial schemes, the education of the rural poor, and an end to discrimination based on caste.

World War II offered India its greatest chance for independence. Britain overcame the challenges posed by Japan and Germany, but at quite a high price. Exhausted by war, England and the other colonial powers could no longer afford to hold on to possessions such as India even if they wanted to. Unfortunately, the new crisis that Gandhi had to face had to do with the strife that took place between Hindus and Muslims in 1946–1947. His moral stature was such that when he went on a fast to protest this violence, whole areas of India actually enacted truces out of common respect and admiration for Gandhi. Sadly, he became a martyr for nonviolence when a Hindu fanatic killed him in 1948 for being too pro-Muslim. He could have followed the mold of previous Hindu ascetics and sought moral perfection alone. Instead, he carved a new role for himself: the nonviolent ascetic as a leader who sought to enlighten others as he enlightened himself. His accomplishments were profound. He was instrumental in inspiring Martin Luther King's civil rights movement in the United States. King would later say that Christ provided the message while Gandhi provided the method. He helped to delegitimize imperialism and colonialism. He showed himself able to go beyond simple nationalism by being equally critical of his own people for not living up to their own ideals. Truly, Gandhi illustrated Vaclav Havel's idea of the paradoxically immense power of the powerless.

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JULIUS CAESAR: ARISTOCRATIC POPULIST

Julius Caesar. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-91768.

Julius Caesar (ca. 100–44 BC) changed the course of ancient Roman history. He was a political and military genius who used his leadership powers to move Rome from its republican traditions to a new form of imperial rule. His military success in regions such as Gaul gave him the political capital he needed to guarantee his rise in Roman politics. His success came so quickly that a hostile reaction among those loyal to the old republic was inevitable. Such reaction would lead to his dramatic assassination in 44 BC. His influence on history is so great that even our calendar today still bears his imprint.

Julius Caesar spent more time acquiring supreme power than actually exercising it. His impact on the course of western civilization was significant enough that one can only wonder what might have been had he lived longer. By the time he died he had insured that a strong imperial Rome would continue to exist for centuries after its near collapse in the last days of the Republic. His conquest of Gaul gave Rome an additional buffer zone against future-barbarian attacks. Caesar's reanimation of a decaying Roman state insured that Christianity would be allowed to grow and spread within the confines of an empire knitted together with excellent roads and internal communications. The rejuvenation of Rome under Caesar also insured that the legacy of the classical heritage would be preserved long enough to be passed down to its future beneficiaries, the barbarian tribes who would remake Europe.

Caesar was born a blue-blooded aristocrat in an era that saw the rise of the common people against the oligarchic Senatorial elite. He was a scion of the old Julii patrician clan. A major key to Caesar's successful leadership lay in his ability to work with the lower classes against a decaying aristocracy. The Gracchi brothers before his time sought to give land to the poor of Rome, but they were in due course murdered by fellow members of the elite for being traitors to their class. Caesar learned the lesson of his idealistic predecessors, the Gracchi brothers. Caesar also had a vision of reforming Rome, but he was to prove far more capable in achieving it.

Going into politics at this time meant having to patiently participate in the *cursus honorum*, running for a series of public offices that would enable Caesar to climb the greasy pole of politics by one day attaining the highest office of them all, a consulship with full executive powers. Caesar's aristocratic background gave him advantages in being able to use the *cursus honorum* system to his advantage. Still, in the Darwinian world of Roman politics, he would have to be cunning, willful, and talented enough to move up the ranks. He was adept at the patronage politics of the day. He had a natural affinity for the common Roman citizen that would prove extremely useful to him when he became a general. In fact, he was inspired by a previous populist politician by the name of Marius who had given Caesar the idea of giving

Rome a new political order based on the mobilization of Rome's downtrodden citizens. In this proposed new order, a strong central government under one man would supersede the Senate as the director of state affairs. The common Roman citizens would be given land and the opportunity to serve in Rome's armies for good pay and benefits in return for supporting Caesar's struggle against the senatorial factions.

The only problem in this proposed grand bargain was that it assumed the oligarchical Senate would eventually accept the logic of the new order. Such was not to be the case. Before his final confrontation with the Senate, Caesar would have much to learn. Caesar proved a patient and determined student of political power during his youth. He was well educated, particularly in the art of oratory that could make or break a politician of this era. His first leaderly act was to ruthlessly punish the pirates who had captured him during one of his travels through the Mediterranean. He secured his release in this instance by raising the required ransom. His subsequent tenacity in raising his own naval force, hunting down the pirates, and then making sure all his kidnappers were crucified testify to Caesar's determination to achieve his objectives. As Caesar moved closer to the center of Roman politics, he found the flexibility to make the right alliance at the right time. By joining forces with Pompey, Caesar now secured an important ally against the senatorial forces. As Caesar secured further political offices in his climb to the consulship, he made sure not to alienate his ultimate political ally, the people of Rome. This proved rather expensive since the political norms of the day demanded that an aspiring politician entertain the citizenry with bread and circuses. Caesar did nothing in half-hearted fashion. Since he did not have much money himself, he quickly used his political skills to secure an alliance with Crassus (a rich adventurer who could provide Caesar with all the capital that he needed).

Thus, the first triumvirate of a revolutionized Roman politics was born. Caesar secured from his two powerful allies governorship of strategic provinces in Gaul. The next and greatest stage of Caesar's career was about to begin. Caesar realized early on that to gain ultimate power in Rome he would have to show élan as a military commander to prove his *gravitas* and worthiness. His energy and enthusiasm for military affairs has rarely been equaled. Most importantly as a commander, he had a coherent vision of what he wanted to accomplish while in Gaul. By subduing northern Gaul, he would provide Rome with a buffer state and a base for further attacks on Britain and Germany later on. In order to accomplish this expansion of the Roman state, he shrewdly realized that he would have to maximize Roman advantages in discipline and siegecraft given the Gallic superiority in cavalry and sheer numbers. The climax of Caesar's military operations came in 52 BC when he besieged the Gallic leader Vercingetorix in Alesia only to find himself threatened in the rear by a relieving Gallic army. Only the alacrity of Caesar and the trust of his own men in him as a war leader prevented disaster from occurring. Caesar maintained the complex siege against Vercingetorix while defeating the attacking army in his rear. After defeating this latter army, Alesia finally surrendered.

Things were not going well in Rome while Caesar was away. Crassus had overplayed his hand by playing the general (which he was not fit to be) and being ignominiously defeated and killed by the Parthians in the near East. Meanwhile, Pompey had grown wary and jealous of Caesar and had drifted back into the faction of the senatorial establishment. Civil war now proved inevitable once a law was passed in 50 BC that ordered Caesar to give up his military power and return to Rome. To follow the law would be suicide for Caesar in the conditions that now prevailed in Rome. To resist meant becoming an outlaw. Confronted with the dilemma, Caesar chose action instead of delay and so kept his opponents off balance and guessing at his intentions. Caesar crossed the famous Rubicon river in northern Italy in 49 BC at the head of his battle-tested and loyal army. It took little more than a

year to defeat the main senatorial army under Pompey. Caesar soon found himself in Egypt hunting down the now discredited Pompey. While there, he became enamored of Queen Cleopatra. This was the first act to turn average Romans against him for the first time. By bringing the Greco-Egyptian Cleopatra back to Rome itself, Caesar allowed the impression to develop that he was falling under the sway of easterners and foreigners. Some even suggested that he now wished to establish monarchy in Rome. All this was too much too soon for patriotic Romans to swallow given the Roman memory of the hated Etruscan kings. Caesar's continual successes (summarized in his appropriate victory phrase: *veni*, *vidi*, *vici*) perhaps led him to speed up his timetable for remaking Rome and thus alienated even his staunchest supporters. He seemed to be trying now to do too many things at once: preparing for a new campaign against Babylon in the East; giving land to his army veterans and other Roman citizens while permanently weakening the Senate; perhaps setting up his own personal kingship; and greatly strengthening the imperial government. Ironically, it may have been Caesar's generosity and magnanimity as a leader that led to his assassination in 44 BC. His only chance to advance all his ambitious schemes in a deeply conservative political culture would have been to ruthlessly eliminate all his political opponents at once. Instead, he sought to gently co-opt them into his fold. To no avail. Cassius and Brutus would lead the assassination plot against him, a plot that would have been impossible had Caesar cracked down earlier on such known Republican diehards as these two. Caesar demonstrated that a leader who shows every intention of arrogating all power to himself puts himself in danger when he leaves his opponents standing to fight another day.

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PETER THE GREAT: THE LEADER AS MODERNIZER

Peter the Great. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-121999].

Peter the Great (1672–1725) transformed Russia from a backward medieval polity into a modern European great power. His objective was to westernize Russia as fast as possible. He protected Russia from Swedish invasion and founded the city of St. Petersburgh. His methods of modernization were harsh and cruel, but he believed there was no other choice but to bring Russia into the modern age as quickly as possible lest it be preyed upon by rival powers.

Peter the Great was the ultimate "Enlightened despot." He was a zealous believer in autocracy who saw himself as the first servant of a newly modernizing Russian state. What made him somewhat unique as a czar of Russia was his willingness to demand as much from himself as he did of others. After he remade the Russian army, he established a new military ranking system. He made sure that he himself was listed in the last rank until he could progress by merit, as he expected others to do. Unlike other autocrats, he was simple and modest in his tastes. As first servant of

the state, he projected the model of himself as a leader by dressing simply and enjoying the company of average Russians (though he often demanded that his guests—humble or not—keep up with his prodigious drinking ability). Peter literally towered (he stood 6'6") over others in terms of his size and his outsized ambitions for Russia.

Although Peter was given the title of emperor by the end of his life for all of his accomplishments, his early life was really rather humble. Peter's father Czar Alexis died in 1676 when he was but four years old. His half-brother Fyodor III took power at this time, but he was a weak ruler controlled by a faction that was unfavorable to Peter's interests. When Fyodor died in 1682, it looked as if Peter would assume the title of czar. However, the faction unfriendly to Peter took action by mobilizing the Streltsy (an elite musketeer unit) in order to advance the interests of another half-brother to Peter, Ivan. Ivan would remain nominal co-czar until his death in 1696. This factional strife left an indelible imprint upon the young Peter. Other younger men in this position would have been overwhelmed by the many conspiracies and court intrigues surrounding the young czar at the Kremlin, but Peter used the challenges to his rule to make himself a stronger man and ruler.

While he bided his time before assuming his sole rule over Russia, he focused his energies on pursuing his passion for military studies and a variety of practical subjects (ranging from shipbuilding to blacksmithing). For his training and amusement, he was even provided with his own regiment of soldiers to help him learn sophisticated military skills in as realistic a manner as possible. By the time Peter began exercising true control over matters of state in 1689, he was confronted with one big problem and many opportunities. The biggest problem that was to dominate Peter's reign was the fact of Russia's economic, social, and technological backwardness. The opportunities that Peter grasped, however, were many. If he could meet the challenge of beginning Russia's modernization, he could also begin the drive to expand Russia's borders westward at the expense of the Swedes and Turks. Both of these peoples were blocking Russia's access to the West and the modernity it stood for. Peter's genius in fact lay in his ability to come up with foreign and domestic policies that complemented one another. By driving the Turks and Swedes back from what Peter regarded as Russian territory, Peter would be able to truly open Russia to the West and its modernizing currents at the same time.

An early success came when Peter engineered the significant feat of taking the port of Azov away from the Turks in 1696. He himself spearheaded this major effort by leading the drive to build a Russian fleet that could help accomplish this ambitious task. Instead of resting on his laurels, Peter used the political capital and prestige he had achieved from his initial success to lead a large embassy to the West. The West had been viewed with much suspicion by Russian orthodox conservatives. Thus Peter needed all the credibility he could muster in order to take with him hundreds of other leading Russians on his trip. His goals for the embassy were simple. He wanted help to continue the fight with the Turks in the future. More importantly, he wanted to learn the advanced ways of the western world so that he could begin in earnest the task of modernizing Russia when he returned.

While abroad, he worked as a simple carpenter in the Netherlands in order to get a better sense of how the best navies were literally put together (he even assumed a new identity in order to better participate in the everyday life of the West during his travels). By the end of 1698, he was forced to return to Russia to quash yet another revolt of the conservative praetorian guard, the Streltsy. The revolt of the Streltsy symbolized conservative Russian resistance to Peter's plan for forced-draft westernization. Peter's methods may have been high-handed, but as the leader of Russia he had to consider that continued Russian isolation

from the West would only leave Russia open to attack from abroad. Also, what were the alternatives? Orthodox obscurantism and continued social stagnation?

Peter symbolically signaled the new reforming spirit by personally helping to shave off the beards of the boyars, the Russian noble class (which showed that the boss meant business and that the clean-shaven look would now symbolize western modernity). He also carried a rod that he would periodically use to beat those who did not do a job in the way he wanted it done. More significantly, Peter gave more freedom to the towns (centers of innovation in early modern Europe) by giving them limited self-government. He divided Russia up into rational administrative regions overseen by governors responsible to the central authority. He replaced the boyar central governing council with a more modern Senate. Government departments were reorganized and streamlined along military lines in order to exact the strictest discipline from the bureaucratic class. Peter modernized the army and created a navy from almost nothing. Education was made more secular and widespread. Peter even promoted Russia's first newspaper and the modernization of its calendar along western lines. His interest in the practical arts even extended to the development of the first Russian industries and factories.

The energy of the man is best shown in how he approached his duties even when he was well into his late middle age. A year before he died in 1725, he unhesitatingly dived into the cold waters around the coast of Finland to rescue some sailors he observed to be in danger of drowning. The illness he developed after this rescue effort still did not deter him from doing more productive work on behalf of the Russian state. His legacy guaranteed that Russia would no longer be cut off from the most advanced countries and ideas in the world and that Russia would play a major role in world history.

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CHARLEMAGNE: THE LEADER WHO SET EUROPE ON A PATH TO GREATNESS

Charlemagne (742–814 AD) was a key leader of early medieval Europe. Charlemagne gave strength and stability to Europe at a time when it was very much on the defensive against rival civilizations such as Islam. Charlemagne was more than a traditional military leader or warlord. He insured that his military successes would have lasting effect due to his effort to strengthen medieval institutions such as the Catholic Church. He was even interested in such issues as education and instituted reforms in this area that would yield many beneficial effects for Europe in the long-term.

Before Charlemagne, the concept of Europe really did not exist in any meaningful sense. After Charlemagne, the idea of Europe as a coherent entity became credible for the first time. Europe was the weakest of the three heirs of the Roman empire. After the rule of Charlemagne, it soon became a competitor to its rivals Byzantium and Islam. Charlemagne succeeded not only as a military leader, but as a cultural leader too. Christianity and learning were further strengthened and institutionalized during his reign. Charlemagne's genius was to finally fuse the "ingredients" of classical culture, Christianity, and Germanic culture into the stew that we call western civilization to this day.

The old Merovingian dynasty had left the territory we call France today a mess before the Carolingian dynasty took charge. Charlemagne's grandfather Charles Martel had to battle

Muslims in the heart of Europe as late as 732 AD. When Charlemagne came to the throne, anything seemed possible —the further fragmentation of Europe, invasion from the outside, and cultural collapse were all equally quite conceivable. We know from his first biographer Einhard that Charlemagne was quite tall, albeit potbellied. He aspired to learn Latin and to read books like St. Augustine's *City of God*. He was a curious hardworking ruler who also happened to be an effective military leader. His first task was to deal with the Lombards in northern Italy who threatened to contest both his claim to the throne and the power of his ally, the Pope. He was intelligent enough to know that in an age of faith, an alliance with the papacy would be needed to institutionalize his claim to be the anointed leader of a nascent Christendom.

In putting Christendom together, Charlemagne's next geopolitical and leadership task was to subdue the still pagan Saxons to the east of his core kingdom. Charlemagne sought to punish Saxon raiders and to christianize the pagans among them. The unification of Europe did not come cheaply—it is said that some forty-five hundred Saxons were executed on one day alone in 782 AD by Charlemagne's army. Charlemagne subsequently expanded his domain into southwestern Germany as well. Charlemagne accomplished what even the old Roman emperors had failed to do: subdue the Germans. Even his military failures were crowned with glory. His raid over the Pyrenees border separating Spain from France was a failure. But it became a beautiful failure at the hands of the epic poet who wrote the *Song of Roland*. In this epic poem, Roland is portrayed as the ideal Christian warrior who is naturally loyal to the greatest of kings, Charlemagne. On the way back from Spain, Roland's rear guard of Charlemagne's army is attacked by Muslims (Basques in reality) and Roland decides to accept heroic but chivalrous defeat rather than abject surrender or retreat.

Unlike other military leaders, Charlemagne made sure his conquests lasted. He established the county system of local government that we still use to this day by dividing Europe up into roughly three hundred counties led by leading nobles called counts. He established a governing model by which the future kings of Europe were to rule their own kingdoms. He sent *missi dominici*, or government representatives, out to the counties on a regular basis to make sure affairs of local governance were being properly dealt with. He issued regular written orders called capitularies at a time when even the highest orders of church and state were still often given only in oral form. This further institutionalized his rule and made sure that the legacy of effective administration would be passed down to future generations of European leaders.

Most importantly, Charlemagne gave his name to what was later called the Carolingian Renaissance. This Renaissance would witness the self-conscious preservation of the invaluable classical cultural heritage of Greece and Rome. Such preservation would ensure the better education of future members of the priestly and governing classes of Europe and lay the seeds for the later Italian Renaissance and the modern world as a whole. Charlemagne deserves credit for capitularies (or governing orders) such as the following one issued in 789 AD: "In every Episcopal see and in every monastery, instruction shall be given in the psalms, musical notation, chant, the computation of years and seasons, and grammar, and the books shall be carefully corrected." Charlemagne not only united Christendom militarily, but culturally as well when he oversaw the beginnings of our own liberal arts curriculum that so marks western civilization to this day. The trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and logic was united with the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, all of which helped produce the intellectual leaders of the West from Charlemagne's day to the present. This king even oversaw the development of such things as Carolingian miniscule—the basis of our

handwriting system even today. His establishment of schools throughout his realm would help lead Europe out of the dark ages and into the glories of Europe's high middle ages.

The stamp that Charlemagne left upon European culture and civilization was such that later conquerors such as Napoleon would inevitably seek to model themselves after Europe's model king. Various languages even adopted Charlemagne's name for their word for king. Even today's European Union looks to Charlemagne and his accomplishments for inspiration and legitimacy. It is not only later generations that recognize Charlemagne's achievements. The Pope in 800 AD crowned Charlemagne emperor of the West to signal the revival of imperial glory in a previously backward part of Europe. Thanks to Charlemagne, the third heir of Rome would be well positioned for a later breakthrough toward world dominance.

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CHARLES V: THE LEADER AS CONSERVATOR

Charles V (1500–1558) led Spain—and much of Europe—at a crucial time in the history of western civilization. Charles was a dutiful if tragic leader. He is remembered by many Catholics as one who failed to quash the Protestant Reformation that threatened the Catholic Church. His detractors forget his triumphs over the expanding Muslim Turkish empire, which threatened not only his domains, but all of Europe itself. His attempt to keep alive the common Latin culture of medieval Europe deserves respect as well, particularly today as Europe looks for precedents in its own history for the current European Union.

The example of Charles V illustrates the tragic dimension of leadership. He was the most powerful leader of his day but spent much of his time simply trying to keep what he had. Through dynastic inheritance, he was to become ruler of Spain, much of the New World, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries (modern Netherlands and Belgium), and scattered domains in the Pacific. That he was able to deal with the threat of balance of power politics and fend off rivals for decades is a testament to his resiliency and administrative ability. That he let his enemies maintain the initiative against him throughout his reign signifies that he failed as a leader when it came to understanding the modern forces of political change that were gradually superseding his medieval world view.

Even though Charles' power base was in Spain, he grew up in a northern Burgundian culture, which emphasized the chivalric ideals and Catholic world view of the high middle ages. It is perhaps because of this that he would later let himself become a prisoner of this cultural background when it came to dealing with the modern forces of nationalism and Protestantism. After all, someone had to defend the tried old order against the untested forces of the new. When he came of age and could rule his vast territories in his own right, he was quite open about his grand strategy. First, he believed in the need for continued Catholic hegemony in Europe. He would defend the proposition that Christian unity and tradition demanded that Protestantism be treated as a heretical doctrine. Second, he truly believed in the ideals behind his title of Holy Roman Emperor. Just as Europe should be united under one Catholic Church (as it had been for a thousand years), so too should it have one dominant leader who could work with the Pope to protect Europe against internal

and external enemies. The grandeur of this view is apparent, but so too were its downsides. He let himself become fixated on stopping change rather than making change work for him.

The first problem he faced was the rise of Martin Luther and Protestantism. He was unable—like many of his contemporaries—to really imagine that the fifteen-hundred-year-old Catholic Church could ever lose its monopoly of religious authority in Europe. When Martin Luther began challenging the Catholic Church in 1517, Charles dismissed the resulting disputes as a mere "dispute between monks." He tried to bring unity back to church affairs in Germany by inviting Luther and other Protestants to councils designed to find common ground. He showed great nobility in living up to his promises to let Luther speak freely at such councils without being burnt at the stake as previous heretics had been as a matter of course throughout European history. On the other hand, some critics suggest that he should have acted more decisively to crush the Protestant threat to his empire when it was still young and vulnerable. Charles also won few friends in Germany given his aloofness to its culture and even its language. He once quipped that "I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men, and German to my horses." He was the leader of a multicultural empire and was multicultural himself, but he refused to see this as a strength but rather as a weakness to be overcome. His aristocratic cosmopolitanism made him tone deaf to the nationalism underlying many of the controversies that impeded the effective unification of his empire. He even had to crush revolts in Spain caused by jealousy over his promotion of non-Spaniards to administrative offices. However, his ardent Catholicism brought out the crusading energies of the Spanish (formed in their long wars with the Muslims during the *Reconquista* period) that made his armies the most feared in Europe.

The second challenge this great leader faced had to do with the Muslim threat. The Ottoman Turks had successfully ended the Byzantine empire in 1453. On their migration to Asia Minor, they had been Islamicized to the point that they now saw themselves as the armed vanguard of their new faith. This meant serious trouble for Europe. With Charles' great power now came great responsibility. Charles saw himself as the leading prince of Christian Europe who had to live up to this title by organizing the defense of Europe against the Turkish threat. He was fairly successful in this endeavor. He prevented the Turks from capturing Vienna. He made sure the Mediterranean did not become a Muslim lake. However, he never dealt with the "free rider" problem this foreign policy issue raised. While he helped all Europeans by keeping the Turks at bay, Protestants and rivals such as the French took this service for granted. Indeed, the Protestants took advantage of Charles' preoccupation with the Muslim threat to grow stronger in northern Europe. The Catholic king Francis of France even made an alliance with the Turks against Charles at one point. Clearly, national interests were beginning to trump religious unity but Charles had no real response to this new historical fact.

His third challenge lay in dealing with European affairs. He actively opposed Henry VIII's wishes for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. This led Henry to join the Protestant cause. His battles with the French king Francis over control of Italy ended in short-term victory as he won the battle of Pavia. He even captured the French king and released him in chivalrous fashion only to see him in short order renounce his promises to Charles. Perhaps—like the allies after World War I—his fault lay in the fact that he was neither harsh enough nor conciliatory enough in his treatment of his enemies. He also tried to cooperate with the Pope in developing a united Catholic front against their common enemies. He was never successful in convincing the Pope to reform the church in the way Protestants demanded. However, Charles was remiss in not sufficiently controlling and paying his own troops on time so as to prevent them from looting Rome itself in 1527. This event worsened relations

between the Pope and Charles while allowing the Protestants to make the propaganda point that God was now directly punishing the Catholic Church for its sins.

Still, Charles had nobly upheld the old ideals of medieval christendom in the conditions of early modern Europe. By protecting Europe from the Turks, he insured that western civilization would not become extinct. By exhaustively meeting most of the challenges to his empire in Europe and the new world, he insured that Catholicism would have breathing room to regather its energy and reform itself (as it did at the Council of Trent), and maintain its presence in Europe and the wider world. Against all odds, he succeeded in his own terms by passing most of his patrimony on to his son and brother. A lesser leader would have lost most of his domains given the incredible number of predators Charles faced. His motto was fittingly *Plus Ultra*: even further. By seeking to meet the many challenges to his rule, he exhausted himself and voluntarily gave up power in 1555 to his son. He lived out his remaining three years of life in a monastery. How many other great leaders would have voluntarily relinquished power as he did? He showed he was not a slave to the trappings of power and office as so many other leaders in history have been. Even his urge for European unity was not wholly quixotic. The vision he tried to embody lives on in the European Union to this day.

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JUSTINIAN: THE LEADER WHO REVIVED THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Mosaic portrait of Justinian at San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-47601]

Justinian (482–565 AD) was emperor of the eastern half of a slowly declining Roman empire. His leadership was critical to forming the basis of what would come to be known as the Byzantine empire. This empire would continue until 1453 when the Muslim Turks took it over. That the Byzantine empire lasted for nearly a thousand years after Justinian's rule is a testament to his ability as leader to lay the foundations for the empire's subsequent stability and success.

Justinian's career highlights the role of the leader as revivalist. He came to power at a time when the old Roman empire's fortunes were at a low ebb. The empire had become so unwieldy that it was already divided into two parts—a western and eastern half when he came to power. German tribes (barbarians from the Roman point of view) had been migrating by force or by invitation into Rome for many years. Christianity had been transforming the face of the old empire since the era of Constantine. Justinian assumed leadership of the eastern remnants of the empire at a singular moment in history. The empire could either go under or it could renew itself in the face of the many pressures (domestic and foreign) being placed upon it. Justinian emerges

as a great leader for his ability to lay the foundation stones for a new and renewed version of the empire that would last almost another thousand years under the name of Byzantium.

Justinian was given the opportunity to rule because of his family ties. His uncle Justin I was emperor from 518 to 527 AD. He took advantage of the educational opportunities made available to him to become a major adviser to his uncle. Another man born in his circumstances could have chosen the easy path toward a life of indolence. It is to the young Justinian's credit that he chose the challenging path of self-development that would make him fit to rule should he be called upon to do so. He was also patient enough to avoid any conspiracy that would get him into power artificially through some devious *coup d'etat*. Although a cautious young man, Justinian allowed his passions full reign when it came to choosing a wife. He showed great mettle in bucking the social customs of the day by marrying Theodora, a former actress who came from a much lower social station than did Justinian (some even said she had been a prostitute). Justinian had controlled his passions in so many other spheres of life that he had harnessed the necessary social capital to allow himself to follow his own instincts when it came to marriage.

His decision to marry Theodora was probably the best leadership decision of his life. They became emperor and empress respectively in 527 AD. She was as strong-willed and attuned to the affairs of the empire as he was. Justinian was smart enough to allow his wife's strengths to make up for his weaknesses. For example, in 532 AD a riot broke out in the capital city of Constantinople that soon threatened to topple the regime. Justinian was sorely tempted to give up power and flee at this critical moment and was only prevented from doing so by his strong-willed wife. Justinian heeded his wife's instincts and forcefully crushed the rebellion. He then found a way to turn this near disaster into a long-term gain for the empire. His rebuilding of the city after the riot made Constantinople a leading world city that signified in stone the sublime beauty of the newly emerging Byzantine orthodox civilization. The stupendous Church of Holy Wisdom or Hagia Sophia was an appropriate monument to his reign. So grand was this structure that when the Muslim Turks from the East finally captured Constantinople in 1453, they chose to turn it into a mosque rather than destroy it. In an age without modern means of communication, Justinian was a great enough ruler to realize the need to broadcast his civilization's grandeur and aspirations in the form of architecture.

Justinian was also a great leader in the sense that he had multifaceted goals and objectives. He was not a simplistic leader who simply did what he liked in one sphere while ignoring all else. An example of the multifaceted greatness of Justinian's reign is seen in the attention he gave to the renewal of the great Roman legal system. If the Christian empire under his guidance was truly the universal entity he firmly believed it to be, it needed a similarly comprehensive law code. Justinian gained much of his leadership acumen from his religious outlook. He felt himself empowered as a chosen leader by the direct intervention of God and acted accordingly. In legal affairs, the result of this aspiration to live up to God's will was the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the law code that would help cement Byzantium into a strong state for many years to come.

As with all great leaders, Justinian's very strengths sometimes became his greatest weaknesses. As head of a theocracy, which by definition did not recognize any concept of separation of church and state, Justinian felt compelled as a strong leader to work for the imposition of religious unity upon the empire. He thus literally closed the doors on the great pagan tradition of philosophy by shutting down the Platonic Academy in 529 AD. Christians in Egypt and Syria were offended at his negative attitudes toward their differing conceptions of core theological questions (such as the nature of the Christian Trinity). He also made enemies by trying to make the government more efficient and by curtailing the culture of "bread and circuses" that had corrupted the population in the past.

He was a good enough leader to allow himself to be surrounded by talented advisers rather than by mere flunkies. This was particularly crucial in terms of his conduct of foreign affairs. He relied greatly on talented generals such as Belisarius to help him realize his grandest ambition of all: the reunification of the old and decaying western part of the empire with the more vigorous eastern half under his dominion. Some historians have criticized his goals in this arena as hopelessly ambitious and ruinously expensive. However, Justinian as a great leader had the sense of *Fingerspitzengefühl*—the uncanny ability to either sense the right course of action in a particular situation or to rely on an adviser who did. He succeeded in winning back both Italy from the Ostrogoths and North Africa from the Vandals. While these territories would not be held for long by the Byzantine empire, the very act of reconquest had a meaning all of its own: the effort showed that the eastern Roman empire still had the vigor and vision to be a leading civilization in a dangerous neighborhood. By showing the Byzantine people what they were capable for a few brief years during his reign, he instilled the necessary confidence and pride in the empire that allowed it to ward off attack after attack from the Muslim East. By laying the foundation stones of the empire, Justinian insured that Byzantium would be strong enough to long serve as a buffer between the expansionist Muslims in the East and the nascent and fragile western civilization in Europe. Who knows what would have happened if this latter culture had been nipped in the bud due to the absence of Justinian or the Byzantine empire he remade.

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TOKUGAWA IEYASU: PARLAYING VICTORY INTO A LASTING PEACE

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) showed great ingenuity and singleness of purpose in achieving the rank of Shogun of Japan by 1603. A leader concerned merely with power would have been happy with this achievement. But a great leader such as Ieyasu insures that his "leadership effect" will continue to influence events for the better well after he is gone. Indeed, after Ieyasu decisively ended Japan's legacy of intense political instability by 1603, Japan was set on a course of nearly three centuries of peaceful development thereafter.

Ieyasu was born entangled in the web of high political intrigue that dominated Japan for most of the sixteenth century. In an environment in which only the fittest could survive and in which retreat from politics was not an option, Ieyasu decided to play the game of cutthroat politics better than anyone else. While Ieyasu was ruthless in his quest for power, his ruthlessness was provoked by the need to protect himself and his family. No one from his social class could simply withdraw from the politics of the day: either one emerged the victor in the epic wars for unification or one emerged the loser with death, the likely outcome. The redeeming feature of Ieyasu's rise to power is that he turned his personal victory into a collective one of sorts for all of Japan. He became a great leader largely because of his ability to turn his personal political victory into a lasting and stable peace for Japan that would last more than two hundred years after his death.

When he was only four years old, Ieyasu became a hostage of the Imagawa clan by order of his own family. Ieyasu's family needed to show its serious commitment to an alliance with this clan and so gave up their own son to prove their bona fides. He finally won freedom and gained control over his own clan, the Masudaira, after Oda Nobunaga defeated the Imigawa clan. He quickly allied himself to Oda Nobunaga. Ieyasu learned that he had little

margin for error in the political environment he found himself in. Above all, he learned that his survival depended on his ability to form the right alliances and be intensely aware of who his true enemies and supporters were. He would not—could not—allow emotion or self-doubt stay his hand even when his own wife and son were at issue. When his wife and son were suspected of working with his enemies, he had them put to death (his son by ritual suicide and his wife by execution).

Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582. Now Ieyasu watched and waited as Oda Nobunaga's leading general Hideyoshi became Japan's most dominant warlord (the emperor was a mere figurehead at this point). Ieyasu remained watchful over his own faction, especially when one of his allies deserted him. He had the organizational ability to reconfigure his military organization on the assumption that secrets had been betrayed because of this deserter. Ieyasu took nothing for granted regarding his supporters and his enemies. He was always thinking one step ahead of both groups in order to prevent surprises and to make sure that he could survive the first blow against him and deliver a crushing retaliatory strike. He did not rule his own faction by fear alone, however. He was exceedingly generous to his loyal supporters and gave them many rewards in return for good service (particularly in land bequests, the coin of the realm at this time).

Ieyasu made sure to support Hideyoshi in the latter's military campaigns. After proving his loyalty to the new de facto leader of Japan, Ieyasu was awarded land in eastern Japan. He was instrumental in initiating the rise of Edo, which would later continue to flourish under the name Tokyo. While Hideyoshi dreamed of conquering Korea and China before completely settling Japanese affairs, Ieyasu bided his time by cultivating important alliances and connections to secure his position in Japanese politics once Hideyoshi departed the scene. Ieyasu's patient diplomacy paid off well when Hideyoshi died in 1598. He had so convinced Hideyoshi of his loyalty that he was appointed one of the lead regents to watch out for the interests of the leader's young son after he died. Ieyasu, however, was a realist with a purpose. He knew that if he did not act decisively, one of the other four regents appointed to watch out for Hideyoshi's young son would make a grab for supreme power. Unlike these other mere power-hungry men, Ieyasu's goal was to put Japanese politics on a stable course for the long-term once he had won this Machiavellian game of politics.

Ieyasu set in motion a train of events that would lead to the epic battle of Sekigahara in 1600. At this battle, Ieyasu proved once again his military abilities by winning a decisive victory over Hideyoshi's other would-be successors. By emerging triumphant from this latest round of Japanese civil wars, he was awarded the high honor of Shogun in 1603 (meaning he was now the emperor's governor over all Japan). He now had a choice: use up the political capital gained from this great victory for merely personal or frivolous ends or instead use this capital for the greater good. Unlike past "big men" of Japanese politics who merely set the stage for the next round of civil wars by dint of their unimaginative rule, Ieyasu went to work right away in making sure that his victory would be a lasting one. It could only be lasting if he made sure that the peace he brought to Japan benefited all the major factions in Japanese politics, not just the interests of his own immediate family.

One of his first commands was to order that all the regional lords (*daimyo*) destroy most of their fortress complexes. This would deter future uprisings against central authority. In 1605, he showed his confidence in his own strength by voluntarily relinquishing his title to his son. This was a clever way of allowing himself more freedom to creatively arrange the future of Japanese politics once he was no longer restricted by the formal ceremonies of his office. For example, he was now able to hobnob with other classes (including monks, businessmen, the learned class, and foreigners such as the Dutch) in order to better understand what lasting political settlement would work best in the country. Well before Louis XIV would

do the same, Ieyasu tamed the Japanese nobility by giving them every incentive to pursue nonpolitical routes to social recognition. The daimyo class was forced to spend much of its time and money in Edo where it could be carefully monitored. Indeed, a national Japanese culture blossomed as a result of Ieyasu's reforms as many of Japan's leading minds dedicated themselves to cultural affairs rather than to political plotting.

Not all was sweetness and delight in the aftermath of Ieyasu's victory, however. Ieyasu proceeded to stamp out Christianity in Japan out of fear that it would undermine Japanese unity and give impetus to further political instability. There was also the problem of Hideyoshi's son and grandson. As long as they were alive, they could serve as rallying points to any rebellion against Ieyasu and his successors. By 1615, Ieyasu made sure they were killed. While terrible, the logic of this final act in Japan's long civil war was inherent in the very nature of the horrible conflict as a whole.

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LOUIS XIV: ABSOLUTE LEADER, ABSOLUTE AMBITION

Louis XIV [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-124397

Louis XIV (1638–1715) brought monarchy to its highest level of development in early modern France. He ingeniously tamed the nobility of France, increased his own powers as king, and made France a leader of Europe. A lesser leader would have only been concerned about military glory, but Louis XIV realized that power—to truly have lasting and useful effect—must be embodied in cultural achievements as well. French arts and culture were made under Louis' reign into a model of achievement that still influences the world to this day.

Louis XIV was a leader who molded France into what it is still today: a country enamored of a leading role in international politics, diplomacy, and culture. Louis bequeathed to France an infatuation with the concept of *la gloire* and civilization that are still lodestars for the French nation. Louis' ambitions always exceeded his means. While he hardly attained all of these ambitions, the grand scope of them enhanced the image we still have of Louis as someone who ennobled the concept of monarchy. He so animated the concept of absolute monarchy that he gave the institution of kingship added life and vigor when it was being threatened with extinction in the rest of Europe.

He was the great-grandson of Philip II (who launched the Spanish Armada against England) and the grandson of the respected French monarch Henry IV. He also gained inspiration and power from his sense that he was God's appointed Catholic king of France. This sense of ruling by divine right gave him a sense of confidence that most leaders in history could not dream of having. That Louis should think in such lofty terms is no surprise given the circumstances of his birth. He was called from birth *le Dieudonnée* (God's

gift) since he was born to his father Louis XIII and his mother Anne of Austria after nearly twenty years of a childless marriage. The young Louis also possessed the gift of being able to take advantage of the opportunity of being surrounded by gifted mentors such as Cardinal Mazarin. Mazarin's skill in the arts of government and diplomacy greatly influenced Louis and made sure that he would hold on to his kingdom in dangerous times.

Louis was only four years old when he assumed the mantle of monarch. He thus grew up always having had the sense of himself as a king. When Louis was only ten, he suffered a shock that he was never to forget. The *Fronde*, or uprising, of France's nobility broke out in 1648. The *Fronde* represented a discontent on the part of the French nobility concerning taxation and the increasing powers of the monarchy at the expense of the nobility. Unlike Charles I of England who lost his head in 1649 under similar circumstances, Louis and his advisors were more skilled in dealing with the uprising of high and mighty subjects. For example, where Charles I was unwilling to compromise, Louis and his advisors were skilled at playing for time and co-opting hotheaded opposition until it "cooled down." Louis was one Bourbon monarch who remembered everything and learned from experience at the same time. He illustrated Nietzsche's maxim, "that which does not kill us makes us stronger."

One could say that Louis' grand strategy for managing his kingship was all about preventing another *Fronde* from happening. In this undertaking he was eminently successful. For the rest of his fifty-three-year reign, not one uprising of similar scope occurred against him in France. By the time of Mazarin's death in 1661, Louis was ready to assume full responsibility for becoming an autonomous leader. He stated that henceforth not even a passport was to be signed without his oversight and permission. He could have lived out the rest of his life in utmost opulence and luxury. Instead, he chose to make himself into a great king whose only flaw would be to have too many ambitions and too few resources to achieve them.

For nearly two decades, Louis would enjoy a nearly uninterrupted series of successes. He was an able judge of talent. Unlike other kings who assumed full authority over their domains, Louis was not paranoid about relying on capable men who were able to tell "truth to power" when necessary. Michel Le Tellier helped build up the army into one of Europe's most effective fighting forces. Jean Colbert's economic policies helped to finance Louis' grand ambitions. Colbert was not afraid to chide his sovereign when the latter's spending habits threatened the stability of the kingdom's finances. Taxation was made more efficient and local elites were bought off by being given offices and a sense of stakeholdership in the evergrowing absolutist monarchy. Louis also relied on a new set of *intendents*, or executive governors, to oversee the provinces on his behalf.

Louis' domestic goals in domestic politics were to defang independent centers of power (such as the courts or Parlements); rally the people to his side by fulfilling the role of most Catholic monarch (as seen in his prosecution of the Protestant Huguenots); and co-opt the nobility by having them serve him at his grand palace of Versailles. Versailles was an ingenious setting in which Louis could most ably enact the theater of kingship before his nobility and foreign potentates. His skill at the kingly arts of fencing, dancing, horsemanship, hunting, and aesthetic decision-making (Louis' patronage of the arts was legendary), all added to the leadership aura that served to enhance his power. In foreign affairs, Louis was animated by the dream of adding to France's "natural" territorial ambitions. This was seen most particularly in his attempt to move France's western boundary to the Rhine river. Beginning in 1665, he was able to start his wars of eastern expansion by using his claim of inheritance to the Spanish Netherlands.

By the mid-1680s, the early victories of his reign had been achieved. Paradoxically, the more successful the sun-king was, the more he stirred the envy and suspicion of foreign courts. These courts both emulated his style (erecting their own versions of Versailles

in honor of France's cultural hegemony) and his methods (governance via absolutism). In so successfully building one of Europe's most modern and centralized states, Louis unfortunately invoked the logic of balance of power against him. By being too successful too quickly, Louis now had to spend the rest of his reign defending what his youthful talents had achieved at the beginning of his leadership over France. As if this were not enough, the Spanish king died in 1700 leaving Spain and its possessions to be inherited by Louis' grandson. Louis' pride, stubbornness, and sense of grandeur made him unable to promise the rest of Europe that he would never unite Spain and France into one kingdom. This led to a virtual world war (the War of Spanish Succession) that would last until 1714, one year before the exhausted Louis would die. In the end, Louis accomplished little in this war except assuring the bankruptcy of his kingdom. In the end, he had to acknowledge the inevitable: the crown of Spain and the crown of France would never be united. Like many great leaders before and after him, Louis had assumed his early successes would continue on ad infinitum. His appetite increased with the eating. He was self-critical enough on his deathbed to warn his grandson against the temptations of war and extravagance. Louis' leadership left long traces on subsequent history. His extravagant ambitions and their costs would help produce the French Revolution. His search for *gloire* would eventuate in later French attempts under Napoleon and others to assert universal leadership in political and cultural matters. The story of much of French history since this time has been the search to live up to the ambitions Louis XIV had for France.

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PERICLES: SETTING THE STANDARD FOR DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Pericles [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-44150]

When we think of what democracy can and should be in today's world, we must necessarily consider the life and times of one of democracy's greatest exponents, Pericles (495–429 BC). This Athenian statesman led the great Athenian city-state at its most glorious moment. While the rest of the world lived under some form of tyrannous government, Athens under Pericles' leadership experienced democracy in almost pure form. Citizens of Athens were expected to not only vote, but to expect that they would be regularly called to serve as active governors of their own city-state. As democracy becomes a more popular form of government in today's world, it becomes all the more important for us to understand how the first democratic regimes of all time came to be and how they dealt with problems not unlike those that continue to bedevil today's democracies.

Pericles is a fascinating leader to study because he epitomizes the best and worst of democratic leadership. While it is hard for us to imagine what it was like to live under leaders such as Alexander the Great, Napoleon, or Hitler, people in today's democratic societies can intuitively feel the power and strength of

Pericles' leadership once the basic facts about his life are known. He was, after all, one of the foremost leaders of the world's first democracy in ancient Athens. He showed how democracy is far from inimical to the possibility of great leadership. He also showed the hubris to which democracies and their leaders are sometimes prone when they become tyrannies of the majority.

Pericles was born in upper class surroundings. That he was later able to lead the common people or demos in Athens was therefore all the more remarkable. This was partly due to the seriousness with which he took his education. He was able to take the best ideas from well-known Greek philosophers such as Anaxagoras and the sophists (thinkers who taught how to make the weaker argument appear stronger) without losing focus on his own constant commitments and values (which largely focused on his pride and belief in Athens). In ancient Greek society, citizenship was a privilege earned in return for the ability to perform military service for the state. Only native Athenian men were eligible for such service and therefore only they could vote in the assemblies and be eligible for elective office. Pericles served well enough in the Athenian army to win the high honor of being elected *strategos* (general) for over a decade and a half (so democratic was Athens that even its generals were elected).

He did not fear controversy when he felt principle was at stake. In his personal life, he chose to live with the controversial but brilliant woman Aspasia. She was at one time a *hetaira* (similar to the Japanese geisha) in function. He also showed daring for his willingness to be a traitor to his aristocratic class by expanding democratic rights at their expense in Athens. For example, he spent much energy in arguing successfully for paying jurors and other government office holders. Being paid for government service allowed more poor and middling citizens the chance to control their own government by actually being able to participate in it. As leader of Athens, he fearlessly argued for the wise use of the wealth that Athens had gained from its empire. Instead of spending it all on "bread and circuses" to win the temporary plaudits of the citizenry, Pericles argued for a policy of delayed gratification by investing the money in rebuilding Athens (which had been partially devastated by the course of the Persian wars).

All great leaders understand the value of "soft power," or the power that accrues to an individual or state by dint of that individual or state's accomplishments in the arts or sciences. Such leaders understand that the most profound types of power rarely grow from the barrel of a gun. Pericles did the hard political work behind the scenes to ensure that monuments such as the Parthenon got the funding they deserved. No wonder Athens would later be called by Pericles and others "the school of Hellas." This reputation points to Athens' real strength: the relevantly free and tolerant atmosphere, which fostered the many innovations that made it one of the founding inspirations for the project of western civilization. He was also a shrewd steward of Athenian security as was seen in his support for building the famous long walls that linked Athens to the sea (and thus protecting the city from the threat of sieges).

Athens was so culturally glorious and economically prosperous during Pericles' involvement in Athenian politics that this highpoint in civilization is often called the Age of Pericles (461–379 BC). However, as the Greeks well knew, the gods will ensure that even the best and most hubristic will be made to know their share of defeat and desolation. Pericles' own tragic flaw lay in his easy acceptance of the proposition that democracy could be easily reconciled with empire. So proud was Pericles of the Athenian democracy that he and other Athenians assumed that neighboring Greek city-states would perpetually grant Athens hegemony over

them as the honorary father of democratic states. Thucydides in his great *History of the Peloponnesian War* argues that this Greek Civil War came about largely due to the unnecessarily provocative growth of Athenian power and the fear this caused in the second most powerful Greek state of Sparta. Like two tarantulas in a bottle, Sparta and Athens would grind each other down from 431 to 404 BC.

Sparta was what we would today call a totalitarian empire based on military force and the idea that group rights trumped individual rights. Its major advantage lay in its invincible and fearless army. Athens' advantage lay in its navy. Pericles decided that Athens could not be great without holding on to its empire, so he decided to fight Sparta to the death if necessary if it opposed Athens' gestures. His strategy was sound. He would avoid land battles at all cost with Sparta while using the navy to ultimately win the war. However, Pericles made two mistakes. First, he failed to realize that if he died, a great leader was not necessarily destined to replace him. Second, he was so enamored of the strengths of democracy that he forgot its weaknesses. It is very easy to get democracies into war, but it is hard to control their passions once the war has begun. Sure enough, Pericles died of a plague whose effects were intensified as a result of his decision to bring the whole of the Athenian population into the well-protected city. Armies could not breach Athens' walls but disease could. It would not be long after Pericles' death as well that the demos began demanding a quick-fix approach to the war. In due course, the Athenians let themselves be seduced by the demagogue Alcibiades and his plans to rely on an Athenian army to bring victory in faraway Sicily. Periclean patience was replaced with the gambling attitude of Alcibiades and all was lost when Athens' whole army was wiped out in this unnecessary expedition.

In the end, however, we must come to the conclusion that Pericles' great qualities outweighed his weaknesses as a leader. First, unlike most other great leaders in history who operated in the context of dictatorship, he actually had to work in meritocratic fashion at gaining and maintaining leadership in the competitive milieu of Athens' direct-democracy. Second, he realized that the true realist is one who appreciates the explosive power of idealism and can channel it toward productive ends. Pericles' *Funeral Oration* (given in honor of Athenians who had died during the opening period of its war with Sparta) is one of the greatest speeches of all time that illustrates leadership at its best. In it, he explains why the Athenians are not just fighting for power. Athens is the school of Hellas precisely because it leads by example; it exists for the benefit of the many, not just the few; equal justice for all is unapologetically sought; individual excellence is fostered via a culture of merit; isonomia, or the equal application of the laws to all, is the first aim of the state; and Athenian society is an open one that is not scared of innovation. Like many other successful democratic leaders, he failed only in one respect: the attempt to combine democracy and empire.

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STALIN: THE LIMITS OF THE PARANOID STYLE OF LEADERSHIP

Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) led the Soviet Union through its tumultuous transformation from a backward agrarian state into an industrialized and communized society. He also led the

Soviet Union through World War II and its epic clash with Nazi Germany. Historians still debate the human and social costs of Stalin's leadership. Were his harsh policies necessary in order to prepare the Soviet Union for war with Nazi Germany by 1941? Did his drastic forced-draft industrial policies and mass killing of political opponents ultimately lead to the decline of communism in the twentieth century? While historians debate the nature of Stalin and his rule, no one doubts the great effect his leadership has had upon world history.

Including Joseph Stalin in a book devoted to great leaders might seem to be the ultimate oxymoron. In some senses, he was, of course, the worst leader who ever lived. He even killed more people than Hitler. He turned Karl Marx's idea of communist liberation into an execrable governing ideology. He nearly lost World War II due to his own diplomatic and military incompetence. Yet, the following facts remain: he industrialized Russia, scared the capitalist world into reforming itself during the Depression and postwar years, and led Russia to victory against Nazi Germany. Had Russia lost the war, Hitler would have presented the world with a greater threat than the paranoid but cautious Stalin ever could. In studying "great" leaders such as Stalin and Hitler, we must remember we are studying them for only two reasons. First, their lives and actions demonstrate nicely what truly good and great leaders should avoid doing. Second, "great" leaders such as Hitler and Stalin illustrate the fact that extremely powerful men can have profound effects on untold numbers of people whether we like it or not. How they manage to come into positions of authority and maintain their power is itself a profound leadership lesson.

Stalin's leadership of the Soviet Union was all the more remarkable given his poor Georgian background. Like the young Hitler, Stalin as a boy was apparently brutalized by his father. We can thus understand—but never excuse—how such men could potentially grow up to be such vicious sadists. Ironically, Stalin's mother wanted him to become a priest. In his later school days, he spent his time avoiding the required curriculum and instead acquainted himself with Marxist doctrine and the local trouble makers in Tiflis (Tbilisi), Georgia. Some of Stalin's keys to success were already evident in his teenage psychology. Given his Georgian cultural background, he was well acquainted with an old-world sensibility regarding the blood-feud idea. His father's brutality had taught him to hide his emotions and be patient in getting revenge against anyone who crossed him. Such a background was to be useful to the future Soviet bureaucrat after communism came to power in Russia in 1917.

By the early 1900s, he had become involved in strike activity and worker-rights issues. Stalin was a shrewd trouble maker and street tough who was hungering for a cause. He found one during this period in Bolshevism. When the Russian communist movement split into two factions—the moderate Menshevik and more militant Bolshevik groups—he, of course, chose to join the latter. Stalin was apparently something of an opportunist as well. Some historians argue that he was for a time a possible agent for the Russian secret police. His experience in the underground led him to pull off a daring robbery in 1907 in order to get money for the Bolshevik party. By 1912, Lenin, the intellectual and organizational leader of the Bolshevik cause, began to take serious notice of Stalin's potential and invited him to serve on the Central Committee. By this time he had changed his name from Dzhugashvili to Stalin (the Russian word for steel).

World War I was the calamity that spelled opportunity for "underground" men such as Hitler and Stalin. They took advantage of other people's misery to pursue their own

power objectives. World War I was a disaster for imperial Russia. The czarist system was discredited by the war and was no longer able to mount an effective resistance against the determined Bolsheviks. Lenin's party now promised the desperate masses of Russia "peace, land, and bread." In November 1917, the Bolsheviks mounted a *coup d'etat* in the former St. Petersburg. Lenin and Trotsky were the leaders of this successful takeover of the government, but Stalin was masterful in spinning his role in the coup into something greater than it had in fact been. As Lenin's health began to fail, Stalin made sure to master the details of mundane party and governmental matters that did not interest big thinkers such as Trotsky and Lenin. As Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Stalin built a quiet bureaucratic empire that would eventually back him in the struggle for ultimate power in the Soviet Union that was sure to come after Lenin's death.

One year after Lenin's death, Stalin also built up his claims to leadership by having Tsaritsyn renamed Stalingrad. He was building a cult of himself in a land still respectful of "big men" who behaved in authoritarian ways (such as Ivan the Terrible). In this sense, his leadership style meshed with the peasant culture of Russia better than the cosmopolitan style of Trotsky ever could. Trotsky believed that intellectual brilliance alone would attract followers. Stalin understood human nature better and gambled that his calculating manner, patronage network, and bureaucratic empire building would all gain him absolute power in the end. Trotsky was eventually forced to go into exile in Mexico where he would be killed by Stalin's assassins in 1940. Stalin was, in fact as early as the 1930s, free to stamp his interpretation of communism on one of the most important countries in the world.

Stalin did not have faith in the ideal of world revolution. Stalin would be content with "socialism in one country." Marx believed that communism would have to succeed in the most advanced countries first before the fruits of communism could be enjoyed by poorer countries such as Russia. However, Stalin prided himself on being a realist who did not believe in idealism of any sort. He said at one point, for example, "How many divisions has the Pope?" The meaning here was that the Pope could not by definition be a powerful or effective leader in Stalin's terms unless he had a big army. Such an analysis of power was to be both Stalin's greatest strength and his greatest weakness. By always assuming the worst about all people—including his closest followers and family—he usually guaranteed that no coups or plots could take place against him. However, his crude realism excluded the possibility of deriving added leadership power from ideas and ideals that could never be fully killed off, even by Stalin's many guns.

Stalin reorganized the Russian economy such that the state controlled everything and the individual owned and controlled nothing. Farms were collectivized at great cost. Rather than give up their animals and wealth to the state, many *kulaks* (or rich farmers) chose to use them up or kill them first. Stalin waged war against the *kulaks* and even allowed a horrible famine to take place in the Ukraine in order to keep his rigid plan in place. By exploiting the fear, patriotism, and opportunism of his people, Stalin was able to industrialize Russia at great cost by the end of the 1930s. To make sure that political opposition to his crude and uncompromising style of governance would not arise, he started show trials and party purges after 1934. In the short-term, Stalin achieved his objectives. All independent-minded leaders in the government and party were dead or impotent by the end of the 1930s. In the long-term, however, the purges cost Russia a great deal. Initiative, creativity, and innovation were all but killed off as cultural values in the new Russia Stalin was creating. Most people simply wanted to avoid standing out and getting their heads chopped off in the process.

The long-term effect of such policies was to be seen in Russia's poor initial performance in World War II. The most creative and effective military leaders had of course been killed off by Stalin in the great purges. The leadership of the Russian military at the beginning of the war with Germany was talented in only one thing: pleasing Stalin at any cost. Stalin made things worse in the initial stages of the war with Germany that began in 1941 by trying to micromanage military policy in an amateur fashion. After repeated disasters, Stalin learned through experience to delegate military decision-making to talented but loyal generals like Zhukov. Stalin's determination to keep power centralized at all costs allowed the vast organizing power of the communist party to effectively mobilize Russia for total war in a way that Hitler was never capable of doing in Germany. Stalin had the foresight, for example, to emphasize the quantity of military equipment over its quality in conditions of total war. Still, Russia paid a great cost for its victory over Nazism. It lost over twenty million people and most of the richer western half of Russia was destroyed. Stalin's pact with Hitler in 1939 allowed for the war to break out in the first place. Stalin also ignored the information he was getting from spies throughout 1941 that indicated a German invasion was looming.

By the year of his death in 1953, it appeared that Stalin was about to embark upon a new campaign of political purges. By this time Stalin had alienated his own family (his second wife committed suicide, his son was abandoned to the Nazis, and his daughter emigrated to England). He kept his closest advisors under close watch. Even at parties his modus operandi of leadership by suspicion and one-upmanship dominated the proceedings. He enjoyed getting his guests drunk so that they might say something that might incriminate them later on. When he died, people mourned the way that hostages mourn for their persecutors when they are finally defeated or destroyed (cf. the "Stockholm syndrome" in which hostages come to identify with and even defend their oppressors). Even today, many a Russian cabdriver has an icon of Stalin in his car. The cult of the strong and harsh leader still exists in Russia and many other lands. Pity the country that yearns for (and maybe even needs) a strong-fisted authoritarian leadership style.

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ATATURK: THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL RENEWAL

Kemal Ataturk with others in Turkey. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-97132

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938) accomplished what no other leader before him could do: turn a previously Muslim country into a secular nation-state. Before Ataturk, Turkey was the base of the Muslim Ottoman empire, which dominated much of the Middle East. After World War I and Ataturk's rise to power in Turkey, Turkey became a modern nation state that established a strict separation between mosque and state. In our post-9/11 world, Ataturk's leadership is an important model to study for the possible insights it offers us into how Islam may be reconciled with the realities of the modern world.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was a leader who showed that sometimes great good can come from questioning the fundamental rudiments of one's own civilization. The land he grew up in—the Ottoman empire—was not labeled the "Sick Man" of Europe for nothing. His father was a loyal servant of the state who had served in the empire's militia. Even though Mustafa's father died when he was only seven, his influence on his son was immense. First, his desire that Mustafa attend a nonreligious school was to give his son the opportunity to see his society objectively as outsiders could. This was a rare and brave desire on the father's part since any education in the deeply Islamic Turkish empire of the day was usually bound to be religious in nature. Second, he instilled in his son at a young age a belief in the virtues of a military career. A sword was placed over the young Mustafa's sleeping area to signify his future career.

He excelled in school, earning the name "Kemal" (or "perfect one") for his educational achievements. As Mustafa came of age, his interests in things military only increased. He began study in the Ottoman empire's elite War College in 1899. Unlike other gifted young men who were being groomed for military leadership, Mustafa demonstrated an ability to think through on his own the great issues of the day. Now that he was living in the imperial capital of Istanbul, he was privy to the main currents of political thought in an empire undergoing rapid changes at home and abroad. At home, a whole generation of "young Turks" like Mustafa were questioning the old-fashioned and ineffective caliphate that had governed the Ottoman empire for nearly five hundred years. The caliphate repressed innovation and change at home while it continued to retreat in the face of foreign aggression abroad.

Mustafa showed great courage in putting his promising military career on the line in order to stay true to his own progressive political beliefs. He was a highly successful graduate of the War College, finishing as he did among the top ten performers in a class of over four hundred students. However, he felt that mere careerism would have to come second to the higher patriotic duty of arguing for change in politics and society. Spies had already infiltrated the reformist circles he was involved with. His first military assignment was thus not a glamorous one. He was posted in the far eastern reaches of the empire near Damascus where he witnessed government corruption at first hand. In 1909, the Caliph finally had to resign under pressure from his reformist opponents. The Young Turks—with whom Mustafa was only loosely connected—inherited a bad situation in terms of foreign policy. The old Caliphate had left the state open to foreign attack. In 1911, the Ottoman province of Libya was attacked by Italy. Mustafa went there to experience combat for the first time, but health problems forced him to leave this theater of war after a short period.

More disasters were to follow for Turkey. The first and second Balkan wars (1912–1913) were to witness a further retreat of Turkish influence in southeastern Europe. The Turks then cast their lot with Germany in World War I. Mustafa had serious reservations from the beginning about engaging in such a close alliance with Germany, but he loyally continued his military service to the new regime. Mustafa truly earned the name Kemal for his defense of the strategic Gallipoli Peninsula against a determined British assault in 1915–1916. He became a hero throughout Turkey and soon found himself promoted to general. The end of the war was a difficult time for Mustafa given his failing health (probably due to gonorrhea and overconsumption of alcohol) and the failing fortunes of the empire. When the end of the war came, the government reverted back into the hands of a royal Sultan who was more than willing to accommodate the wishes of Turkey's former opponents (chief among them Britain and France). The low point for

Mustafa was seeing the former enemies' ships and armies enter into Istanbul itself in 1919.

Again, Mustafa Kemal's patriotism, will power, and leadership saw him through a series of personal and national crises that would have led lesser men to give up. He was careful to avoid any rash action that might prevent him from playing a positive role in Turkey's national politics. He artfully took advantage of the Sultan's (and the foreigners') need for stability in central Turkey by agreeing to use the army to realize these goals. He quickly read into his orders more than was there. He used his new authority to appeal directly to the Turkish people and rouse their nationalism against foreign intervention in the proud country's affairs. He cleverly argued that the Sultan had become a prisoner of the foreign nations wishing to carve up Turkey for imperialist purposes so he had to act on his own. At one delicate moment, Kemal relied on his charisma to make sure other army units did not desert him in the face of the Sultan's calls for his arrest. Other army officers and their soldiers soon flocked to his nationalistic banner. He set up his own government in Ankara in central Turkey while the Sultan in Istanbul proceeded to give away Turkish lands to the Greeks, Italians, British, and French. He was canny enough to seek allies where he could find them, even communist Russia in the north. By 1922, Kemal had nearly driven out all the foreigners. The Sultan was forced to flee and Turkey was now free to enter the modern world on Kemal's terms.

His accomplishments at home were as important as his military ones. He was uncompromising in his call for the separation of mosque and state. In order to foster the social change, he felt necessary to make Turkey a strong and respected nation, he even ordered that the traditional headdress (the fez) be forbidden. He was fast becoming Peter the Great of Turkey—propelling a backward society forward with singular determination. Islamic law no longer had state-support due to Kemal's efforts and thus the emancipation of women could begin. Education was greatly improved under this determined leader and literacy rates increased with the Latin script replacing Arabic. Fittingly, he was given the last name "Ataturk," or father of the Turks, after he ordered all Turks to adopt surnames. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was that rare leader who was gifted in handling both the foreign and domestic affairs of his nation. He was as courageous in fighting the religious conservatives and traditionalists of his own society as he was in fighting the foreign imperialists. Above all, he had a vision of Turkey as a modern nation-state that has largely stood the test of time and gives hope to the world that other Muslim states can learn from his far-seeing example.

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FREDERICK THE GREAT: A LEADERSHIP BORN OF SELF-OVERCOMING

Frederick the Great (1712–1786) was a leader who made the most of his limited resources. He was king of Prussia, a poor and underpopulated land bereft of natural resources. Frederick carefully used his limited resources to great effect in the eighteenth-century game of nations. Thanks to his leadership, Prussia became a military and political giant in Europe. Before he became king, however, he first had to overcome a troubled childhood and a disastrous relationship with his

father. It is debatable as to whether this latter task required more of him than any task that he later confronted as a king.

Frederick did not start his life destined for greatness. The whole of his youth was marked by his tortured relationship with his father Frederick William I. This was the king of Prussia who cemented the country's reputation as "an army that happened to have a state attached to it." Prussia—small, poor, and geographically exposed—poured all of its resources into building a formidable army. Frederick William's son was more inclined toward the arts than military affairs, however. The father took this as a mark of rebellion and effeminacy on his son's part. Young Frederick was humiliated verbally and physically by his rigid father. The royal family experienced a major crisis in 1730 when young Frederick tried to flee his country to escape his domineering father. In 1730, he was imprisoned by his father who viewed his son's actions as treasonous. An army lieutenant friend of the young Frederick who had helped in the escape plan was executed in front of the unhappy heir to the throne.

After this unhappy affair, the young Frederick was further humiliated by being made to do low-level administrative work in addition to losing his military status and rank. At this point, a lesser man might have considered suicide, reclusiveness, or total subservience to his persecutors. Instead, Frederick apparently chose to turn inward and bide his time until his chance to rule came. While he awaited this main chance, he availed himself of various opportunities to engage in a project of self-improvement. He gained practical military experience by serving with the great captain Eugene of Savoy in wars against the French in the early 1730s. He read widely and deeply and thus exposed himself to the great intellectual currents of Enlightenment thought and culture.

By 1740 when his father died, Frederick began a daring reign that was to last forty-six years and greatly alter the shape of European history. His philosophy of government was a model of the philosophy of enlightened despotism (as he wrote in his *Political Testament*, the ruler should merely be "the first servant of the state"). He immediately let his government officials know that he was to be an active ruler rather than a typical monarchical sybarite who enjoyed the fruits of rulership without the responsibility. As Frederick put it, there were two sorts of rulers: those who ruled in name only and those who took responsibility by "becoming the soul of the state" under which "the weight of their government falls on themselves alone, like the world on the back of Atlas." The principle of one-man rulership was to be tempered, however, by Frederick's appreciation that with great power came great responsibility. His Enlightenment sensibility was seen in the following characteristics of his reign: his hosting of philosophers such as Voltaire in Berlin (though this relationship ended in failure), his attempt to make government in Prussia honest and efficient, his use of meritocracy in staffing administrative positions (the use of examinations), his abolition of torture, his religious tolerance, and his attempt to develop a primary educational system open to all. Frederick had to be a great king in order to maximize Prussia's very limited resources. Its sandy northern soils did not produce agricultural abundance. He harnessed his finances like a born banker. Only by such governance was Frederick able to double the size of Prussia's army by the end of his reign to some 200,000 men (it was at roughly half this figure at the start of his reign). He was also adamant in expecting the noble class that officered this army to perform military service in return for the privileges they enjoyed.

He even made sure to make Prussia attractive to hardworking immigrants who could contribute to the kingdom's wealth (particularly those suffering from religious discrimination elsewhere).

Foreign affairs were Frederick the Great's greatest love, however. Early in his reign, he showed Europe how international politics could be guided by *raison d'etat* rather than by religious fanaticism (the Thirty Years' War had only ended barely a century before). Conflict would always exist between countries, Frederick thought, but it could be limited and made manageable by farsighted kings who would pursue limited goals and thereby serve the higher purpose of adjusting the balance of power to reflect political realities. Already in the first year of his reign in 1740, Frederick used dynastic claims to legitimize his aggressive move to take over the Austrian province of Silesia just at the time a young and untested female ruler (Maria Theresa) came to the throne of Austria. Frederick used adroit diplomacy and military acumen to end the war on his terms in 1745.

Austria, of course, wanted to get revenge against Frederick. Frederick therefore decided to pre-empt a looming coalition of France, Austria, and Russia by engaging in preventive war against the Habsburg's Austrian empire. The conflict soon developed into a world war (the Seven Years' War) that threatened Prussia's very existence. Frederick was pressed as never before to show his mettle as both a domestic and active war leader. He succeeded in extracting all possible resources from his small kingdom against richer but less efficient opponents. He showed extraordinary leadership on the battlefield by commanding from the front. His personal leadership was all that kept Prussia from falling apart at various junctures of the war. State officials gave up their salaries for long periods during the war out of loyalty to him. However, Frederick was ultimately saved by three things: his success in developing an alliance with Great Britain, his brilliant generalship, and Russia's withdrawal from the war.

Frederick's *Realpolitik* approach to international affairs had its disadvantages, however. By leading the effort to divide up Poland among Prussia, Austria, and Russia, Frederick was willing to factor out the power of ideas and ideals in international affairs. This would harm Germany in the future as it wrestled defensively with the democratic idealism unleashed by the French Revolution. Still, for good or for bad, Frederick the Great's leadership legacy long outlived him and decisively shaped the contours of modern history (certainly, his mistakes were magnified by a system of absolute rule dependent solely upon him to make the correct decisions). Bismarck and Hitler would be inspired by only one side of Frederick's legacy, however—the use of the military to solve most problems. They forgot Frederick's Enlightenment philosophy of governance, which might have tempered the cult of the military that later developed in German national life. In western civilization, the merits of Sparta and Athens have long been debated insofar as they still serve as models for political organization today. Should one privilege the ethos of self-sacrifice, bravery, and simple living embodied by the ancient Spartans? Or should one privilege the individualistic, cosmopolitan, and democratic ethos embodied by the Ancient Athenians? Clearly, Frederick's own governing philosophy embodied an updating of the classic Spartan solution to the basic political problems faced by all societies. Who is to say that this age-old debate is truly ended even today?

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SHAKA: THE POWER OF COALITION-BUILDING

Shaka was chief of the African Zulu tribe from ca. 1818 to 1828. He would eventually extend Zulu control throughout all of what is today Natal in southern Africa. Zulu power grew under his reign thanks to his military innovations. His successes would later inspire Africans to resist subsequent European encroachments on African land and resources.

Shaka is famous as a leader for giving the Zulu tribe a sense of nationhood and potency it had not had before his reign. He illustrates the multicultural side of leadership: the idea that leadership is necessarily enacted differently in different cultures. His ability to gain and maintain power also offer universal lessons as well. He was able to gain initial successes and parlay them into bigger victories later on as his Zulu nation expanded from being a small tribal population of a few thousand to becoming nearly a quarter of a million strong at his death. He also laid the foundations for a nation strong enough to defeat the most advanced imperial nation of the day, Great Britain, at the battle of Isandlwana.

Traditional legends about Shaka say that he was born to a Zulu chief and a lower-class woman and thus was ostracized from birth. His parents in fact married and he was not forced to go into exile. He was not known in youth as Shaka (a word actually meaning bastard or intestinal parasite). A dispute with his father over who would succeed to the throne likely caused Shaka to defect to King Dingiswayo's Mthethwa tribe. This king most likely gave Shaka the name he is known for. He served his new king well in the army. The Mthethwa proved willing to help Shaka assume leadership of his native Zulu tribe around 1816 after his father died. Shaka's people faced pressure from the rival Ndwandwe clan. Shaka responded well by forging alliances with other tribes to counteract this powerful tribe.

New sources indicate that Shaka was not solely responsible for all the military innovations traditionally attributed to him. It used to be thought that Shaka personally ordered the replacement of light javelins with heavier thrusting spears. He was also credited with introducing a larger cowhide shield that could be used to hook an opponent's shield away from his body and open the enemy to easy attack. Supposedly too, Shaka forced his army to walk barefoot for fifty miles at a time to toughen his men up and surprise his enemies. On top of this, Shaka was said to have discarded the old spear-throwing linear formations for far more sophisticated flanking maneuvers. While there are kernels of truth to these claims, the true strength of Shaka's leadership is shown instead in his ability to synthesize existing inventions and traditions for his own nation-building ends.

Contrary to traditional lore, Shaka was not a one-dimensional bloodthirsty leader bent on military conquest. Indeed, on one occasion Shaka showed great moral leadership when one of his units engaged in indiscriminate slaughter. He disbanded the unit and imposed a death sentence on their leaders (an act that would lead to his own assassination by those who sought revenge for this deed). During his life, Shaka was quite willing to mix the traditional with the new. He was perfectly content to minimize conflict via shrewd alliances, patronage, and nonbloody tribute-taking whenever possible. As his Zulu kingdom grew, many of its inhabitants enjoyed relative autonomy under their own chieftans. He became more of an overlord than a conqueror.

Shaka eventually bested his arch rivals, the Ndwandwe clan, in battle shortly after he assumed leadership over the Zulus. Shaka pretended to retreat and then turned at the decisive moment and trapped the Ndwandwe army. At the height of his powers, Shaka expanded the Zulu nation from the area of the Cape Colony in southern Africa to the borders of what

is now Tanzania today. Shaka's relatively benign means of expansion pointed Africa in the direction of the future. The logic of his leadership pointed to the creation of a larger African unity that would be able to ward off the imperialist attacks to come later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By allowing previously independent tribes some autonomy in his expanding empires, Shaka provides a lesson for Africa's feudal leaders today. Tribal infighting paralyzes too many African states to this day, much to the detriment of the average members of these societies. The wrong lesson African leaders can take from Shaka's leadership is that he attained all his power at the tip of the spear. In fact, his "expansion by coalition-building strategy" is the one to emulate in today's African context. If there ever is a United States of Africa, it will owe a lot to Shaka's pathbreaking legacy.

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CONSTANTINE: INNOVATION IN THE CAUSE OF RESTORATION

Constantine (280–337) found a great civilization in disarray and remade it into something new. After his reign as emperor of Rome, even people at the time recognized that they were living in a new era, thanks to Constantine. By being the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity and legally recognize it, he gave Rome a new lease of life and laid the foundations for the European Middle Ages. He remade Byzantium into the great city of Constantinople, which was to serve as the capital of the Byzantine empire until 1453. He turned the fortunes of Rome around to such an extent that it could survive for another century and a half and insure that the classical heritage would be passed down to invading barbarians largely intact. Constantine's leadership was of the reanimating variety: he gave new life and meaning to what seemed old and moribund institutions. He showed how creative leadership could mold the best of the old and the new into a higher synthesis.

Constantine was the son of the deputy Roman emperor of the West (at this time Rome was held together by two emperors and their deputies). Ironically, he grew up in the anti-Christian court of the emperor Diocletian. Constantine gained the trust of the western army by serving with his father in a military campaign in Britain. When his father died in 306, Constantine was immediately hailed as emperor by his father's soldiers. His bid for total control of the Roman empire culminated in a battle at the Milvian Bridge in Rome. Constantine understood his success there in divine terms. Constantine is said before the battle to have painted the Christian monogram on his soldiers' shields and to have had a deeply affecting vision of the Christian command, "in hoc signo vinces" (conquer under this sign). Although later historians would dispute the authenticity of Constantine's conversion, this cynical doubt says more about later historians than it does of the actual Constantine. Both he and his mother Helena reveal themselves to posterity in their letters and other historical artifacts as genuine believers in Christianity. Constantine's leadership depended on his commitment to the new faith. He could not expect his followers to risk so much in the dangerous civil wars of the era without his utter commitment to a distinctive cause that would justify his ascension into power.

His Edict of Milan in effect legalized Christianity in a heretofore deeply pagan culture. In 313, he gave the bishop of Rome property in the city that would later house the pope and his court. His leadership would long outlast him given his ability to institutionalize

his new ruling ideology. The Christian church moved from an antagonistic relationship with the empire to a mutually supportive one in which it became the top supporter of Constantine and Roman imperial rule more generally. In short order, leading elements of the Roman elite would emulate Constantine's conversion to Christianity and help ensure that the empire would be reinvigorated for years to come. Constantine showed astute governing ability by seeking compromise on the bitter intrachurch disputes of the day. Donatists, Gnostics, and Arians all battled for hegemony within the church and the right to call their interpretation of Christianity the official one. Constantine had a simple but profound reaction to such internal theological strife: it was wrong to divide the church and offend God with disunity. He thus gave a special impetus to the Council of Nicaea in 325 to clarify and unify Christian doctrine. Constantine recognized that for his leadership to succeed, belief in one strong emperor must be supplemented by belief in one united faith.

Constantine had to make hard choices in his leadership over the Roman empire. Although he did not occupy himself with persecuting the traditional pagan cults and beliefs still popular in the empire, he could not bring himself to be all things to all people. He therefore alienated the city of Rome's population with his unwillingness to participate even in a minor way with the pagan rites still popular there. Constantine had an extra reason therefore to erect a de facto second capital in his empire that would reflect the new vision he had for Rome. The old eastern city of Byzantium was remade into the new imperial city of Constantinople, a strategic and trading hub of the empire that soon surpassed Rome itself in importance. Constantine also successfully institutionalized his rule by building many of the Christian monuments that still give definition to Christianity to this day. He ordered built the Church of Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople itself. He passed laws that recognized the sacredness of Sunday and other Christian holidays. He outlawed crucifixion as a means of capital punishment. Even in his faults Constantine left a controversial but functional legacy. By raising taxes and ordering certain groups such as the *coloni* (or tenant farmers) not to leave the land, he helped to give birth to a new Christian medieval civilization based on the farm rather than on the town or city.

In the end, a closer examination of Constantine's life and leadership shows that Gibbon got it wrong when he said that Christianity led to the decline of the Roman empire. As we have seen, the exact opposite is more likely to be the case. By giving Rome a new and vigorous religious foundation, he ensured that the legacy of Rome would continue to the present in the form of such modern political formations as the Papacy, the European Union, and maybe even America itself (which increasingly sees itself as a sort of universal empire). Most emperors up until Constantine's day were seen as conservators of the traditions of the Roman people. Constantine reinvented the notion of imperial stewardship by becoming a radical innovator in religious matters. He constructed a creative synthesis in which church and state worked effectively together to prolong the great Roman empire.

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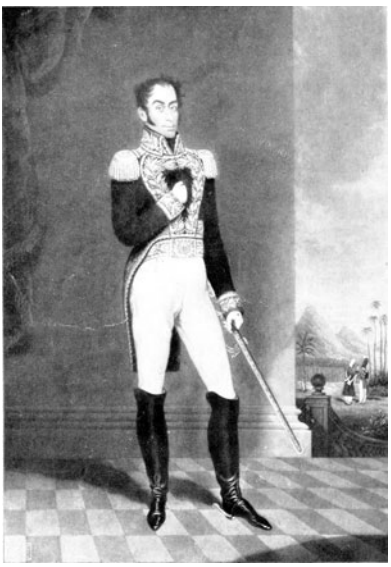
SIMON BOLIVAR: LEADER OF LATIN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY

Simon Bolivar (1783–1830) dedicated himself to liberating Latin America from Spanish control. Inspired by the French Revolution and Enlightenment, Bolivar served as an able statesman and military leader. His military defeat of the Spanish forces in America ensured the independence of much of Latin America from direct European control. His grand, but ultimately doomed, dream was to forge a strong confederation of the following states: Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela.



Simon Bolivar [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-102147]

Simon Bolivar's life and career illustrate the proposition that while great leaders are often catalysts for change, they do not always live to see their visions realized. Bolivar was to prove instrumental in ending Spanish control over much of Latin America, but he was not to see his higher goal of some sort of United States of Latin America realized. His greatest achievement was to harness the new force of republican nationalism that set Latin America on the path of determining its own destiny. His accomplishments in this regard were to prove a model for other nationalists and revolutionaries.

He was brought up as a member of the creole elite in Spanish-controlled Caracas (in today's Venezuela). Although he lost both of his parents by the time he was only nine, he had the luck to come under the tutelage of an open-minded uncle who provided him with an excellent exposure to the best of European Enlightenment thought. His trip to Spain in 1800 left him as disillusioned about imperial Spain as Martin Luther was about the Catholic Church after he visited Rome. He also showed leadership potential at this time by coming to grips with the ramifications of Napoleon's career on the future of Latin America. Napoleon's move from being a revolutionary leader to becoming just another crowned despot disgusted the young Bolivar. Based on these experiences, he had come to the conclusion that monarchism was not the kind of leadership he wished to emulate. Bolivar believed instead in the necessity for a strong presidential leader who could refashion Latin American politics in a progressive direction.

During a trip to Rome in 1805, Bolivar made his famous vow to liberate Latin America from the despotism of Spain and the rest of the Old World. Bolivar's big break came in 1808 when Napoleon invaded Spain. The motherland was now discredited in a two-fold sense: first, the Spanish crown had shown weakness in allowing the French to take over Spain. Also, the Spanish crown's military resources were no longer able to support its continued power over much of the New World. Bolivar did not wait for luck to come his way. He was active in seizing and exploiting any opportunity for success that came his way. He quickly

went to England to study its political institutions and sought its support for the nascent Latin American independence movement.

Bolivar, like George Washington, was more than capable of dealing with his share of adversity (including many military setbacks). We often falsely assume that great leaders are heroes even to their closest associates, win every battle they fight, and demonstrate the ability to achieve one stunning success after another. This "superman" theory of leadership is untenable. If leaders were gods, they would be boring since they would always win, never die, and therefore never really risk anything. Bolivar was all too human and extraordinary for this very reason. In fact, most of his schemes came to naught in the short-term. For example, the first explosion of the independence movement came in 1811 when Venezuela—inspired by Bolivar himself—declared itself free of Spanish rule. This republic would quickly fall back under Spanish control, however. Bolivar at least showed wisdom in seeking to reflect on the reasons why this early independence struggle failed. While in exile in present-day Colombia, he wrote a manifesto in which he argued that harsher measures would be needed to win power in the short-term so that human rights could flourish in the long-term. Like Bismarck, Bolivar made his compromise with "blood and iron" politics in order to realize his larger dream of Latin American independence. Bolivar was willing to play the enlightened despot and "force people to be free." The downside of his charismatic leadership was that it helped to establish the unhappy "caudillo" tradition in Latin American politics.

Bolivar came back to Venezuela in 1813 to set up a second republic after a difficult military campaign. The royalists successfully played the class politics card against the creole elite that was at the forefront of the independence movement. Bolivar was once more forced to go abroad where he would be tested in his abilities to hold the fractious independence coalition together. In exile once again, he gave much thought to his future political program. He believed the educated creole elite were inevitable leaders of an independent Latin America given their wealth, power, and education. Full democracy would not be possible until the poor and uneducated were led by this elite to become independent citizens. Bolivar outlined a novel idea for a new governmental agency that would be responsible for elevating the nonelite classes into the responsibilities of citizenship.

Inevitably, Bolivar sought once again to lead a rebel army on the Latin American mainland against his Spanish nemesis. This time he tried a daring military strategy that required going through the Andes Mountains to surprise the Spanish. He was rewarded for his arduous planning and efforts with victory at the battle of Boyaca in 1819. Colombia now became the newly independent center of the Latin American freedom movement. In subsequent years, Peru, Bolivia (named of course after Bolivar), Ecuador, and Venezuela were to be liberated under Bolivar's daring auspices. Bolivar's mature vision for the government of the newly independent Latin America was embodied in his ideas for Bolivia's constitution. He believed in the idea of a president for life who could appoint his own successor; in limiting voting rights to the propertied top 10 percent of the population; and in a national assembly (consisting of a hereditary branch, an elected branch, and a group to be called the censors who would oversee matters of morality).

His idea of developing a federation of Latin American states was to prove a failure. However, by 1828, he held power only over Colombia as surrounding states decided to go their separate ways. There was even an assassination attempt on his life. Fearing that his reputation for being "El Liberador" was in danger, Bolivar decided to step down from power in 1830. He even turned down the offer of becoming king in order to remain true to his

ideals. In addition, he practiced what he preached by setting free all of his slaves during his own lifetime. Like other leaders before him, Bolivar was not to live long enough to see his vision of the promised land come to fruition. After stepping down from power in order to preserve the chance for Latin American political unity, he prepared to go to Europe for the rest of his life. But even this would be denied "El Liberador." He died of tuberculosis before he could leave in 1830.

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NOTE

1. Quoted in Gardner, 33.

2

RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

JESUS: THE HUMBLE SERVANT LEADER

Jesus bearing the cross. From a Currier and Ives lithograph, c 1848. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC2-2692]

Jesus (ca. 6 BC –30 AD) is also known as the Christ, or anointed one, who is the center of the Christian religion. The Gospels assert that Jesus was born in Bethlehem to the virgin Mary at the time when Rome ruled Jesus' Jewish homeland (ancient Palestine). Tradition holds that he worked as a carpenter before beginning his epoch-changing public ministry. His humble and original works of preaching, teaching, and healing brought him a considerable following. The core of this group would go on to found the Christian movement after his death by crucifixion. His followers believe that he sacrificed his life in order to redeem mankind and that he was resurrected after death.

Jesus was perhaps the most influential leader who ever lived. Unlike most other great leaders of history, he did not control great armies, command great wealth, or use force to get his way. The historical Jesus is difficult to separate from the religion built in his name. Even if Jesus is not taken to be the son of God, one would still have to be amazed that a man of his humble social station was able to leave such an indelible mark on history for the last two thousand years. By some estimates, Christianity—the religion based upon his life and teachings—encompasses some two billion followers in today's world.

How much do we in fact know of Jesus' life? The four gospels of the New Testament were written well after Jesus died. Even the earliest gospel of Mark was written some thirty years after the death of Jesus. The gospels are understood by most historians to have an agenda that may or may not overlap with that of Jesus. As John states in his canonical gospel account of Jesus' life, it is "written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name" (John 20:31, NRSV or new revised standard version). Accounts of Jesus' life by David Friederich Strauss, Albert Schweitzer, John Dominic Crossan, and others, on the other hand, have tried to understand Jesus in his historical context rather than simply assuming his divinity. Jesus probably grew up as a marginal Jew in the Galilee region at the margins of the Roman empire. We are more certain about Jesus' doings during this last year or so of life when he began to raise the ire of the local Roman and Jewish elites.

Why was Jesus such a controversial man in his own times? Clearly, divine birth stories were common in Jesus' time. Roman emperors were routinely deified. Healers, magicians, and those claiming supernatural powers were common in the cultural milieu of the day. What was radically new about Jesus was that he was someone of the lower class who advocated a reversal of traditional social hierarchies in an age defined by strict social hierarchy. The gospel writer Luke has Jesus say: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor" (Luke 4:18–19). Traditional leaders in the Mediterranean world of Jesus' day were people such as governors, retainers, and great magnates. Usually, leadership status was inherited in this antimeritocratic society. Peasants, artisans, and the landless poor may have made up the majority of the society at this time, but they were by definition excluded from leadership roles. It was unthinkable before Jesus that people from this class would actually be emulated in any way by the high and mighty.

The easiest fact to overlook about Jesus' life was that he was a Jew and probably saw himself as such until the day he died. Much of Jewish radicalism at this time was directed against the power of the Roman empire. As was said of the Romans, "they make a desert and call it peace." Other Jews of the day had their particular theories about how to deal with Roman overlordship of the Jewish people and their lands. The Pharisees focused on the power of Jewish law; the Sadducees focused on Temple Judaism; the Essenes staked their existence on purity; and other Jews focused their hopes on the Messiah who would deliver them from Roman rule. Jesus' own leadership was influenced by apocalypticism—a "divine unveiling" that would see the rise of a new and just world before the coming of the kingdom of heaven. As Jesus said, "Truly I tell you this generation will not pass away before all these things take place." A "son of man" from heaven would come one day soon to destroy God's enemies. John Dominic Crossan provides the interesting thesis that Jesus' genius was to see himself as a guide in teaching his followers how to prepare themselves to enter the kingdom of God once the apocalypse took place. Jesus' ministry and leadership in this interpretation were largely devoted to implementing the ideals of the divine kingdom to come in the present world. Jesus, in a sense, was a leader of those who were willing to "practice" in a fallen world the lifestyle that would mark the better age to come. There would be no war in the future, so the Jesus movement would practice radical peace and brotherly love now. There would be no unjust social hierarchy in the future so the Jesus movement would practice radical egalitarianism now.

Unlike other humans, claimed to be divinities by their peers at the time, Jesus was quite willing to associate with the poor, the ill, and the social pariahs of the day. He was truly committing himself as a leader to living out the kingdom of God in the here and now.

He did not merely prophesy the utopia to come as so many leaders before and after him confined themselves to ("pie in the sky after you die"). He actually tried to embody and live out his utopia in the here and now. This was a religious leader willing to takes risks and die as a martyr to his cause. Even his death was a leadership act. By dying humbly on a cross, Jesus' humility even in death signified what Nietzsche would later call a transvaluation of all values: why should God's son be assumed to be a mighty warrior of high social station as most Jews had assumed? Jesus' life and teachings embodied the question: who is the true ruler or leader? He who holds the whip or he who humbles himself to wash the feet of the downtrodden? He who uses force at every opportunity or he who turns the other cheek?

That Jesus' intentions and life as described here can shock and challenge us today is a testament to the radical nature of his leadership. Who is willing to give up their wealth and material comfort in order to emulate Jesus' life? Who is willing to be totally giving of themselves to the social outcasts of society? Who is willing to forgo the esteem of the established hierarchy and even challenge it? Who really is willing to turn his cheek as Jesus did? Indeed, Jesus' leadership message, as he in all likelihood conceived it to be, is too hot for even his most ardent followers of today to fully grasp. For biographers such as Bruce Barton, author of *The Man Nobody Knows*, Jesus as a leader is tamed by being made to appear as a mere exemplar of the entrepreneur who can help advertising executives succeed in a competitive marketplace. More recently, this way of thinking continues in books such as *Jesus CEO* in which Jesus is reduced to the level of clichés for the enrichment of the modern man on the make. So long as injustice haunts the world, Jesus' model of leadership will continue to challenge the powerful and inspire the weak. By being the ultimate nontraditional leader, Jesus in a sense became the model of ultimate leadership. Instead of reenacting the old idea of the leaders as just another "super-boss," he gave us a model of servant leadership that continues to challenge us till today.

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MUHAMMAD: FOUNDER OF A NEW RELIGION

Muhammad (ca. 570–632) is considered by his followers to be the last and final prophet in the monotheistic tradition. He was born in Mecca to a trading family. He came to believe in a strict form of monotheism that later came to be known as Islam, or submission to God's will. His later criticism of the polytheistic culture of the city forced him to depart from Mecca. He found refuge in the city of Medina where he solidified his movement around the core religious ideas later written down in the movement's holy text, the Koran.

Muhammad offers us a fascinating case study of a great leader who combined charismatic, secular, and religious authority in one person. He also galvanized a divided people—the Arabs—into creating a whole new civilization, Islam (meaning submission to the will of Allah). While we should be respectful of Muhammad's career and the people who believe in him as God's final prophet, those influenced by the values of the Enlightenment have a duty to be as objective in their evaluation of Muhammad and the Koran as they are of Jesus and the Bible. The work of scholars such as Ibn Warraq, Patricia Crone, Michael Cook, John Wainsbrough, and others have revealed some interesting insights about the historical origins of Islam.

The most interesting thing to note is the influence of Christianity and Judaism on early Islam. Muhammad is, by tradition, held to have been a trader during the seventh century CE in what is today Saudi Arabia. As such, he and his fellow traders had many opportunities to come into contact with Jews, Christians, and pagans along the trade routes that connected up the literate and diverse cultures of the Middle East. One scholar, Gunter Luling, even maintains that nearly one-third of the Koran consists of Christian literature that predates the Koran. Historians honestly don't know much about the historical Muhammad either since much of his life is filtered through *hadith* (sayings about the deeds of Muhammad), which some scholars believe were made up well after the death of Muhammad.

The traditional account claims that around 610 AD, Muhammad began to hear God's words on Mt. Hira as announced to him by the angel Gabriel. The parallels with Moses in the Jewish tradition are striking: like Moses, Muhammad became a leader of his people and directly communed with God. Mecca—a major trading city—was an obvious starting point for Muhammad's next task of spreading God's revelation. The revelation that Muhammad wished to share included an intense emphasis on monotheism (Jesus is thus not the son of God for Muslims) and the idea that he himself was the last prophet in a long line of God's many messengers to mankind. Muhammad found around him evidence of *jahiliyya*, the Muslim word for ignorance. Pagan practices and polytheism dominated the culture and business of the city. Indeed, many grew wealthy in Mecca by serving the religious and spiritual needs of the pagans and polytheists who worshipped at many of the shrines extant in Mecca, including the stone Ka'ba that later became so important in Muslim worship.

Unfortunately for Muhammad, the Meccans on the whole were unreceptive to Muhammad and his message. This led to the *hegira*, or flight to Medina, north of Mecca (similar to Moses' exodus from pagan Egypt). Muhammad had better luck establishing his authority at Medina than in Mecca. Muhammad and his followers were able to put pressure on the unbelievers in Mecca by arranging raids on the Meccan trade caravans. Muhammad's military leadership was no doubt bolstered by the kind of poetic eloquence that infuses much of the Koran. The charisma he embodied as a self-proclaimed last prophet of God could only help energize his supporters all the more. In addition to fighting the Meccans, Muhammad had to deal with political dissent within Medina itself. There was, apparently, much friction between early Muslims and the Jewish tribe (Banu Qurayza) in the city. Perhaps Moses was expecting the Jewish Arabs to accept him as the long-awaited messiah. Just as earlier Jews had rejected Jesus on this score, so too did Jews rebuff claims of Muhammad's status as God's final prophet. Whereas early Muslims may well have prayed toward Jerusalem, they began to pray toward Mecca (after that city was captured) as a possible way of marking their separation from all Jewish influence. Perhaps the break with the Jews came even later, especially after the Muslims succeeded in taking Jerusalem.

Muhammad's fundamental leadership task was to help his Arab brethren, as one observer put it, "confront the problem of remaining themselves while adopting the belief of others." In convincing the Arabs to adopt a stringent monotheism, he made the Arabs a force to be reckoned with: from now on, the older monotheist neighbors in the Middle East and Europe could no longer look down upon the illiterate, disunited, and pagan Arabs. Rarely has history witnessed such a turnaround of a people's fortunes within the lifetime of one leader. Muhammad deserves much credit for his ability to conquer first his own people's hearts and minds and his ability to then go on and help found a great empire for his newly energized people. In addition, Muhammad's influence on the Koran is itself remarkable. The Koran (believed by Muslims to be the literal word of God) would mark the beginning of Islamic high culture and serve as a rallying point for his followers long after he was

gone. Many scholars now believe that—like any holy text—the Koran evolved over many generations and did not emerge in final form during Muhammad's lifetime. Early Korans found in Yemen show the changes that have taken place in the text since the beginning of Islam. Indeed, Syrian and Armenian Christians who knew the Muslims well and who lived in the seventh century were unaware of the Muslims even having a sacred book. One possibility is that Mohammed's sayings were preserved in oral form over a few generations and finally written down in response to theological and other challenges posed to the new religion by its more established monotheist brothers.

No matter whether one believes the Islamic account of Mohammed's life and meaning or not, our objective evaluation of him as a leader must recognize his amazing ability to remake a civilization, give a downtrodden people immense self-confidence, to combine religious and secular authority in one person, and to lay the military foundations for a great empire. Above all, he left a legacy of institutionalized success: he taught his followers to lead themselves effectively long after he was gone. For the next thousand years after Muhammad's death, Islam would continue to expand and threaten the rival monotheisms with extinction. Even today, Islam rivals Christianity as the world's largest religion. He used his charisma and eloquence to weave a convincing narrative that explained to his peoples who they were and what their mission was. Few, if any, leaders in world history can claim to come near him in terms of realizing his amazingly ambitious goals.

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GREGORY THE GREAT: A FOUNDER OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Pope Gregory the Great [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-106737]

Gregory the Great (540–604) was Pope from 590–604. His task as Pope was immense: avoid the Catholic Church's subordination to the Eastern Christian Church based at Constantinople and help Italy recover from the trauma of recent barbarian invasions (which, only a century before Gregory's birth, had ended the western Roman empire). During his transformational papacy, England was converted to Christianity, the Catholic Church became a leading force in western civilization, and controversies over heresies were dampened.

Gregory became a leader of the Catholic Church at a crucial turning point in western civilization's history. Unlike many other leaders, Gregory had to confront the fact that major existential questions relating to late-Roman and early medieval civilization were still undecided (such as: Would western civilization even continue? Would the Christian church remain united under some central leadership?). Very rarely does even the greatest of leaders have to face the kind of historical fluidity and chaos that Gregory did. That Gregory

rose to the challenge and imposed his imprint on much of what was later called medieval and western civilization is a testament to his effective leadership of the Roman Catholic Church.

Gregory was a man poised between two worlds. The barbarian invasions had led to the effective end of the Roman empire and the rise of a new civilization that contained a mixture of classical, Christian, and Germanic elements. His family was rooted in the culture of the old Roman empire although it was quite loyal to the new Christian faith. His aristocratic background allowed him to enjoy a good education and to study law in addition to Christian teachings. When he was only thirty he became Prefect of Rome, a high honor that involved much focus on the organization and running of such a complex and important city. By the time he was thirty-five, Gregory was open to experiencing further growth in his life and career. He became a Benedictine monk and soon found himself serving as papal adviser and ambassador to Constantinople, the home of Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

For a proud Roman such as himself, it was hard to put up with the control over Rome exerted by the Greek-speaking court of the Byzantine emperors. Although Rome and Byzantium had been once part of the same empire, after the barbarian Germanic invasions of the West, Byzantium became ever more dominant over Roman affairs. When a vacancy opened for the position of Bishop of Rome, Gregory was deemed the logical candidate to fill the post by all sectors of society given his experience and the seriousness with which he took his religious vocation. So humble was he that he considered fleeing Rome to avoid taking office, but the local population demanded that he assume papal leadership in a ceremony held in the Basilica of St. Peter in September of 590. The fact that he actively avoided wielding formal power made him all the more attractive to his followers who were in need of visionary and uncorrupt leadership at this perilous time in Rome's history.

As Pope, Gregory continued to live as humbly and ascetically as he had been doing as a monk. In this, as in many other areas, Gregory would set the standards by which future popes would be judged. Under Gregory, the powers of the Bishop of Rome expanded to fill the governmental holes left by the absence of alternative political leadership. In due course, Gregory would be dealing personally with a wide panoply of issues, ranging from military affairs to refugee policy. He also worked diligently on achieving unity in the Catholic Church. By definition, Catholic meant universal and so Gregory was determined to combat heresies and corrupt practices that divided the church such as simony (the buying and selling of church offices) and priestly sexual impropriety (he became noted for his advocacy of celibacy among the clergy).

Gregory became a great leader also because of his wide ranging interests and willingness to develop the church in all of its aspects. For example, his name became synonymous with the great plainsong (later known as Gregorian chant) that gave an aesthetic dimension to church ceremonies that had been lacking before. He encouraged monasticism as a way of continually renewing the church from within since it carefully channeled the most spiritually active and dedicated members of the church in a productive fashion. He so believed in Catholic doctrine that he felt confident enough to send out missionaries throughout Europe to christianize the Germanic peoples living there (it was during his tenure as Pope that most of England was converted to Catholicism by the missionary St. Augustine). His papacy helped to lay the foundation stones of a truly universal Catholic Church, which was now capable of providing the necessary structure that would allow western civilization to survive and thrive for the next thousand years.

Gregory also made monumental decisions regarding Catholicism's relationship to its Eastern Orthodox cousin centered in Constantinople. He refused to be treated as an inferior

to the Byzantine emperor in religious matters. He was careful to cultivate new alliances in order to preserve the Romano-German Christian culture growing up in the western half of what had been the old Roman empire. When the Byzantines appeared less than capable of protecting Rome and the western church from invading groups such as the Lombards, Gregory was astute enough to cultivate ties with the Merovingian Franks to garner protection of his nascent civilization's interests. Had Gregory been a failed leader, it is quite possible that western civilization may itself have experienced either disastrous destruction at the hands of the Muslims or crushing subordination to the Byzantines. That Gregory in fact turned out to be a great leader worthy of sainthood demonstrates that he was not just a leader of a church. He was, rather, the leader of a whole new civilization balanced at the tipping point between despair and confident growth. His leadership thankfully helped channel the West into the latter direction.

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ST. PAUL: LEADER OF A NEW RELIGION

St. Paul (fl. first century AD) was originally a Jew from Tarsus. He changed from being a persecutor of Christians into one of their leading members after experiencing a vision of Jesus on the road to Damascus. He served the early Christian movement well by seeking out gentile converts to the new religion. His proselytizing efforts were marked by his concern to emphasize faith in the new religion's beliefs over adherence to traditional Jewish laws. Tradition states that he later died as a martyr in Rome ca. 64 AD.

The life of St. Paul illustrates the fact that some of the greatest world leaders are those who see themselves as servants to ideas or persons even greater than themselves. His ability to see himself as a servant leader to Jesus empowered him to become a risk-taking leader of the highest order. It also allowed him to arguably found a new religion that might not otherwise have succeeded.

Paul is, of course, considered by most authorities to have been born Saul of Tarsus in ancient Cilicia. Geography made a difference in Saul's life as the area in which he grew up was a fairly cosmopolitan trading center within the Roman empire. He was apparently familiar with the Greek language from a fairly young age. This background gave him insight into the larger gentile culture around him. As a Pharisee, Saul was expected to live in close accordance with the Mosaic law. Tradition states that as he grew to manhood, he became both a rabbi and a tentmaker. Although he never encountered Jesus in person, he and the Jewish groups were sufficiently concerned about Jesus that many of them became active persecutors of the early Jewish followers of Jesus. Many mainstream Jews of Saul's acquaintance, of course, could not accept that the promised Messiah would be crucified or that temple Judaism had somehow been superseded by the life and mission of Jesus.

Tradition states that Saul had a conversion experience on the road to Damascus (where he was apparently going in search of Jesus' followers to persecute). He was convinced from this experience that Jesus had indeed risen from the dead. Saul—now to be known as Paul—took it upon himself to prepare the peoples of the world for God's final judgment (which many Jews thought imminent). Paul believed that Jesus had been sacrificed

for all mankind's sins and was the vehicle for salvation and eternal life. Paul so believed in his message that he soon became a leader of the apostle community charged with the spreading of the good news of Jesus' life and message. If we look closely, we can see hints of how Paul became such an epochal leader in the Christian tradition and, indeed, in world history as a whole. First, he showed himself to be open to transforming his core beliefs in the face of new existential evidence (in the form of his conversion on the road to Damascus) even if it meant coming to the conclusion that his early life and beliefs were completely wrongheaded and without foundation. Second, he made his personal conversion socially meaningful in a broader sense by having the courage of his convictions and becoming a leader of the very movement he had been bent on persecuting only a short time before. That he was able to work so closely with the Apostle Peter and Jesus' own brother James in helping to spread the gospel testifies to his leadership abilities and drive.

Paul's ultimate leadership challenge involved the crucial issue of how the early Jesus movement should relate to the gentile or non-Jewish community. Many followers and persecutors of the movement were trapped in the assumption that Jesus and his teachings could only be of consequence to the small local Jewish community. Paul's genius as a leader lay in his ability to transcend the initial parameters of the debate by placing Jesus in a universal context. For Paul, Jesus was to be seen at the very center of the relationship between mankind and the divine. Paul was willing to play for high stakes in this debate: either Jesus was at the center of the relationship between humanity and God or he was not. In reframing the debate, Paul was able to argue that Jewish regulations pertaining to circumcision and food rituals should not be used to exclude gentiles from the Jesus movement. Paul was able to develop a distinctive theology in support of such a radical notion by arguing that Jesus' core message concerned the efficacy of faith and love above all else. The rest of Paul's life as a leader of the early Christian church was based on these simple but powerful postulates.

Paul's other effective leadership skill was to use the strength of his enemy to his own benefit. Paul's claim to Roman citizenship allowed him the ability to travel throughout the vast Roman empire spreading his message. Paul also used the very unity that Rome had imposed on its subjugated peoples (its good roads, law, and even its language) for his movement's benefit. Paul's leadership is evident in terms of the travails he was willing to undergo on behalf of his mission. Paul faced everything from hostile crowds to wild animals in his sometimes dangerous travels (he even had to face the wrath of statue makers of pagan deities who feared their business would decline if the new Christian religion spread). Indeed, his later execution in Rome itself showed that he was willing to die for his cause and thus allowed him to maintain his leadership effect on posterity even beyond the grave as a holy martyr.

Paul was that rare leader who was able to develop a radical message, spread it against all odds, and lay the seeds for a reversal of hierarchies in which the previously radical message became the new foundational authority. His fundamental leadership message can be seen in his statement that: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Jesus Christ." Paul's visionary belief and his organizational ability were useful attributes for a leader who aspired to guide a young and marginal religion to the very center of world history. His organizational skills are also apparent in many of the epistles or letters he wrote to Christian communities throughout the empire. His letters give advice and guidance to these communities on topics ranging from proper sexual conduct to rarefied theological matters. Above all, his emphasis on what humans shared despite all their differences in the deeply hierarchical and polytheistic culture

of Rome was a revolutionary act of the first order. That he was ultimately successful in turning the revolutionary into the familiar is a testament to his leadership of the early church.

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BUDDHA: LEADING THE SELF TO SERENITY

Siddhartha Gautama or Buddha (Sanskrit for the "Enlightened One"; ca. 480–400 BC) led his followers with a starkly original vision of how mankind could best deal with the perennial issues of suffering and death. Whereas other prophets and spiritual athletes had traditionally argued for the need to believe in the latest "one true God" or to practice some impossibly difficult form of asceticism, Buddha ingeniously argued for a middle path toward Enlightenment and the alleviation of existential doubt. The originality and plausibility of the Buddha's vision—coupled with his own ability to live up to his self-professed ethic—continues to attract more and more followers even in the present age. The Buddha led by providing his followers the tools by which they could take decisive leadership of their own lives. No higher accolade can be given to a great leader. Buddhism is now a thriving world religion with at least 300 million adherents. While Islam and Hinduism eventually drove Buddhism out of India, it expanded into much of Asia and more recently the western world.

Before the arrival of Buddha on the historical stage, India was dominated by the Hindu religion brought to the subcontinent by Aryan invaders. Buddha was born in what is today northeastern India (the area of Nepal). This area was divided up into petty states that fought one another time and again. India was marked by Hindu orthodoxy. Unfortunately, as with Confucius, we largely know of Buddha's life largely through myth-history. Details surrounding his life are obscure and we are not even sure of his birth and death dates. Tradition states that he was born to a family of warrior caste background. Stories about the Buddha indicate

Worshipping at the shrine of the great Diabutsu, Kamakura, Japan. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-118350]

that to understand his biography, you must understand his past lives as well. Buddha in this account is someone who finally reached nirvana—or freedom from continual rebirth and the pains of mortal existence—when he gained final insight into the mysteries of suffering and death.

Buddha was the son of a king. He was said to be so precocious as a child that he could walk and talk right after his birth. As the son of a king, he led a pampered existence for twenty-nine years. His father shielded him from any sights of death, old age, and suffering. In his twenty-ninth year, he asked to tour the capital city. Before this trip, people who showed any signs of age or suffering were removed from the streets. One man who knew the facts of life still managed to stay in the city, however, and provoked Buddha to question the actual reality he was living in. His curiosity grew and he continued making more trips around the kingdom in order to explore the wild variety of life, joy, and pain surrounding him. Finally, Buddha was moved to retreat to the forest where he could meditate about the meaning of all the shocking things he had recently discovered. The father desperately wanted Buddha to stay and become his heir. He promised his son anything if his wish were obeyed. Buddha then asked whether his father could promise him eternal life without pain or misfortune. The father could make no such promise, so his son began the momentous next stage of his life as an itinerant searcher of wisdom.

Buddha was now reduced to the life of an ascetic beggar. He determined to remain in this condition until he achieved true enlightenment. After long years of intense asceticism, Buddha came to the conclusion that mere self-abnegating behavior was not enough. At this crucial phase of his life, he decided to situate himself under a tree and not move until he had achieved his goal of self-awakening. Tradition says that at this time he was tempted by malevolent forces trying to lead him astray from his search (a common trope in the origin story of heroes and great leaders). But he persevered until he grasped what became later known as the four fundamental truths. The undeniable and irreducible facts of life were these: the generality of suffering, the ignorance that led to suffering, the knowledge that such suffering could be conquered, and the possibility that following the Buddha's eightfold path could lead to an end to all suffering. Buddha came to the conclusion that this eightfold path must consist of the following: (1) the need for a right outlook on life (the idea that the self and ego are illusions); (2) the intent to focus on the true nature of the problem of suffering; (3) the need for right speech; (4) the need for right conduct; (5) the need for right livelihood; (6) the need for right awareness; (7) the need for right effort; and (8) the need for right concentration.

With such powerful ideas, the Buddha was soon surrounded by fellow searchers for enlightenment. This community of monks came to be called the *sangha*. Women were empowered by the new ideas of the Buddha as well by becoming Buddhist nuns. All was not well in the early Buddhist community, however. Buddha faced leadership challenges at this time. One important challenge came from a certain Devadatta who believed that the Buddhist community required a more stringent ascetism than was being practiced. When Buddha rejected this in favor of his "middle way" and further refused to name Devadatta as his successor, the latter tried to assassinate him. Buddha finally decided that his leadership could be exercised by retiring to the forest to live alone and escape being mired in bureaucratic politics. Buddha's life offers valuable lessons in leadership. His willingness to renounce his princely status and risk all in order to find a grand vision of life still speaks to us today. Buddha, by creating a vision and perspective on life that even

average people could comprehend in human terms, gave his followers a plausible and satisfying method by which to endure the unendurable in this life. One did not have to belong to certain race, class, or creed to find nirvana. One simply had to emulate the everyday homely virtues of the Buddha himself in order to find the key to a harmonious existence.

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GOD: THE PERILS OF ULTIMATE LEADERSHIP AND POWER

This mini-essay is neither intended to prove or falsify the existence of God. No polemical points are intended here. Rather, we look to the concept of God here from the perspective of what the Bible and other leading texts on monotheism have to say about his leadership. I know of no other book on the history of leadership that deals with the subject of God as a leader. This is surprising and troubling. Probably, the majority of mankind (including many of the great leaders discussed throughout the text) have historically looked to their God or Gods as models for their own leadership. It has been said that the character of a nation can be revealed in terms of the leaders it chooses to admire and follow. A nation's understanding of its God or Gods is therefore all the more revealing of its views of leadership. Most nations attribute to their one true God all the characteristics deemed to be good in that society: ultimate justness, ultimate good, ultimate power, ultimate knowledge, and so forth. The God concept becomes a "container" of all the ideas and hopes of a culture. The lesser antigod or gods (such as Satan in the western tradition) are then usually attributed to have all the magnified qualities that a true leader should not possess: deceitfulness, selfishness, cruelty, etc. How does God appear as a leader in the monotheistic tradition? What leadership qualities does he evoke and expect us to emulate?

Traditional and officially sanctioned views of God in the monotheistic traditions assert that God is perfect. Insofar as we fail to live up to his standards, it is our fault. We have misused our free will or have inherited the stain of "original sin." In this analysis, our leaders either fail eventually because out of hubris they seek to become like God themselves or because they stubbornly ignore God's revealed wisdom (or incompetently apply it) when they face their own defining leadership challenges. From the time of King David to the era of modern dictators, we can see how powerful the monotheistic view of the divine has been in our judgment of human leaders and leadership. On the one hand, we use the notion of God's perfect leadership to condemn human leadership that falls far short of the divine model. On the other hand, we are suspicious of leaders who are too "God-aspiring," perfectionist, or moralistic in their outlooks (think here of the example of Woodrow Wilson or Jimmy Carter in the American political tradition). Could any society really stomach having saints for leaders? But what if our notion of God as ultimate leader is itself flawed in that it sets us up for continual disappointment after long periods of joyful hope?

Jack Miles' approach to the subject in his recent book *Biography of God* is very helpful for our purposes here. In Miles' view, God is hardly portrayed as a being with a fixed and timeless character in the Bible. In the early book of the Old Testament he is even portrayed as

personally approachable and engagingly intimate in his dialogues with humanity. In Genesis, God is an active and tangible presence in the world. He creates, destroys (via the flood), and plays favorites (particularly with Abraham and his family). Later on, he liberates his favored people (Exodus), personally gives them laws to live by (the Ten Commandments), and helps them conquer other people in almost genocidal fashion (particularly the Canaanites). In the end, he arrogates to himself the right to play the personal judge of his people when they transgress his commandments. Thus the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews and the destruction of the Holy Temple in 586 BC were to be seen as condign punishments for his chosen people's failure to live up to their covenant with him.

This crisis in the Jewish nation's history (a period when God seemed to have abandoned them in punishment for their sins) is poignantly illustrated in the Book of Job, which itself was probably written in the fifth century BC. Job is the quintessential good man who honors God, lives rightly, and even avoids the posture of self-satisfied arrogance. Yet God allows Satan to cruelly test Job by taking everything away from him. Job asks for a dialogue with God to help him understand why bad things are coldly allowed to happen to good people. When the fateful dialogue takes place, God attempts to overawe Job with his raw power without directly answering Job's questions. With great dignity, Job resolves to say no more. This seems to upset God who goes on to offer the troubling possibility that human perceptions of the separation between good and evil are parochial and that, from a divine perspective, the human understanding of justice is a pitiful illusion. But if the gulf between God and man is so great, how can man be punished for failing to understand God's subtle and ineffable will?

Job utters the plaintive words, "Is it right for you to injure me, cheapening the work of your own hands and abetting the schemes of the wicked" (Job 10:2–7), which seem to sting God. As Miles points out, from this moment on in the Bible, God recedes ever farther into the background. So distant is God now that he seems to abandon his own people, who subsequently escape the Babylonian Captivity only to fall under the sway of the Greeks, Romans, and numerous other oppressors. The old assumption that Israel was to be collectively punished in a discrete and just fashion for its sins no longer seems convincing to many of his people or to the deity himself. Miles argues for logical closure to the story of God by suggesting that he commits suicide in the form of Jesus to atone for his faults and failed promises. In so doing, he is offering mankind a new model of divine cosuffering with his creation (Job had earlier asked the deity, "Have you got human eyes, do you see as mankind sees?"). God has created mankind only to realize that he needs his creation ever more to understand himself. In this sense, mankind becomes a mirror for God in which he can see his own faults and virtues writ large.

As mankind develops, so too does God develop and evolve as a leader. At first, he is particularistic, warlike, and arbitrary; by the end of the Bible, he is portrayed as universally fair, pacific, and neutral. By creating a creature capable of both good and evil, God has come to realize that he bears a responsibility that the nonmonotheistic gods never had to bear: the responsibility for all the good and evils that exist in the universe simultaneously. The monotheistic God's ultimate leadership challenge becomes one of reconciling all conceivable binaries in his own person (good and evil, the just and the unjust, the arbitrary and the constant, etc.). This burden the gods of the polytheistic traditions never had to bear. In this sense, it is possible to say that God and his creation, mankind, share the burden of dual leadership or stewardship. They must promote the good while seeking to mitigate the evil as best they can while knowing that history itself is an evolving process in which the Good of yesterday can become the Evil of today given varying circumstances unforeseen by either

man or God. Perhaps the Cabbalistic understanding that the universe is that portion of God which manifests itself in material form is most useful when considering the topic of God as a model leader. If we believe we are all aspects of the divine ourselves, we are obligated to become leaders in our own right and stop demanding of God that he take responsibility for everything. If God is the father of all, like all good fathers he will want his children to grow up one day and become leaders and creators in their own right.

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MARTIN LUTHER: THE LEADER WHO COULD DO NO OTHER

Martin Luther, engraved by Theodor Knesing, from the picture by Lucas Cranach. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-106322

Martin Luther (1483–1546) served as the catalyst that led to the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century. This Reformation was aimed at purifying Christian doctrine from what Luther saw as unnecessary elements added to it by the medieval Catholic Church. Luther himself was ordained a priest in the Catholic tradition in 1507 and later taught theology at the University of Wittenberg before being excommunicated by the Pope. His effect on history was considerable. Many historians argue that his leadership of the Reformation marks the ending of a whole historical epoch—the European Middle Ages.

Martin Luther's leadership illustrates the law of the unintended consequences in the history of leadership. Luther's goal was to find the truth about God's relationship to mankind that all could agree on. Instead, Christianity after him fragmented into many sects and denominations as a result of his actions. Luther gave voice in his own protests to the powerless many who were angered by corruption in the Catholic Church, but then he went on to back up the established power of princes at the expense of the common people's interests. Luther was comfortable in a stable (albeit reformed) medieval world where faith and reason supported one another. Yet, he was to be ironically instrumental in ushering in a modern age in which reason would ultimately be separated from faith. In trying to solve his own identity crisis, he was to give Europe as a whole an identity crisis it is still wrestling with five hundred years later. Who was this man of humble background who managed to change the course of world history?

Martin Luther was the son of an ambitious and hard-driving man who desired that his son should pursue a career in the law. Luther had other ideas. On July 2, 1505 Luther was caught in a storm. In the midst of a lightning storm, Luther cried out "help me St. Anne, I will become a monk." Luther had long struggled with the notion of an all-powerful and omniscient God. Indeed, Luther was consumed with the question of how lowly human beings could ever hope to find salvation from a just and omnipotent being. After Luther

followed up on his promise to God to become a monk, Luther experienced the crisis of feeling unworthy about becoming a representative of the church. He prayed, fasted, and froze in his unheated chambers as he struggled to please and appease God. His trepidations about his worthiness in joining the church were only magnified by his father's statement regarding Martin's decision, "let us hope this is not a delusion from Satan."

Luther's uncertainties only increased. During the course of his first mass, Luther was a nervous wreck. He engaged in six-hour confession sessions in which, according to a fellow monk, Luther went to extraordinary lengths to berate himself for the slightest misdeed. As a fellow monk put it, Luther thought his "every fart a sin." Luther's first trip to Rome allowed him to find a new target for his angst. Instead of finding the capital of Christendom a holy place, Luther instead found corruption and hypocrisy. It was at this point that he became a leader in spite of himself by finding a new and more productive outlet for his internal conflict. That target became the whole of the Roman Catholic Church. Seeing church officials such as Johann Tetzel sell indulgences to naïve Germans upon his return to Germany only reinforced his anger at the corrupt and self-satisfied Church he had found in Rome (indulgences were, of course, promised remissions of sin sold by the Catholic Church).

Luther, in good medieval fashion, attempted to start a scholastic debate on indulgences and other flaws in the Catholic Church by posting his famous *Ninety-Five Theses* on the church door at Wittenberg. Luther's attack on the Church was especially effective for three major reasons. First, unlike other "heretics" before him, Luther was to be protected by increasingly nationalistic German princes who also had much to gain in the way of power and wealth by contesting Rome's authority. Second, Luther profited from the fortuitous existence of the printing press. Luther's message of *sola fide*—or being saved by faith alone—would be disseminated broadly before the Church could act decisively (the clarity and ultimate simplicity of his message would help bring him a wide following). Third, many average Germans also supported him for having the willingness to confront the corruption of a seemingly Italian-dominated institution. Still, Luther had to use all his talents as a spiritual and intellectual leader to make these temporary advantages work for him instead of becoming mere lost opportunities.

His only weapons in this battle were his words, his sincerity, and his claim to understand God's word. His ability to use the German vernacular allowed him an immense advantage over opponents wedded to Latin as the proper discourse for Christian discussion. Luther's writings are in fact so voluminous that his collected writings take up one hundred volumes. His love of music and use of it in church services allowed him to win over audiences even if they never understood the fine points of theological disputation. As Luther put it, a church should communicate the true message of God by being a *Mundhaus*, or a "mouth-house" in which a new understanding of God could be conveyed effectively in the language of music.

Luther had a formidable intellect, an intellect that produced a German translation of the Bible that still stands to this day as a work of art that forever shaped the German language. Luther also had an ability to connect with average people and their concerns. Records of his *Tischgesprache*, or table talk with his friends and associates, records him as being one who could speak in earthy, clear, and decisive terms. Luther was a man of great courage whose example would lead many other Protestants to emulate him even if it meant martyrdom. For example, Luther met his enemies at various times and held his ground in debate after debate, refusing to kowtow to the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor and the mighty Church authorities of the day. As he famously declared at one such high-pressure colloquy, "Here I stand, I can do no other." Luther's ascent to leadership was amazing, as he moved in a

few short years from a quivering, self-doubting young monk to the accomplished and self-assured theologian who almost single-handedly provided the catalyst for the Reformation. Luther's very physiognomy radiated confidence at this time. One observer noted that he had fierce and sparkling eyes that radiated the energy of one who was possessed of a deep sense of mission.

The qualities that made Luther great were also the same qualities that could lead him on occasion to stumble. His extreme self-confidence in his theological beliefs could turn to stubbornness when it came to secular politics. Believing in the righteousness of his cause led him to assume too easily the bad faith of his opponents. His tract—entitled *The Jews and Their Lies*—illustrates this well. If the Jews failed to understand the righteous truth of his understanding of Christianity, they must be totally in the wrong. If the German peasants expanded Luther's message to include the call for social justice without his blessing, they too deserved to suffer at the hands of the power-hungry German princes in Luther's views. As Luther put it, "I slew all the peasants; all their blood is on my head. But I pass it on to our Lord, who commanded me to speak thus." He even alienated other reform-minded elements of the Christian churches of the day. He was totally unwilling, for example, to cooperate with his fellow reformer Ulrich Zwingli on coming to a common understanding of the meaning of the sacrament in the Lord's Supper. Still, Luther's leadership led the way to modernity. By showing the power of the individual conscience to stay true to itself against all odds, Luther helped set the mold for leadership in the modern world.

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MOSES: LEADING THE PEOPLE OUT OF BONDAGE

Moses (fl. thirteenth century BC) is described in the Bible as the founder of Israel as a distinct religious community. Tradition holds that he was adopted and raised amidst royalty in the ancient Egyptian court. The Bible describes his encounter with Yahweh (God) in what is today Arabia. He interpreted this encounter to mean that he was charged with leading the Hebrew people from Egypt into the promised land of Canaan.

If Moses did not exist, we would have to invent him since he encapsulates so much about our universal desire for leadership. He was one of the first and most effective advocates of monotheism. He saw himself as a servant leader of God himself. He was a kind of priest, prophet, and king of his Jewish nation. He cunningly led his people out of bondage in Egypt. He created the foundations of subsequent Judaism. In short, he embodied mankind's desire to commune with God himself and to enact the divine will.

The Moses we know from the Bible and Jewish tradition was born in Egypt to a tribe called the Habiru (a group who served the Egyptians). The story goes that the Egyptians were wary of the Hebrews and so ordered the killing of all newborn males from this group. Moses was saved only because his parents hid him and then put him in a basket in the Nile hoping he would be found and saved. He was found by the daughter of the Pharaoh and raised in the Egyptian royal household. The name Moses itself probably derives from the Egyptian word mose for "is born." Much like Buddha, Moses grew up relatively pampered and sheltered from the outside world. Like Buddha, he became curious about the outside world as he reached maturity. He soon became aware of his connection to the Hebrews and

their problems in Egypt. After witnessing a Hebrew being mercilessly mistreated, he lashed out in anger and killed the responsible Egyptian.

He was now forced to flee before the authorities found out about his deed. After traveling for some time in the land of Midian, he experienced his first miraculous communion with God. God appeared to Moses in the form of a flaming bush, a symbol of limitless energy that would not consume itself. Moses discovered that he was being asked by the deity (Yahweh, or "he who creates") to lead the people of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob out of Egypt and into the promised land. Never before or after would a leader be presented with such an awesome and sublime task. Moses showed humbleness before God by proclaiming his unworthiness for the task. He would undertake the project, but only after being sure of God's will.

Ramses II was the self-proclaimed god-king of Egypt at this time. After dealing with a multitude of foreign and domestic opponents, Moses most likely appeared to the Pharaoh as a bothersome courtier. But Moses was determined to demand of Pharaoh that he allow the Hebrews to leave Egypt. Even though plagues and pestilence swept the kingdom, the Pharaoh was unyielding in his desire not to let Moses' people go. Moses now became something of a war leader by leading his people out of Egypt, perhaps across a lake of reeds rather than the Red Sea itself. Tradition has it, of course, that Pharoah's military pursuit was an abject failure given the efforts of Moses and his one true God.

Moses was now to be tested as a leader by the outsized expectations of his own people. They had grown tired and hungry in the exodus from Egypt to the promised land to the northeast. Even after Moses had received the Ten Commandments on Mt. Sinai, he still found a rebellious and obstreperous spirit among his people. Moses' leadership task had been to reveal a new God to his people, a God who was incapable of being represented or tamed in human terms as pagan deities routinely were. This God was at once everywhere and nowhere. He was omnipotent but invisible. He was universal in his concerns, but particularistic in his interests for the Hebrew people. It was now a serious crime to worship graven images of Yahweh. Yet, his people kept reverting to idol worship. Moses cajoled and scolded his people toward what he deemed the one true path. Even Yahweh appeared at times to have given up on the Hebrew nation. Yet Moses was the one who would not waiver in his commitment to and leadership of this nation.

Today, some scholars question whether Moses ever existed. Perhaps Pharaoh Akhenaton of Egypt was the first to widely disseminate the idea of monotheism. Even if this is the case, we will always need tales of exceptional leaders such as Moses. He represents for us the archetype of the prophetic leader who legitimized and empowered his followers by connecting them to their profoundest aspirations.

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FRANCIS OF ASSISI: LEADERSHIP BASED ON HUMILITY

St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) is most famous for having established the Franciscan Order of Friars. Such new Orders were not routinely approved by medieval popes. Francis' humility and piety, however, went a long way in legitimizing the Franciscan movement. This movement increasingly appealed to the growing numbers of those in Europe's burgeoning cities who were skeptical of the Catholic Church's hierarchy. His focus on the holiness of the natural world also made a great impact on Christian thought and teaching.

Francis of Assisi became a leader because of his willingness to take his own vow to serve Jesus seriously. Francis illustrates a paradox of leadership in that he became a model for many Christians by strongly resisting any claims to leadership throughout his spiritual career. He took his religion in a new direction by focusing on the dignity of God's creation as a whole rather than just focusing on the uniqueness of mankind. He always put others before himself, even the imperfect and worldly Catholic Church of the thirteenth century to which he gave faithful obeisance to the end of his life. By ignoring the hierarchical order of society and putting the poor and ill first among his concerns (as did Jesus), Francis came to exemplify the type of moral leadership that continues to inspire his Franciscan followers even today.

No one would have believed that the young Francis was destined for sainthood. As the son of the well-to-do clothing merchant Pietro di Bernardone, Francis was expected to follow in his father's footsteps and continue his family's successful business. By all accounts, he was a high-spirited youth who enjoyed all the pleasures of the secular world as a young man. He was a highly popular and rambunctious companion to his many friends, a good athlete, and even a would-be warrior. His military career was short-lived, however. He became ill before he could perform any frontline duties. During this illness, he heard a voice in a dream chiding him for daring to serve anyone but the Lord. He became inspired with the notion of repairing dilapidated churches. So inspired was he that he took valuables from his father's store and sold them to raise money so that the necessary repairs could be done on the churches he was concerned with. His father had already been upset by Francis' religious calling since it threatened the continuity of the family's business. Even Francis' friends looked askance at him, wondering how he would ever marry and fulfill his other social obligations as a respectable member of society. Francis was direct in retorting that his only bride henceforth would be "lady poverty."

A turning point in Francis' life came when his father lost all patience with him and demanded repayment of a debt. In a public setting, Francis dramatically took his own clothes off and handed them to his father to settle accounts. Fancy clothes may make the man, but the poverty symbolized by the shedding of such accoutrements can make the saint. Francis expanded his spiritual activities to include service to lepers and other social outcastes. The Gospel of Matthew further inspired Francis to spread the good news of Christ in his own distinct fashion. As Francis undertook his ministry to the poor, he quickly gained a following. The key to his success in attracting followers was his sincerity, his selflessness, and—above all—his ability to combine joyousness and ascetism in his being. He was no dour Savonarola or prideful exposer of others' sins.

Francis now confronted a unique leadership problem: how to lead a group who by definition did not believe in the holding of property or any other worldly goods. How could he organize imitators of Christ without losing the innocent voluntarism that had brought the group (soon to be known as Franciscans) together in the first place? By 1210 a *regula primitiva* (Primitive Rule) was produced by Francis, which expressed the founding ideals of the group. This was much preferable to an overly legalistic document, which would have risked killing the very spirit that had brought them all together in the first place. Francis' sincerity and faithfulness to the Catholic Church won over Pope Innocent III and guaranteed that the new Franciscan order would not be stamped out as a heretical movement.

In fact, the idealism and leadership that Francis embodied was just what the church needed in order to avoid charges of corruption and overconcern with secular affairs. By reenacting the life of Jesus in the conditions of the European Middle Ages, men and women such as Francis helped to renew the Catholic Church from within and so put off the disputes, which would later give rise to the Protestant Reformation. The Friars (or brothers) of the

order had grown to nearly five thousand by 1220. An updating of the earlier rule by which the Franciscans had lived was needed. Francis showed a great leader's sense of restraint when he voluntarily stepped away from formal administrative work within the growing organization. He had the perspicuity to recognize his own limitations in this regard. He could have rested on his laurels and the prestige he had garnered based on the many legends that had arisen concerning his deeds (such as his reputed ability to use his spiritual powers to tame nature, as when he tamed a wolf that was terrorizing a town).

Instead, Francis pressed himself to serve his own pure and joyful vision of the Christian message. He would attempt the most difficult task of all for medieval Christians: to bring the message of Jesus to the Muslim world. Although unsuccessful, Francis earned the respect of his Muslim interlocutors. Francis came back to Italy, desperately in need of him and his message. Italy and many other parts of Europe were struggling with the temptations brought about by urbanization. The medieval Catholic Church was used to ministering to a more rural society. Leaders like Francis made the Christian message appealing by actually imitating the life of Christ in the very towns that were no longer sure of the purity of their churches. It is no surprise therefore that the Church canonized Francis only two years after his death in recognition of his great service to the Christian enterprise.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: LEADERSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

Martin Luther King (1929–1968) was a leading civil rights leader in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. After serving as a Baptist Church leader in the American South, he gained national attention for leading a protest that led to the desegregation of bus lines in Montgomery, Alabama in 1956. He expanded his campaign for black civil rights throughout the nation and won a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1964. By the end of his life, he was campaigning for the end of the Vietnam War and the end of poverty in America.

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ6-1847

Martin Luther King, Jr. led not with armies or the power of money. His leadership rested on his words, his religious conviction, and his sense of justice. He learned much from previous leaders. He embodied the powerful reforming instincts of his namesake Martin Luther. He also learned much from Thoreau and Gandhi concerning nonviolent protest and civil disobedience. In King, we see the power of the great conversation that goes on between living and dead leaders. Every leader stands on the shoulders of giant leaders of the past. King himself achieved a lasting greatness that other leaders will aspire to for generations to come.

King was the perfect leader for black Americans of his day. America had just fought World War II against a murderously racist Nazi regime. President Truman had to desegregate the

armed forces after World War II partially because of official American embarrassment over the fact that America claimed the racial and democratic moral high ground during the war while blacks, in fact, remained second-class citizens in America simply due to their race. After Hitler was defeated, communism became the new American enemy. America and the communist Soviet Union now engaged in a battle for the hearts and minds of third world peoples. Communist Russia made great strides in this struggle because of its ability to paint America as a racist hypocrite. Many Americans from all walks of life were now ready, beginning in the 1950s, to leave Jim Crow behind and bring blacks into the mainstream of American life.

King was well-poised to serve as the catalyst for black equality in the United States. Raised in a religious household, King mastered traditional Judeo-Christian discourse in the course of his training to become a Baptist minister. He would become self-conscious toward the end of his life that, like Moses before him, he perhaps would not live to see the "promised land" of racial equality in the United States. But, like Moses, King would live long enough to lead the exodus of his people away from permanent social inferiority. King used the Judeo-Christian tradition as a means of finding common ground among all races and peoples. If God was one, so too were his children, who should treat each other as brothers and sisters and not as members of separate species. The universalistic elements in the Christian tradition particularly inspired King and later his many white and black followers. He was able to become the leader he was by becoming a servant to the deeper truth of the Bible as a whole that all men are equal in the eyes of God. The strength of his Southern Leadership Conference derived from this basic premise.

The Civil Rights movement was propelled forward by King's participation and leadership in the 1955 Montgomery Alabama bus boycott. King led from the front in accepting personal risk (his house was bombed during this period) and even arrest. But his nonviolent reenactment of the David versus Goliath story caught the imagination of the nation. By finding words and actions that would appeal to the highest moral sensibilities of both his black and white audiences, he was able to make it possible for the Supreme Court to begin striking down antiblack laws throughout the nation. King was also a brilliant leader because of his ability to understand the impact that television and modern media might have on the American public. He made sure that his black followers would appear as nonviolent martyrs on television while his enemies (epitomized by crude reactionaries such as Bull Connor) would appear as the brutal aggressors.

King realized that he was aiming at many audiences at once: blacks, the white middle-class, the elites, and the world at large. By getting the images he wanted on TV, he threatened America's image of itself as the democratic beacon to the world in a period dominated by the Cold War. Combating racism at home now became a major national security task for America's elites. To look credible abroad, America would have to clean up its act at home and prove that democracy was not just for the white man. In short order, King's efforts in this regard led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. King's "I Have a Dream" speech along with his "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" showed him to be an orator and rhetorician of the first rank. While still a relatively young man, King won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Evidence certainly indicates that King was far from perfect. He apparently engaged in plagiarism at times and had a series of extramarital affairs. This illustrates the Hegelian adage that "no great man is a hero to his valet." Almost all great leaders reveal numerous chinks in their armor if examined closely enough. Still, compared to other civil rights leaders of the time, King continued to believe in nonviolence, a universal Christian message, equality, and the integration of all races. This was no small

accomplishment given the temptation that other black leaders faced in replacing one form of racism with another one, this time aimed against whites. No wonder the white-hating Nation of Islam has always looked at King with a critical eye.

King also must be rated as a powerful leader for his ability to expose the hypocrisy of northern racism. His work in Chicago and other northern cities showed that the North was not much better than the South when it came to matters of race. He also tried to universalize his message to include a concern for other peoples besides his fellow blacks. He saw the Vietnam War as emblematic of the mistreatment of the world's poor by the world's rich nations. He came to believe in a third way between capitalism and communism. He showed an ability to change and modify his views over time in the light of new experience. His greatest accomplishment may well have been to avoid the trap of a narrow and petty black nationalism. Instead, he was always interested in broadening his coalition for social justice. Indeed, had he lived, his idea of "judging people by the content of their character" might well have broadened the concept of affirmative action to include poor whites as well as poor blacks. Such a development would have greatly lessened the well-founded charge that affirmative action has become little more than a new racial spoils system.

Like his own model leader Jesus, King suffered his own martyrdom in 1968 when he was assassinated by James Earl Ray. His leadership effect would live on precisely because of the courageous way he lived and died.

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3

MILITARY LEADERSHIP

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: THE POWER OF SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY

Alexander the Great [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-40088]

Alexander the Great (356–323 BC) is known for being one of the greatest military conquerors in history. He became king of Macedonia in northern Greece in 336 BC after the assassination of his father. He united his divided subjects by leading them into a major war against the Persian empire. His military exploits during this campaign are legendary. What made them lasting was Alexander's willingness to work with the defeated Persians to make sure his cultural Hellenization of Asia long outlasted the formal empire he won in his own brief lifetime.

Alexander the Great was not born great. He—like any leader—had to make himself so using all the internal and external resources available to him. Alexander became great for three reasons. First, he came to believe in an empowering myth about himself, namely, that he was related to the Gods (in particular, Achilles and Zeus himself). Second, he mastered the art of war as no one has done before or since (he died undefeated, after all). Third, he adhered to a grand vision of uniting the *oikomene*, or known civilized world, under enlightened Greek rule. Fourth, he radiated a sense of powerful charisma that allowed him to push his army to the ends of the earth against all odds. These strengths, when combined in mature form,

yield the Alexander the Great of history, a man who led from the front and shared hardship and triumph firsthand with his men.

His birth to Philip II of Macedonia and Olympias was not an unalloyed blessing to the status quo. The father was domineering and unclear about whether he would leave his kingdom to Alexander after his death. During Alexander's youth, a political issue for Greece was whether the fractious polis-loving Greeks would accept the overlordship of the less cultured but more militarily powerful Macedonians. As he worked to understand the nature of politics and formulate his own worldview, Alexander was lucky to have as his tutor Aristotle himself (known as "The Philosopher" in the Christian Middle Ages). Alexander, no doubt, learned from the author of the immortal *Politics* that a man's highest achievement was to engage successfully with the affairs of the polis or state and emerge triumphant as a statesman in his own right. Alexander's education was rounded off by his love for Homer's *Iliad*, which for him became a veritable bible. Alexander was inspired to emulate the heroism of Achilles, the great warrior who slew the Trojan warrior Hector and thus hastened the demise of the great city of Troy. All great leaders must find mentors or heroes to emulate at some time in their lives. Alexander was smart enough to learn from his father, Aristotle, and Homer without losing his own sense of individuality.

Alexander came of age as a man when he led the left wing of Philip's army against the Greeks at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC. The Macedonian army combined the virtues of the disciplined and heavy infantry of the Greeks with the powerful cavalry that was easily raised in pasture-rich Macedonia. The Macedonian phalanxes were also armed with the powerful twelve-foot plus pikes called sarissas. Having proved his mettle in battle by successfully leading the Macedonian cavalry at Chaeronea, Alexander's attention came to focus on domestic affairs in the full sense of the term. His father's remarriage raised new questions about how the succession of power would work after his father's death. When his father was assassinated in 336 BC, many naturally wondered if Alexander himself had any role in the killing. Historians are still divided over his precise role, if any, in the assassination. If Alexander had been involved, surely he would have rationalized the killing a necessary step toward the fulfillment of his divine destiny. Besides, such royal patricides were sadly par for the course in such dynastic-monarchical systems.

Why would Persia be the target of Philip and Alexander after his father's death? Both were well aware of the Persian attacks on Greece in the fifth century BC. The Persians had gone so far as to burn Athens before being repelled by the temporarily united Greeks under the leadership of Athens and Sparta. While Philip probably had revenge and booty as a motivation for attacking the Persians to the East, Alexander had a grander vision: uniting the known *oikumene* under enlightened Greek rule. Unlike his father, Alexander would try to conquer history itself by waging a war to end all wars and stop the cycle of the perpetual rise and fall of empires. While it is too romantic to believe that Alexander wished to unite East and West in egalitarian fashion, it is too cynical to dismiss altogether Alexander's vision of achieving some form of enlightened Greek hegemony over the rest of the known world. Before this fantastic vision could be realized, Alexander had to deal with doubts about him among his own people and the Greeks to the South. Alexander used force to end such doubts when he ruthlessly repressed revolts in the wake of his accession to power. Therefore, when the Egyptian colony of Thebes left the Macedonian-controlled Greek union, he had little compunction about putting some six thousand of its inhabitants to death.

By crossing over the Hellespont into Anatolia (what is today modern Turkey), Alexander inaugurated a ten-year period of full-time warfare against a variety of enemies to the East. The story of Alexander's solution to the conundrum presented by the famous Gordian Knot is emblematic of his leadership style. It was said that whoever untied the knot would win Asia. Alexander, of course, "thought outside the box" by directly slicing through the knot with his sword. While Alexander's entry into Asia (a land of barbarians, so named because these easterners spoke gibberish sounding like "bar-bar" according to the dismissive Greeks) was auspicious enough, the odds did not necessarily favor Alexander for the duration of the campaign. If God favors those with the bigger divisions, Alexander entered Anatolia at a disadvantage given that his army consisted only of some forty thousand infantry and some five thousand cavalrymen. As Victor Davis Hanson and other historians have shown, however, the Persians also had major weaknesses. Whereas Alexander's army consisted of men who were motivated to fight as free men, the Persian army relied heavily on mercenaries and troops that were not as self-motivated as the Greeks. Indeed, at the opening battle of Granicus (in which he first engaged his Persians), Alexander's main challenge was to defeat fellow Greeks who were the mercenary backbone of the Persian empire. Nonetheless, the Persians were not a force to be dismissed. They had nearly devoured Greece before. Up until Alexander, the Persians had kept war largely on Greek soil. Still, Granicus was won because of Alexander's boldness in going right after the enemy's strongpoint. Once this center of gravity fell, so too did the morale of the rest of the Persian army.

Alexander's conduct during the course of a battle was something to behold. Biographers from Arrian to John Keegan, all rightly highlight Alexander's ability to continually lead while in the thick of battle. He had an amazing ability to fuse himself with the goings-on of the battlefield to such an extent that he appeared to lose the capacity for fear. Time and again in battle, his horse would be killed, his personal armor all but destroyed, and his helmet made useless, but Alexander continued to fight. He was, by all accounts, a natural warrior who lost all sense of self on the battlefield and reacted instinctively to war without fear or doubt slowing his response. As he made his way through what is today the Middle East, Afghanistan, and India, he revealed a darker side to his personality. He may very well have killed his boon companion Cleitus after a bout of heavy drinking in 329 BC, he engaged in a titanic struggle of will with his independent-minded troops (they were Greeks after all) as to whether to go home or continue advancing eastward.

The boldness of Alexander is illustrated in an anecdote concerning the General Parmenio's advice to Alexander that the conqueror accept a compromise peace with the Persian emperor after Alexander's initial victories. Parmenio allegedly said of such a peace, "I would take that offer, if I were Alexander." To which Alexander replied, "And so would I if I were Parmenio." Alexander's negative qualities were but the flip side of his excellent ones. As with so many great leaders of history, if one were to strip the great leader of his bad qualities, one would denude him of all that made him excellent at the same time. One wonders too whether Alexander's bouts of drunkenness and arbitrariness were themselves artifacts of the very same leadership style that Alexander had long cultivated in his attempt to emulate the unpredictability of the Greek gods themselves.

Alexander, time and again, was able to recover the loyalty of his followers no matter what the crisis. Arrian recounts a speech of Alexander's that gives us at least a faint idea of his ability to use persuasion as well as force to win over his followers. To spur his men on yet again in his decade-long campaign, Alexander at one point stated: "I could not have

blamed you for being the first to lose heart if I, your commander, had not shared in our exhausting marches and your perilous campaigns; it would have been natural enough if you had done all the work merely for others to reap the reward. But it is not so. You and I, gentlemen, have shared the labor and shared the danger, and the rewards are for us all." Here, I think lies the key to Alexander's leadership: he was willing to undergo any of the risks that he asked his followers to take. When he died in Babylon in 323 BC, he was just thirty-two.

If he had been merely a military conqueror, our remembrance of him might be a bit more jaundiced. However, unlike commanders up to that point, he was not merely conquering for the sake of pride, booty, and pleasure. His marriage to Roxanne (a non-Greek), his ordering of Macedonians to marry Persian women, his founding of great cities in his newly conquered territories all bespeak of a man who was trying to make something long-lasting of his conquests. While Greek hegemony over the oikumene may never have been as enlightened or benign as Alexander and his hagiographers imagined, it was the superior to alternatives available at the time. Alexander was thus not a mere self-aggrandizing butcher. He was a builder who planted the idea that all civilizations could be eventually united under a common cosmopolitan civilization while preserving their local diversity. Isn't that what we are still struggling to achieve today? Indeed, the worst thing that can be said about Alexander as a leader is that in struggling so mightily to master the world, he forgot to master himself and his superhuman desires along the way.

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GENGHIS KHAN: CREATING THE LARGEST LAND EMPIRE OF ALL TIME

Genghis Khan ("universal ruler," ca. 1162–1227) laid the foundations for the greatest land empire in history. He united the previously obscure and disunited Mongols and led them on epochal campaigns of conquest throughout most of Eurasia. His conquests extended from the Black Sea region in the West to China in the far East. Under his leadership, the Mongols gained a sophisticated law code and an alphabetic script for the Mongol language. He also made trade across Eurasia easier than it was before his reign. Such examples show that the stereotype of Genghis Khan as a mere bloodthirsty conqueror is misplaced.

The Islamic historian Ibn Khaldun argued that history in the premodern age is largely a story of nomads versus city-dwelling peoples. The city holds the luxuries and goods that nomadic warriors want. Periodically, a great nomad leader arises and organizes fragmented tribes against the fat target of a nearby rich civilization. If the nomads achieve great success, they may even conquer the civilization. Khaldun goes on to describe how the civilization eventually co-opts the hardy nomads into adopting a soft sedentary lifestyle. The conqueror slowly becomes the conquered. Then the cycle repeats itself as a new spartan nomad group arises to challenge the very civilization that was established by former nomads.

Genghis Khan was the ultimate nomad leader. In his lifetime, he laid the foundation for the largest continuous land empire that has ever existed. At its height, the empire would incorporate Russia, parts of the Middle East, India, Afghanistan, China, and Korea. The life of Genghis Khan illustrates the strength and weakness of nomad leadership when such leadership comes into contact with the more civilized surrounding world. For all of the great Khan's achievements, he never established a new religion or unifying ideal that could outlast him and bind his newly conquered territories together into a lasting unity. While Genghis Khan was a better general than his fellow seminomad Muhammad, the latter had a more lasting vision.

Genghis Khan was originally known as Temujin. The little we know about his life and times comes from a few sources. The book *The Secret History of the Mongols* is one of the few sources we have about Mongol life at this time. It was said that Temujin was born holding a clot of blood in his hand. This was taken as an auspicious sign for his future. From our perspective, the blood in his hand is aptly descriptive of his future career. Temujin enjoyed the privilege of being born of a royal clan. However, his father Yesugei was poisoned by the Tartars (a tribe feuding with his father's clan) when the boy was only nine years of age. Temujin's clan abandoned him and his mother since they were no longer well connected and presented a threat to the ambitions of other leading clan members. Temujin endured hard times as he and his mother were reduced to scrounging for basic sustenance.

So low had Temujin's fortunes sunk that he was captured by a neighboring clan and forced to wear a wooden collar. He seemed destined at this point to become a slave. However, Temujin showed tenacity and courage even at one of the lowest points of his life when he carefully waited for an opportunity to attack his guard. After fleeing, he was almost caught again, but tradition holds that the man who could have caught him was so impressed with the charismatic eyes and figure of Temujin that he instead ended up helping him. Temujin went on to marry the girl that his father had chosen for him. However, a neighboring tribe absconded with Temujin's bride in retaliation for his father's own stealing of a wife from their tribe. Now Temujin had to rely on his royal lineage and connections to seek an alliance with the formidable tribal leader Toghril. Temujin was now able to partake in his first large-scale military campaign against the tribe that had taken his wife. The campaign was a success and Temujin was able to gain some fame as a successful warrior who began to attract his own independent following.

Temujin attracted followers by virtue of his ability to fulfill the archetypal ideals of Mongol leadership. He was cunning without being treacherous. He was brave but thoughtful in battle. He won much booty for his followers but was rather abstemious in terms of his own personal material wants. He took advice from his supporters but never let them dictate his final actions. He was ruthless against his enemies, but never arbitrary or sadistic in his actions. As he rose to power in the Mongol hierarchy, he would on occasion exterminate the male aristocrats of a rival clan that had done him wrong. Then, he would incorporate the remaining men, women, and children to his own clan in order to establish a sense of Mongol nationhood on all of the fractious clans and tribes. In the Mongol culture of the time, it was normal too for male warriors to side with whomever seemed to be the stronger leader. Temujin, therefore, attracted followers not only through fear, but by his excellent abilities as a military leader.

Finally, in 1206 he was acknowledged as the Mongol "universal ruler." With a newly unified Mongol people behind him, he could now afford to turn his attention toward

expansion. Genghis was, above all, a military leader of genius. He showed a keen mind in terms of military organization. An important unit of military organization for Temujin was the tumen, a division of some ten thousand men (the division would not be used in the West until Napoleon's time). His army consisted mostly of mobile horsemen who could ride some fifty miles a day (each rider having three to six mounts at his disposal). So excellent were the Mongol horsemen that it was said they could ride before they could walk. They were also excellent archers whose compound bows could fire arrows up to one thousand feet. Temujin was also an expert at perfecting the art of envelopment and feigned retreat. By charging at an enemy and then retreating, he allowed an enemy to become overconfident and move into a trap. The "fleeing" Mongol horsemen would turn around in a planned fashion and envelop the now vulnerable enemy army. A final key to Mongol military success was the ability of its army to endure hardships that no other army in the world would do. Mongol horsemen were able to live off the blood of their horses if need be by carefully tapping their veins for sustenance. Also, the tough Mongol ponies could rely on the simple grasses of the steppe without having to rely on fodder brought by cumbersome supply trains.

As Genghis Khan expanded his domain, he learned how to improvise. While he could easily defeat the enemy in the open, siege warfare was something new for him as the Mongols had no cities to speak of at home. He quickly learned from his more civilized foes the art of siege warfare. With this newly acquired knowledge, the adaptable Khan was ready to embark on his major goal: an attack on China to the South. Using his now well practiced tactics, the great Khan was able to take Beijing in 1215. He was somewhat naïve as to what to do with his conquests, however. Originally, he planned to turn the rich agricultural fields of China into one giant pasturage for his horses. A Chinese adviser had to suggest to him that greater long-term wealth could be had if the Khan allowed the Chinese peasantry to keep producing wealth in the countryside. While China submitted, Khwarezm Shah (leader of an empire based in Persia and central Asia) made the mistake of provoking the Khan by killing people who were under Mongol protection. So ruthless was Ghengis Khan in retaliation that he would use the Shah's representatives and force them to serve as advance troops against their own people. By the time he died, Ghengis Khan had amassed a formidable empire stretching from China to western Russia. Along the way, he learned to become a model of adaptive leadership as he not only conquered more civilized peoples but also eagerly learned from them (in particular the arts of literacy, acculturation, and governance). He was also wise in his ability to delegate power. He made sure to carefully choose his most prepared son Ogodai to succeed him even though he was not the first born.

Why did the Mongol conquests not last longer? Here we come up to the limits of what leadership could do within the context of the Mongol culture. The Mongols were never demographically great in numbers (numbering a few million at the time of Ghengis Khan). They also had a hard time controlling the more civilized and numerous people they conquered. Finally, for all of Genghis Khan's brilliance, his Achilles' heal lay in his inability to provide a coherent vision or ideal that could outlast his military prowess and thereby insure the institutionalization of his military success.

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NAPOLEON: THE ART OF MAKING THE IMPOSSIBLE POSSIBLE

Napoleon [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-P87-119x]

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) ruled France as emperor from 1804–1814. He went on to conquer almost all of Europe. He was finally thwarted by his ill-starred invasion of Russia and by the British navy. His legacy continues to this day in France, thanks to his reform of French law, education, and church-state relations during his reign.

Napoleon Bonaparte was a child of the French Revolution who grew up to transform the Revolution for his own ends. He stands as a transformational leader of the modern age. He is one of the first modern leaders in the sense that he rose to the top largely based on merit in the more egalitarian political atmosphere produced by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. His career illustrates the paradox of the democratic age: highly talented and ambitious individuals occasionally arise from "below" and go on to threaten the very democratic system that produces them. The leaders who develop in such a situation become all the more great in terms of their impact on society precisely because they come to believe that they have the Rousseauian General Will of the people on their side. In such situations, compromise with one's enemies becomes perceived as a betrayal of the ideals of the people or of the revolution itself. For example, World War I became the horror that it was in no small part due to the fact that the leaders who started the war soon found they could not end it as the war became a people's war.

Napoleon might be said to have been more Italian than French. His Italian-inflected French was a noticeable trait even at the end of his career. He was born far from the centers of European power in Corsica. His father was a minor nobleman and lawyer. He went to the Brienne military academy in France on a scholarship. Even the decrepit old regime had to allow limited meritocracy when it came to technical military subfields such as the artillery. One had to know science and math in order to make the artillery an effective arm, after all. Napoleon was a fast learner. He was able to finish his studies at the age of sixteen. Like many young men in France, Napoleon saw the French Revolution (1789–1799) as an opportunity for the exercise of idealism and career advancement.

Napoleon alertly took advantage of the fact the revolutionary government of France increasingly distrusted the old officer corps whose loyalty was in some doubt (after all, many aristocratic officers had been commissioned under the old monarchy and had a stake in the old system). His prorevolutionary views and modest social background made him a reliable choice to be given the opportunity to retake the city of Toulon in 1793. The city had been taken over by royalists and British soldiers. His artillery skills helped the French regain Toulon and he was duly rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general when he was only twenty-four. At this point in the French Revolution, Napoleon had a chance to develop his considerable political as well as diplomatic skills. As the Revolution started to eat its own with the takeover of the government by the radical Robespierre, Napoleon had to be clever to avoid being politically unreliable. He aptly bided his time until the moderate Directory

assumed power in 1795. Then he dispersed left-wing attacks on the new government with the famous "whiff of grapeshot" that helped to ensure a more moderate denouement for the French Revolution.

After his marriage, he quickly took advantage of the goodwill of the new regime by accepting the offer to lead an army into Italy. Many commentators on great leaders like to say that you can often tell a lot about the character of a man by whom he decides to marry. Napoleon's marriage to the intelligent, mature, and well-connected Josephine de Beuharnais certainly speaks well of Napoleon. He certainly did not need or want a vapid nonentity for a wife (as, for example, Hitler was to have in Eva Braun). Napoleon's progress in Italy was astounding. His Italian and Austrian enemies were confounded by Napoleon's speed, professionalism, and *élan*. Like Alexander, he derived charismatic capital from his willingness to be at the forefront of the fight even at great personal risk. Napoleon was very canny about this element of leadership. For him, the "moral was to the physical as three is to one." Further: "In war, three quarters turns on personal character and relations; the balance of manpower and materials counts only for the remaining quarter." Napoleon was able to turn a grumbling and nearly starving army in Italy into a disciplined and highly successful military machine. He even took the political risk of forming the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy without the permission of the Directory.

In 1798, Napoleon seized the opportunity to burnish his growing legend by leading a military expedition into Egypt. Although Admiral Nelson at the battle of Aboukir Bay insured that Napoleon's military victories on land would not have lasting effect, Napoleon accomplished enough to allow him to declare victory before coming home. By bringing scientists along with him, Napoleon showed himself to be more than a mere military adventurer. Napoleon's expedition was to have a longer payoff than any mere military conquest would. His indirect contributions to Egyptology are immense. Because of his expedition, the Rosetta Stone would, in a few years, help to reveal the secrets of hieroglyphic writings to Champollion.

By 1799, discontent with the Directory had grown. Two other coup plotters planned to use Napoleon as a tool to put an end to the Directory system. Instead, the other two coup plotters would become tools of Napoleon. As Abee Sieyes put it, "Gentleman, you have a got a master! This man knows everything, wants everything, and can do everything." By becoming First Consul as a result of the 18 Brumaire plot or coup of 18 Brumaire (November 9, 1799), Napoleon was able to fulfill what he began to see as his great destiny. In fact, Napoleon stood out when compared to other leaders of the Revolution at this time in that he was able to think on the big scale and plan out his long-term goals in much more details than any of his contemporaries could. The danger now for Napoleon was that he was becoming too successful too soon. Becoming Consul for life in 1802 and then a self-crowned emperor in 1804 may have been good for Napoleon in the short run, but it hurt his long-term interests. By elevating himself above the Revolution and its democratic ethos, Napoleon risked quashing the very same liberating energies that had propelled him so far up the political ladder in the first place. Even enthusiastic foreign admirers of Napoleon such as Beethoven now had second thoughts about him. Napoleon's future conquest of Europe could not stick unless foreign peoples viewed him as the champion of antifeudal and revolutionary values. Once he allowed himself to be seen as just another French imperialist (as in his Spanish adventure), the odds against him would become hopelessly overwhelming.

But, as Napoleon said, "leaders are dealers in hope." As long as military victories over his enemies abroad and stunning domestic reforms at home were doable, the one-man show of Napoleonic France could continue. But should this man on horseback falter, who else was left to keep the machine in motion? Napoleon arrogated all power to himself, but at

great cost. The republic had become an empire. And empires can't rely too often on the people for succor lest the people begin wondering why they have an emperor in the first place. Strategically, Napoleon could never hope for a lasting peace on his terms if France's traditional archrival England would not agree. And England would not agree to any terms that allowed for French hegemony on the continent. The naval battle of Trafalgar as early as 1804 made the rest of Napoleon's land campaigns in Europe until 1815 somewhat beside the point. He would win great battles against Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, but to no real avail.

His tactical and operational acumen on the field of battle were superb. Even Wellington conceded that Napoleon as a leader was worth forty thousand men on the battlefield. Napoleon wisely took advantage of the earlier revolutions in military affairs that had taken place under the old regime and the French Revolution. The use of divisions, massed artillery attacks, meritocracy in promotions, and nationalism to motivate soldiers had all been done before in some fashion. Napoleon's military genius was to synthesize the best military thinking of the day to create the superb *Grand Armee*. A typical Napoleonic battle would start with skirmishers disorganizing the opponent. Napoleon would then ideally concentrate his artillery on the opponent's perceived weak point. Then, infantry attacks would be focused on this same weak point. Finally, cavalry would sweep the field to deliver the *coup de grace* and pursue the vanquished army.

These tactics brought him many immortal battlefield successes. Austerlitz, Jena, Auerstedt, Friedland, Wagram, Borodino, etc. will be studied for good reason at military academies for years to come. Unfortunately for Napoleon, battlefield success could never quite be converted into a lasting and institutionalized success. When Russia would not comply with his designs for Europe or the Continental System (a program to kill British trade relations with the continent), Napoleon relied on brute military strength yet again to get his way at the expense of pursuing more subtle options. By practicing nepotism in placing his family in governing positions throughout Europe, Napoleon lost the liberationist rationale for his conquests. His marriage to a Habsburg princess in 1810 for the sole purpose of producing an heir to the throne practically ended his claims to embody the antimonarchical spirit of the French Revolution.

While Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Russia in 1812 sealed his fate, his legacy will live on for the following reasons. First, Napoleon showed how apt leadership could harness the chaotic but powerful forces unleashed by modernity for great purposes. Second, Napoleon showed in his leadership how one man can—through sheer talent and charisma—become a "force multiplier" who can turn the impossible into the possible. Third, Napoleon demonstrated his ability to institutionalize at least some of the positive gains of the French Revolution into the fabric of French society. His creation of the Legion of Honor, a central bank, the Napoleonic Code (guaranteeing equality before the law), a concordat with the Catholic Church in France, and a modern education system gave France the social and legal foundation it still possesses to this day. The irony of Napoleon's career is that he dreamed of accomplishing great things in foreign affairs, but his greatest legacy would instead lie in the profound effect he had on French society. Most significantly, his leadership made sure that Europe could never, in the long run, ignore the effects and legacy of the French Revolution. In this sense, he helped propel Europe and the world into the modern age we still live in today.

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4

INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP

MACHIAVELLI: THE IDEALIST REALIST

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) made his mark on history as a political theorist. His most famous work was The Prince (1513). This work scandalized Europe by daring to examine politics from a decidedly nonidealistic and non-Christian perspective. He sought to study political life as it really works, not how it pretends to work. His life-long ambition, however, was to rid Italy of foreign invaders. His service as a diplomat and public official of Florence from 1499–1508 failed to realize this ambition, however.

Niccolo Machiavelli made his impact on the history of great leadership not by being a great leader in his own right but by writing one of the most profound reflections on the topic of all time. However, he was not a man totally without experience in public life. He came of age during the zenith of the Italian Renaissance as a citizen of the great city-state of Florence. Machiavelli from an early age took a great interest in politics while receiving a good humanist education. The example of his father's career in the law also provided Machiavelli with a model of active involvement in public life. Machiavelli became a diplomat for Florence and so was able, in the course of his work, to study powerful men (ranging from the French king to the Pope) as he worked to preserve the interests of his native city-state. He and other representatives of Florence had their work cut out for them given the geopolitics of fifteenth-century Italy. Florence was surrounded by Venice, Milan, and Naples in Italy and had to worry about Spanish and French intervention in Italian politics from abroad.

By most accounts, Machiavelli acquitted himself well in his diplomatic career. He was not overwhelmingly successful, however, as seen in his idealistic attempt to raise a cohort of citizen troops to defend Florence, which ended in failure. By 1512, Machiavelli's political career came to an abrupt end as Florence came under the sway once again of the Medici

family. The Medici suspected Machiavelli of plotting against them and he had to suffer torture and imprisonment until the Pope intervened on his behalf. Once released from prison, Machiavelli spent much of the rest of his life engaged in a study of leadership based on his experience as a Florentine diplomat and his study of the Roman classics. Machiavelli wrote a number of famous works that have to be read together to discern his full world view (*The Discourses*, the *Art of War*, and *The Prince*). *The Prince* is, of course, his most famous work. For far too long only two views prevailed concerning this work. Either it was deemed little more than a "handbook for gangsters" (as Bertrand Russell put it) or as a simple how-to book that can be relied upon in talismanic fashion to grant the reader power and success (Napoleon, for example, once quipped that *The Prince* was "the only book worth reading"). Instead, what Machiavelli is trying to do in his book is to marry two styles of leadership that are traditionally cut off from one another: the moral-idealistic and the *Realpolitik*. Machiavelli suggests that to be a great leader, one must first be a keen observer of human nature. Machiavelli warns the would-be prince that "how we live is so different from how we ought to live that he who studies what ought to be done rather that what is done will learn the way to his downfall rather than to his preservation." Idealism in politics can take men only so far before the law of self-interest asserts itself. The result of this is that if a prince cannot both be loved and feared at the same time, it is better to be feared than loved if one has to make a choice. Deterrence has its purposes in stopping aggressor states from starting war and also in stopping threats to the leader's power at home. While this seems harsh, Machiavelli invites the reader to consider the alternatives: civil war, invasion, or general political chaos that will cause more harm in the long run to the state than carefully calibrated uses of force in the short-term.

The great leader then is someone who has the strength to see human nature for what it is, take responsibility for his actions, and to make the hard decisions that must sometimes be made in order to achieve a greater good. The great leader must be able—when the situation demands it—to emotionally disengage from the "buzzing, blooming chaos" of the reality before him and act in coolly rational and utilitarian fashion lest his foreign and domestic opponents take advantage of his confusion or impetuousness. In fact, Machiavelli writes elsewhere that a leader will be judged great only if his acts are for the greater good of the commonwealth and not just good for his own personal benefit. Machiavelli was not writing his work to advise mere power-wielding gangsters out for their own benefit. Instead, *The Prince* is dedicated to the great individual who could liberate Italy from the foreign barbarians then dominating it by uniting it into one entity. Ironically, Machiavelli was actually something of an idealist for believing that the fragmented state of Renaissance Italy could be remade in the mold of the old Roman empire.

A big lesson of *The Prince* for aspiring leaders is to not let the perfect be the enemy of the good. The great leader must persevere in his vision even though the friction of life will always make the vision's attainment seem an almost impossible task. All the more important then for the leader is to cultivate a sense of *virtu* (excellence) in order to combat the constant whims of *fortuna* (or fortune). In this reading of Machiavelli, the leader must be something of a stoic idealist: stoic because he knows what harsh odds he faces in getting and maintaining power, and an idealist in the sense of believing that some greater good can be accomplished with the power that was so painstakingly gained.

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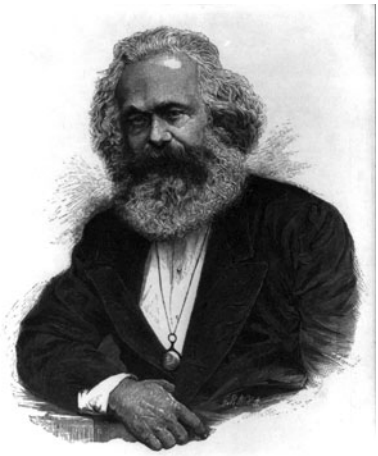
MARX: THE MATERIALIST MOSES



Karl Marx. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-16530]

Karl Marx (1818–1883) is significant for having inspired the world communist movements of the twentieth century. Born in Germany, he came under the influence of the philosopher Hegel during his formative years. Unlike Hegel, however, Marx argued that economics rather than spirit or ideas drove history. Indeed, for Marx, history was defined as the conflict between classes. Marx prophesied in the Communist Manifesto and other works that capitalism was doomed to be destroyed by the working classes. He directly inspired the communist revolutions in Russia and China in the twentieth century.

Karl Marx's significance as a leader is that he was the first to develop a completely coherent materialistic philosophy of history that would itself change the course of history. This philosophy was so appealing to some that for the next century after his death, millions of people proved willing to die in its name. It was considered so important that many leaders were quite willing to kill millions of fellow citizens in its name. Even today, the idea of Marxism lives on in mutated form—as a form of social analysis, as a lasting warning to capitalism to reform itself, and as an inspiration for other grand social theories that can illuminate and change the human condition.

Marx was the son of a German lawyer whose high level of intellectual culture and admiration of Enlightenment values indelibly shaped his son's development. Given his later atheism, it is ironic that Marx was baptized a Christian when he was six. In his teens, Marx attended school in Trier where he was exposed to the liberal thinking of some of his more influential teachers. By 1835, he began studies at the University of Bonn where he studied the humanities. He lived the life of a typical student of the time by engaging in duels, drinking heavily, and engaging in various modes of disorderly conduct. By 1836, Marx decided to focus on law and philosophy and started studying at the University of Berlin. Marx was lucky to have come of age in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Although liberal ideals were being repressed throughout Europe in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, the legacy of *egalité*, *fraternité*, and *liberté* could never be wholly erased for long.

The key influence on Marx's intellectual life at this time was Hegel. Hegel argued that history was the story of continual dialectical change in which the contradictory aspects of any age would be gradually resolved. All of this would lead mankind eventually to achieve understanding of the Absolute, or full spiritual and moral self-realization. Hegel was no materialist, but an idealist in his philosophy and politics. While in Berlin, Marx was also influenced by the bracing criticism of traditional Christianity offered by Bruno Bauer. Bauer believed that Christianity was a fantasy based on human psychological desires. Another influential teacher, Feuerbach, openly adopted a materialist philosophy of history and believed that gods were the creation of men rather than the other way around. Marx's young Hegelian group moved closer to atheism and increasingly sought to reconcile Hegel's theory of historical change with this position. Marx finally came of age intellectually by completing his dissertation at the University at Jena. In this work on ancient atomistic philosophy, Marx

showed his sympathy for characters such as the mythical Prometheus who rebelled against the gods in order to give mankind the tool of knowledge. The aspiring intellectual leader had learned and absorbed much from his mentors. Yet, he digested this information well, making sure as he did to add his own innovative ideas to the mix.

Marx began his writing career by contributing to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which appealed to the more liberal elements of Prussian society. In 1843 Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, a woman who would support him well in all the tribulations that Marx was to experience later in life. They soon moved to Paris where Marx found himself attracted to the revolutionary and communist traditions of the working-class movement. The next turning point in Marx's life came when he met Friedrich Engels. Engels had seen firsthand the drudgery of working-class life at his father's English clothing factory in Manchester. Discontent with the monarchy in France coupled with poor harvest led to revolutionary outbreaks first in France and then throughout the rest of Europe in 1848. The year before, Marx and Engels had collaborated on the *Communist Manifesto*. The *Manifesto* and Marx's later magnum opus *Das Kapital* both asserted that history was the story of class struggle in which slave–owner, feudal lords, and now middle-class capitalists unjustly dominated their respective societies by undemocratically controlling the means of production. In the age of capital, Marx believed that "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

In particular, Marx arrived at the view that labor rather than market forces determined the value of a product. Capital was but "stored labor" put into an object that was later sold by a capitalist for a profit that only he realized. Workers were barely given subsistence wages. The flaw in capitalism was that everything was reduced to the profit motive. Soon, overproduction and competition would lead to only a few capitalists dominating the marketplace. Alienated workers (many of them unemployed due to the increasing mechanization of production) would soon be joined by former capitalists who had been defeated in the marketplace. Religion and other ideas used to pacify the populace would be exposed as schemes to keep the working classes in their place. These now impoverished ex-capitalists would help provide leadership for the revolutionary working class as it sought to reach the highest and final stage of history—the truly classless society. In the short-term, a dictatorship of the proletariat would rule the society. Soon enough, however, the state would "wither away" as all men practiced the basic philosophy, "from each according to his ability to each according to his need."

Ironically, Marx was to follow a fairly cautious policy during the revolutionary upheavals of 1848. Marx believed that every society would have to experience capitalism first before being mature enough to reach the communist utopia. After reactionary elements had triumphed all across Europe by 1849, Marx moved to London where he would spend the rest of his life. Marx engaged in internecine politics with radical elements in London until his death, but to little avail. He was adept at working in small groups but was not given to grand public oratory or leadership. Besides the frustrations of engaging in working-class politics, Marx was torn between his fundamental desire to finish his great work on capitalism, *Das Kapital*, and his desire to protect his family from the intense want and misery it suffered in the 1850s and throughout part of the 1860s. He watched many of his own children die due in part to the poverty his family suffered at this time. The remaining children had learned to fend off creditors at the door even if their father was at home. Engels increased his gifts to the Marx family in the mid-1860s and thereby allowed Marx to focus on his writing and development of the International Working Men's Association in 1864 (which grew to almost a million members by 1869).

Only Marx's vigorous defense of the Paris commune in 1870–1871 made him known as a leader of communism throughout Europe. The radically egalitarian commune had taken over Paris during this time after the defeat of French armies by the Prussians. In his last years, however, Marx struggled with the right- and left-wing factions of his own party. Some—like Mikhail Bakunin—took a more anarchist approach to communism while others—like Ferdinand Lasalle—sought cooperation with capitalism in order to bring the workers gradual benefits. These struggles were to prove prophetic for the kinds of difficulties communism would face in the twentieth century. Marx had sought to develop a science of historical change in *Das Kapital* (he even sought to dedicate the work to Darwin), but like the original Bible, its unifying message would fragment in the hands of its most devoted interpreters.

Marx had become the materialist Moses for the new secular age. Like the original Moses, however, he was to be prevented from entering the promised land. In developing a coherent and powerful materialist philosophy of history, Marx had moved mankind in the direction of taking social (and eventually biological) evolution into its own hands. While Marx bears responsibility for many of the totalitarian horrors committed in the name of his "scientific philosophy," he also set an example for future Promethean leaders who would try and liberate mankind from the sundry "mind-forged manacles" of our own creation that still, in the view of many sensitive observers, keep us all subservient to a variety of repressive myths.

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SOCRATES: THE PHILOSOPHER AS LEADER

Socrates (ca. 470–399 BC) was an ancient Greek philosopher whose thinking has indelibly shaped western thought and civilization. He lived and taught in Athens when this democratic city-state was at the height of its power. His philosophical task was to rationally answer the question: How should one live one's life? His dialectical method of eliciting the truth through a series of questions and answers offended some of his interlocutors as his method seemed to put into doubt tradition and authority. His free-thinking ways would lead him to being convicted of impiety and corrupting the youth of Athens. He died after being ordered to drink hemlock in 399 BC.

Bertrand Russell once said that all of philosophy was but a footnote to the work of Plato. It might be more accurate to say that Plato's own philosophy is itself a footnote to the work and life of Socrates, the mentor of Plato. Socrates' leadership as a philosopher was to inspire countless generations of thinkers to try and answer the fundamental question that he was the first to raise. Philosophy before Plato had been somewhat abstract and disconnected from human life as it is actually lived. In asking what the good life was and how we could attain it, Socrates made critical thinking the patrimony of potentially every person who was willing to follow his leadership. His simple call to critically examine oneself and the world would both empower and challenge his followers throughout the ages. To be fully human after the example set by the life of Socrates would require any serious person to engage in the examined life.

We know little about Socrates' personal life. He left no writings. The immediate impact he made was upon his students. It was said that he grew increasingly poor as he got older given the increasing time he devoted to his mission to liberate others from ignorance and non-thought. He refused to be a slave to material wealth or possessions so as to liberate his

mind and time for higher things. Socrates led not only by living his own philosophy, but by taking personal responsibility as a citizen for the well-being of the Athenian community he was loyal to throughout his whole life. He served as a soldier in Athens' various wars. Unlike other intellectual leaders, Socrates was effective in gathering followers because of his natural sociality, which was itself a key component of his philosophy. He was a good friend and not just a teacher to his followers. He enjoyed partaking in the communal affairs of the Athenian polis. He led by connecting real life with real philosophy. One of his marks as an intellectual leader, in fact, lay in his refusal to see a gap between the life of the mind and everyday life.

Socrates reveled in mixing with people from all walks of life in the *agora* (a major public forum in Athenian life), the gymnasia, and various festivals. Called the wisest man by the Oracle of Apollo, Socrates made it his goal to disprove the assertion by going in search of wiser men than he. Socrates would later conclude that if he was wiser than anyone else, such a fact had to do with his ability to admit his own ignorance. Socrates' disarming first principle in the acquisition of knowledge would only help to gain him more followers who were enamored with his wit, incisiveness, and ability to engage them in dialogues of mutual self-discovery. The young, of course, particularly enjoyed seeing Socrates examine critically the received wisdom of the day. Some older citizens (or those with demanding jobs) tended to see him as a trouble-maker, one who dared to question their narrow pursuit of self-interest and self-serving rationalizations for lives not fully lived.

Although Socrates would be criticized for being impious, he most likely believed in a creative divine force (above and beyond the gods of Greek mythology) that is part and parcel of every person's soul. Another example of his communal and conservative bent is his criticism and disdain for the Sophist school of thought in Athens, which believed in relativism and the manipulation of ideas for mere personal gain. His doctrine of the Forms guaranteed that there was an objective order to the universe. For example, that which we call "good" in this world partook—at least to some extent—of the eternal form of the "Good" that existed with the divine essence in the heavens. The health of the soul depended on the soul's partaking of this eternal good. Insofar as people mistake the good life as being one dominated by the pursuit of power, material goods, or pleasure for its own sake, Socrates believed such people would find themselves condemned to a life of disappointment for failing to recognize life's higher goods as embodied in the eternal and perfect forms.

Socrates was a revolutionary leader for teaching that all humans were capable through proper education of mastering their own lives and directing such lives to good purposes. Before Socrates, philosophers had reserved the good life to those with power and wealth. Socrates, however, argued that we can all know the Good and by knowing the Good we would be unable to do wrong willingly. With this belief, Socrates brought philosophy down to the life of the community. With proper education, an ideal community could be built that would be just, prosperous, and happy. Leaders before Socrates were judged good or bad based on their ability to wage war and dominate over rivals at home and abroad. Socrates held leaders to higher standards: they must pursue the Good for themselves and their own followers in order to be worthy of the name leader. His student Plato was to devise a utopia called the *Republic* based upon this very premise.

The ultimate test of Socrates' leadership came when he was put on trial in 399 BC on charges of impiety and corrupting the youth of Athens. The real reason Socrates was being put on trial had to do with the sordid politics of the day. Democratic Athens had just lost to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War. Once the war was over, the democrats came back to power in Athens after a period of oligarchy. Since Socrates was a known critic of democracy (which he believed to be too focused on pleasing the base wants of the people at the expense

of higher order concerns) and had befriended some prominent antidemocrats, he was now targeted as a convenient scapegoat for all that had gone wrong in Athens. Socrates could easily have escaped punishment if he wanted to. He could have run away from Athens altogether. Or, he could have proposed a lesser penalty for himself than the death penalty.

Socrates believed instead that he needed to stay in Athens because the court was the legal embodiment of the community that he loved and had tried to elevate through his teachings. To run away now from the community he had dedicated his life to serving would be a rebuke to his own proclaimed philosophy. Even if his immediate circle of followers would approve of his escape from Athens, Socrates knew that future generations would question his life and leadership if he were to run away at this point in his life. Martyrdom might even further the "leadership effect" of his life and teachings through subsequent generations. In this sense, his willingness to sacrifice himself on behalf of his principles was to be his ultimate act of leadership. Socrates bravely proposed to the court that he should "be punished" by being given free meals for his service to the state and its people. The jurors were duly offended and issued a sentence of death against him. He died after drinking the famous hemlock. The dignified way in which he conducted himself before the death penalty was imposed upon him is immortalized by Plato's dialogue *Phaedo*. We immortalize him still today when we aspire to the ideal of the Good that Socrates made us all aware of.

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HENRY DAVID THOREAU: THE POWER OF THE POWERLESS

Henry David Thoreau [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ61-361]

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) was a nineteenth-century American writer whose thoughts have influenced world leaders as diverse as Martin Luther King and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. His love of nature and indifference to property and materialism led him to practice his philosophy of self-reliance in a cabin he built and lived in at Walden Pond from 1845–1847. He refused to pay his taxes because of his anger over what he thought to be America's unjust war with Mexico. His writings on civil disobedience showed how the powerless in any historical epoch actually have more power than they suppose.

Many would question why Henry David Thoreau is included in this book. At first glance, Thoreau does not seem to resemble the clichéd archetype of the "great leader." He was, of course, no "great man on horseback." Indeed, he was the exact opposite. It is this very opposition (and other oppositions Thoreau expressed throughout his life) that make him, in fact, one of the greatest leaders of all time. He was all the more an exemplar of leadership for his continual striving not to fit into any preconceived mold.

Thoreau's imprint on his surroundings was certainly slight in his lifetime. In Boston and its neighboring townships, he was best known as an eccentric. A member of the New England Brahmin class by birth and breeding (he was a graduate of Harvard), he avoided every opportunity in this elite milieu to lead a conventionally respectable life. He worked briefly in his father's pencil business. He taught school for a while. But mostly he traveled. Not travel in the conventional sense, but a travel into the deep interior of the human self through the aid of nature. As Thoreau later put it, "I have traveled much in Concord." He believed that true travel does not have to take place in exotic climes and faraway environments. True travel is about self-discovery that can take place anywhere. For Thoreau, such voyages of self-discovery were simultaneously discovering about how best to exercise leadership over one's own soul. His travels with his brother through the Concord and Merrimack rivers in 1839 were a turning point in his life as he found in nature sources of inspiration he could not find elsewhere.

In his book *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, Thoreau tested the transcendentalist philosophy of his day by seeking to use close observation of nature to inspire self-reflection and self-knowledge. Convinced that "the mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation," Thoreau saw in the study of nature a chance to reflect critically upon the conventional social norms of the day. Thoreau observed that most people seemed to spend most of their lives focused on unimportant things (chief among these being the accumulation of useless goods and the following of trite social rules without much critical thought). Given Thoreau's belief that "a man is rich in proportion to the number of things he can afford to let alone," he saw his trip on the Concord and Merrimack rivers as a chance to find a rebirth in natural surroundings in which he could clean his soul of the dross of conventional civilization.

Most telling in this process is how he construed the meaning of July 4, 1845. For most Americans, this day was a holiday designed to celebrate independence from the British. For Thoreau, this date symbolized a chance to declare his personal independence from the stultifying features of the surrounding society. He moved into a simple hut near Walden Pond where he was to undertake the task of a new way of living and existing. As Thoreau would say of this experience:

> I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practice resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life . . . to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms.

Like a Zen monk seeking to wake himself up after a long and dormant life, Thoreau was awakened as a human being in the fullest sense by having to confront himself in the solitary environment of Walden Pond. After this experience, he became—whether he wanted to or not—a prophet for the value of the closely observed inner life and its capability of being discovered by any person brave enough to follow his lead.

Thoreau's discovery of a new way of life was put to the test in 1846. He was arrested for failure to pay a local poll tax. Thoreau wished not to be associated in any way with support of governmental authorities waging what he considered to be an unjustified war with Mexico. He was stimulated by such feelings to write his justly famous essay on civil disobedience in 1849. He came to the conclusion that the truly independent soul would inevitably come

into conflict with any form of government, which, by its very nature, tends to desire the enslavement of its citizens in one form of conformism or another. For Thoreau, to be fully human meant to stand thwart the behemoth of an unjust government. As he put it, "Any fool can make a rule, and every fool will mind it." While Thoreau was arguing against a government that supported slavery, the example of leadership he provided for posterity by standing up to arbitrary authority will resonate through the ages. Gandhi found inspiration in the example of Thoreau in the course of his own struggle with British imperialism. Martin Luther King took Thoreau's ideas on nonviolent civil disobedience and applied them effectively in his struggle against continued American racism. Thoreau's quietist leadership gives hope even to those of us today who deeply believe in the paradoxical idea of the "power of the powerless."

A whole life philosophy could be derived from but one of Thoreau's many famous aphorisms: "Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away." Thoreau will continue to have more practical effect on the lives of millions than all the Napoleons, Alexanders, and Caesars of history. How many of us can—or even want to—emulate the deeds of such bloody-minded great leaders? Thoreau's model of a new kind of leadership continues to challenge our continued penchant for conventionality, unthinking obedience, and enslavement to trivial wants. The pursuit of simplicity and integrity, as Thoreau showed, was a highly complex task demanding a new type of leadership.

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FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE: LEADERSHIP AND THE ART OF OVERCOMING

Including Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) among the ranks of the world's greatest leaders may at first seem rather odd. Nietzsche was, after all, an obscure philosopher in his own day who had no immediate influence on his contemporary society. His career as a professor of philology at the University of Basel lasted only ten years (1869–1879). Nietzsche's writing represents the whole of his legacy. It is the effect Nietzsche has had on posterity that makes him such a catalyzing, if untraditional, leader in the broad sense of the term. His critique of Christianity and attempt to offer a new ethic to replace it was a model for Nietzsche of what every self-respecting person should do: make his or her life into an original work of art by embarking on worthy personal projects and embracing passions that were original to the person who made them.

Friedrich Nietzsche grew up in a deeply Lutheran home. His father was a pastor who died when he was only four years old. Although Nietzsche would come to reject his family's intense Lutheranism, he was a beneficiary of its emphasis on learning and scholarship. His teachers thought so highly of his intellectual abilities that he won a professorship in classical philology in Basel, Switzerland at a young age. He took time off from his professorship to serve in the Franco-Prussian War as a medical attendant with the Prussian army. Some historians say that he contracted at this time illnesses such as

dysentery and diphtheria, which were to permanently weaken his health (perhaps syphilis too).

During this time, the opera composer and musician Richard Wagner served as Nietzsche's primary mentor. Nietzsche's first book, *The Birth of Tragedy*, had postulated that the genius of Greek tragedy lay in its ability to synthesize the Apollonian (or rational elements of life) and the Dionysian (or passion-driven elements of human nature) into a higher art form. Nietzsche was hopeful that Wagner could reinvent the vigor of early Greek tragedy in his operatic works. In a pattern that would mark his life, Nietzsche soon rejected his mentor for being too vulgar, especially in regard to Wagner's antisemitism, nationalism, and materialism. Early on in his life, Nietzsche came to an understanding that while mentors and models are important, the truly independent-minded leader would inevitably have to make his own path in order to realize his own potential and destiny.

By 1879, Nietzsche resigned his university position because of his deteriorating health. Before losing his sanity in a debilitating collapse in 1889, Nietzsche wandered throughout Europe in great isolation. But it was during these years that he was most productive in creating immortal works with profound implications for what it meant to be a leader. Nietzsche's ideas of leadership are based on his intense questioning of the received wisdom regarding Christianity, morality, and truth. Nietzsche believed that only out of this questioning would emerge a new vision of the leader as "over-comer" of obstacles. Much of Nietzsche's philosophy in fact revolves around the legacy of the Judeo-Christian tradition. According to Nietzsche, this tradition ingeniously reconfigured the whole basis of western civilization's moral life by privileging a "slave morality" of the weak (early Christians) over the "master" morality of the strong (classical pagans). For Nietzsche, this was ultimately a bad thing insofar as the strong were brought low by a new morality, which said that the meek, the poor, and the ascetic would be rewarded by God while the bold, the strong, and the life-affirming would be punished for the "sin" of pride.

By the late nineteenth century, it became apparent to Nietzsche and other sensitive thinkers that, functionally speaking, "God was dead" for many in the West. During this time, science, materialism, and nationalism were all challenging the traditional Judeo-Christian world view. Nietzsche thought killing one God and replacing it with equally problematic ones was no solution. The true leader would now have to be an *Übermensch*, or "superman," who would take responsibility for his own life and become a kind of deity in his own right; a self-fashioner overcoming obstacles that prevent full self-realization. This new type would inspire not by seeking to control others, but by becoming an exemplar to others of what human beings were capable of if they overcame the mind-forged manacles of self and society. Indeed, Nietzsche's notion of the leader has much more to do with aesthetic or intellectual accomplishment than it does with conventional power-seeking for its own sake. Only when the leader makes his life into a work of art would he truly inspire his followers to do the same. Nietzsche's notion of leadership then is revolutionary for positing that *a true leader does not encourage followers to remain followers*. Rather, the true leader encourages followers to become leaders in their own right. Sadly, Nietzsche was to be seriously misinterpreted by future generations as an antisemite, nihilist, and fascist because of how his works were mishandled by his own sister and the Nazis. Goethe was a model of leadership for Nietzsche, rather than the Hitlers of the world.

While the leader's true task was to lead by example and show his followers that a fully realized life could not consist of perpetual obeisance to the pieties of the age, Nietzsche explained that the leader himself must first be animated by a "will power" to reach such a

leadership position in the first place. The leader who would make his life a work of art that would inspire others had to be involved in tremendous acts of self-overcoming; acts would refine the rough and imperfect edges of the would-be leader in the manner of a fine sculptor who makes great art out of marble through a constant process of refinement. Nietzsche believed that the true test of whether a leader led his life well or not would consist in the following thought experiment: would such a leader volunteer to lead every minute of his life all over again if he could? If he would, this would be a sign that he lived his life well by struggling to realize his full potential. If he would not, this would tend to show that the leader was not capable of leading his own life well, let alone serving as a model to others. Nietzsche's response to all leaders who would simply copy him or other leaders was, in effect, "do not follow me; instead become who you are."

Nietzsche even came to doubt that leadership was a rational process. This is why he came to despise overly rationalistic philosophers such as Socrates and Plato. They had artificially shackled the life-animating passions (which had made Greek tragic drama so awe-inspiring) to sterile, rational thought systems. The meaning of life for the leader and his followers was instead to be found in the passions. In fact, for Nietzsche reason was but the rationalization of the passions. Nietzsche's model leader might be said to be the prophet he creates in his own work *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. In contrast to prophet-leaders who extol the virtues of suffering in this world in order to enjoy the chance of true life in the next world, Nietzsche's Zarathustra preaches the virtues and potentialities of finite life lived in this world. The leader and his followers should approach life with a sense of serious play. They should not be overawed by history and tradition, but rather be inspired by it to do even greater things.

Above all, the leader must avoid becoming a member of the class Nietzsche, termed "the last men." These were the creatures Nietzsche began to think would dominate humanity in the future. They were people we would term today as passive consumers and dependent followers. These are people who have lost real faith in the old religions but do not have the courage to take responsibility for making meaning of their own lives. Having no ambition or risk-taking sense, they become enamored with creature comforts designed to cocoon them from the real world and its various dangers and opportunities. Nietzsche in the end asked for no one to follow him. His best followers would be those who became creators in their own right.

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CONFUCIUS: LEADERSHIP DOES NOT GROW OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN

Confucius (551–479 BC) was a leader and sage who used an idealized vision of the past in order to lead his followers into a better future. Confucius came of age in perilous times. China was going through the warring states period. The old, idealized unity associated with Chinese dynasties of the past seemed forever gone as civil war ravaged China. Confucius set himself the task to rebuild Chinese society, culture, and politics on the basis of education and virtue. He realized that the longest-lasting victories of true leaders are delivered through persuasion and example rather than through force and fraud. He created through his leadership a system of ethics that did not depend

on belief in a divine being. He showed that his ethical system was not impossibly utopian since he and many of his followers lived by it. His philosophy continues to structure Asian society and thought to this day.

Statue of Confucius in temple erected on the site of Confuscius's old home in Chufou. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-112173

Confucius (or K'ung-fu-tzu, Mater K'ung) cannily portrayed himself a mere preserver of venerable tradition that had been forgotten in the troubled times he and other Chinese lived in. His leading genius as a leader lay in his ability to modestly portray himself as a conservative while really being something of a radical in terms of his social vision. His other key to success as a leader was based on his profound understanding of human nature. He understood the strong human need for continuity, structure, tradition, and a sense of connectedness. He believed that in earlier times China had been great and peaceful due to the prevalence of rulers who led by virtue and example. Much like the philosopher Sun Tzu (who favored a form of warfare in which victory would be ideally won without bloodshed), Confucius believed in a politics that was more about moral persuasion than force.

This basic view about the possibility of morality and reason in politics was radical in that it refused to countenance the idea that mere accidents of wealth and power would determine how a society should be ruled. How did Confucius enact his own philosophy in his own life? He clearly won the admiration of his followers who agreed that his personal life was led in an impeccable fashion. He was born in the state of Lu in unpromising circumstances. His father died when he was young and he had to endure relative poverty while growing up. His early life was made bearable only because of his love of learning. Eventually, Confucius landed employment in government service and so was able to gain exposure to the real problems facing the society. Confucius was by now well prepared to achieve greater things, having mastered the traditional arts of ancient China (archery, calligraphy, arithmetic, chariot-riding, music, ritual, poetry, and history).

Tradition maintains that he began one of the most famous teaching careers in history when he was in his thirties. He became a leader for all future educators by showing through his own example that teaching was a worthy full-time vocation and that all people deserved the opportunity for self-improvement. Given the realities of his time, Confucius—like Socrates in ancient Greece—had as his students aristocratic young men who could afford to spend much of their early lives on education. He believed that education was not mere cleverness or intellectual showmanship. For him, education was about character development and preparing the mind and soul for participation in public life. The truly educated man for Confucius did not choose to hoard wisdom and live like a hermit but rather used painfully acquired knowledge for the betterment of his society. Confucius lived up to his own philosophy by going back into government service after he reached middle age. The ruler of Lu was smart enough to have Confucius in his entourage, but not smart enough to take to heart Confucius' teachings. The courtiers around the ruler were jealous of Confucius'

stubborn rectitude while the ruler himself was more interested in the sensuous and material realm than in matters of intellect or leaderly virtue.

Confucius therefore took his leave from the court of Lu and sought to attach himself to another court that could make better use of his talents. He never did find such a court. Instead, he found himself surrounded by increasing numbers of ardent students and he became a teacher once again. As Socrates is known to us through Plato, so too do we know Confucius through his students. The *Analects* contain sayings of Confucius as collected by these students and passed down through generations. We learn through the *Analects* that what kept Confucius going in the face of dispiriting times was his profound faith that Heaven—or the logical and ultimately benevolent ordering of the universe—justified his effort to revivify *wen* (culture), *jen* (humanism), and *li* (morality and propriety) in the troubled China of his days. False leaders who relied on force rather than learning or virtue had made a mess of China. Confucius believed that he and his students had to find a different and longer-lasting solution to China's problems. Confucius indeed showed that simply believing in God was no guarantee of morality or right living. One had to start living by focusing on the concrete. As he put it: "bring comfort to the old . . . have trust in friends . . . and cherish the young."

By the end of his life, Confucius had reached a radical conclusion clothed in conservative terms: heretofore, human societies had been governed by "top-down" principles. This led to corrupt and despotic leadership. Confucius concluded instead that the good society is built from the bottom-up: if each person is educated or "rectified" into knowledge of the good and the social, society as a whole can flourish and prevent tyranny. To be sure, Confucius realized that China and other civilized societies would have rulers and kings for a long time to come. However, even they were subjected to the "mandate of heaven": bad rule would inevitably upset the natural order and be justifiably overcome to make way for a newer and more beneficent ruler. Rulers are strongest anyway, Confucius decided, when they "lead by example" by living virtuous lives themselves. Another key for the successful society, according to Confucius, was reliance on "the little platoons of society" to lay the moral groundwork for the larger civilization. Confucius therefore advocated strict adherence to the five fundamental social relations. Husbands should hold ultimate status over wives; parents over children; rulers over subjects; older male children over younger siblings; and older friends over younger compatriots. While such a social formula may seem overly conservative today, in Confucius' historical context, this was a step forward in overall social relations. The hierarchies Confucius countenanced were always, after all, tempered by the belief that such hierarchies were only justified to begin with on the assumption that the senior partner in the relationship should use his power justly and unselfishly. Confucius ultimately led by example. He embodied his own credo: "Do not do unto others what you would not want others to do unto you." If communism falls in China someday, it will be due in no small part to the legacy left by Confucius (who was himself reviled by Mao Zedong as a rival for the allegiance of the Chinese people twenty-five hundred years after his death!). Leadership based on immoral ideas can never triumph in the long-run over the kind of morally centered leadership so ably articulated by Confucius.

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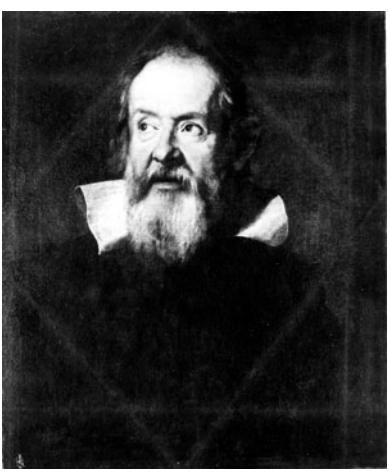
5

SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP

GALILEO: THE EXPERIMENTAL LIFE



Galileo Galilei. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-103175]

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) was an Italian astronomer and mathematician. His support of the Copernican theory upset the Catholic Church since the theory held that the earth was not necessarily the center of the universe. He used new instruments such as the telescope to find out the truth about how nature worked through empirical observation. In this manner he provided an example of intellectual leadership that helped to pave the way for the scientific revolution.

It is often said that scientists are not natural leaders in the traditional sense because they are too focused on highly specialized problems rather than people. Some leadership studies have even claimed that having too high an IQ might be a leadership disadvantage. Galileo was a leader who showed how a scientist could be a leader and an agent of change in society by relying on the power of ideas instead of the power of the sword. The laws of nature that scientists like Galileo and Newton discovered took on lives of their own and are today obeyed by the scientifically literate worldwide, whether such followers are Chinese, Aborigine, or European.

Scientists at their best lead by being fiercely loyal to ideas that eventually command the loyalty of all sentient members of society because they are true. The scientific leader can only lead based on his claim to know and demonstrate the truth of a particular matter. By serving

the truths of the natural world, scientists provide the world with ideas that can liberate all people from false leaders who rely on myth, chicanery, and obscurantism. Scientific leadership is therefore different from traditional military-political leadership, and in the long run is perhaps even more important. Galileo is not only deemed a great scientific leader for his ability to discover new truths, but for his courage in searching for and publicizing the truth even with the threat of the Inquisition looming over him. His life thus embodies a model for truth-seeking leaders even today who are prepared to risk temporary unpopularity in order to see their leading ideas command the "loyalty" of the mass of mankind in the long run.

The historian of science Thomas Kuhn argues that science undergoes relatively infrequent paradigm shifts in which reigning scientific theories can no longer explain or account for new and contradictory data. One of his chief examples of such change is the argument in early modern Europe about whether the sun or the earth is the center of things in our part of the galaxy. For nearly all of the Middle Ages, scientists believed that the Bible was the ultimate guide to science. Classical authors such as Ptolemy and Aristotle had ideas about the universe that were christianized in the Middle Ages to produce a world view acceptable to the Catholic Church. In particular, this view held that God centered the universe around mankind (the geocentric idea that the earth was at the center of things). Beyond the earth were "fallen" crystalline spheres that grew more and more perfect the farther away they were from earth. The data and cosmology of Ptolemy were used to buttress this world view. Any anomalies to the system were simply written off or rationalized away. Aristotle—considered to be the philosopher by medieval scholars—provided the overarching approach any natural philosopher thereafter should take toward this subject. Everything in nature must have a teleology or purpose, according to Aristotle. Later Christian thinkers were to explain that the ultimate purposes behind natural phenomena were God's purposes. On the one hand, this gave medieval scholars an incentive to study nature since by understanding God's creation, one could get a glimpse into the mind of the great designer. Another benefit of the Judeo-Christian world view was that nature was now seen as knowable and not arbitrary (since irrationality would contradict the idea of a reasonable and omniscient God). God's creation could not be arbitrary, disordered, and chaotic because God himself did not have these qualities.

Galileo's penchant for working with numbers may have been derived from his father, who was a musician very much interested in music theory. Galileo was lucky to have been born in the Tuscan city of Pisa given the rich history, culture, and Renaissance atmosphere of the location. He attended the University of Pisa to study medicine, but he disappointed his father by studying his true love, mathematics. Galileo earned a living by becoming a private tutor in cities such as Sienna and Florence. His studies on motion gained him enough local fame to be befriended by noble patrons who could support him as he sought a university position. Finally, by 1589 he found himself teaching mathematics at the University of Pisa. Around this time, Galileo captured the imagination of many contemporaries with his stunning but simple experiments that proved the great Aristotle wrong about some basic laws of motion. For example, whereas Aristotle believed that heavier objects would fall faster than lighter ones, Galileo showed that—in the absence of friction—all objects would fall at the same rate of speed. This contradiction of Aristotle led Galileo to lose his job at the university.

Perhaps because of his lack of money and his devotion to his studies, Galileo never married (although he had three children with a Venetian woman). Galileo showed that leadership in pursuing the truth wherever it may lead can exact a high personal toll. Not only was he unable to enjoy a typical family life, but he also had to deal with the constant fear of the Inquisition charging him with heresy for his Bible-challenging experiments. A turning

point in this regard is Galileo's development of an advanced telescope. Upon hearing that some Dutch inventers had been working on such a device, Galileo was inspired to create an excellent model of his own making. Indeed, Galileo became an expert at the specialized art of lens grinding in order to make one of the best telescopes of the day. The Venetian Senate was so impressed with his work that it gave him a teaching post at the University of Padua with life tenure.

Soon he developed an instrument that could magnify observations up to twenty times their original size. Now he was able to disprove that only the "sinful earth" was imperfect in shape or form. He easily proved that the moon had a rough and uneven surface too, suggesting that constant forces operating throughout the universe affected all celestial spheres with equal force. In addition, he expanded the universe of observable objects in the seeable universe: Galileo discovered the moons revolving around Jupiter along with countless stars not viewable by the naked eye. He also argued that Venus' phases showed that the planet revolved around the sun. By implication, the earth did too. His book *Siderius Nuncius* (*The Sidereal Messenger*) encapsulated these discoveries and made him famous. Now he was able to move back to his native Tuscany under the patronage of Cosimo II de Medici.

By 1613, Galileo was espousing the Copernican doctrine. Enemies of Galileo let Rome know of this threat to the Church's official geocentric doctrine on the issue. Why was the Church so nervous about Copernican theory and Galileo's backing of it? Galileo had the bad luck to be in the public eye during the Counter-Reformation or "Catholic Reformation" (the attempt to combat Lutheran and other Protestant attacks against the once all-powerful Catholic Church). For Galileo to be seen undermining core Church positions was too much for it to bear in such a troubled time. Cardinal Bellarmine directly warned Galileo not to adhere to Copernican doctrine in any public communication whatsoever.

He himself did not want to hurt the church (he believed Copernican theory could be reconciled with Christianity). Yet he did not want to be a bad Christian in the sense of pretending to avoid a central truth of God's universe (is it not the case in Christian doctrine that "The Truth will make you free?"). In his work *Il saggiatore* (*The Assayer*, 1623), Galileo became more than a natural philosopher. He became a leader by setting forth the first principles of inquiry, which all modern scientists still follow to this day.

For Galileo, the leading truths are written in the grand book of the universe, which itself stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language and read the letters in which it is written. The master code is the language of mathematics. When Galileo's former patron Cardinal Barberini became Pope Urban VIII, Galileo conferred with him about a new book, which would further discuss Copernican theory. The Pope acquiesced, but only upon the promise that the book would treat Copernicanism as a hypothesis. The resulting book was entitled *The Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*. Galileo constructed a fictional conversation in the book among three principals: Salviati (who stood for Galileo), Sagredo (the average man open to new ideas), and Simplicio (who represented defenders of Aristotle). The dialogue concerns the merits of the Copernican system.

Unfortunately for Galileo, the Pope was personally offended at seeing his views on the matter represented by the fool Simplicio. At this point the Inquisition stepped in. Contrary to stereotype, the Inquisition was never as bloody-minded and irrational as common wisdom would have it. Nor was Galileo the village atheist single-handedly trying to overturn the fifteen-hundred-year-old church. In effect, a compromise was reached. Galileo agreed to admit that he exaggerated his case in the *Dialogue*. In return, he avoided martyrdom by

being confined to a loosely enforced life imprisonment at home. Although he probably never muttered the famous lines *eppur si muove* ("yet it still moves," i.e., the earth around the sun) to his inquisitors, Galileo's legacy as a leader, whose power came from his ideas, still lives on. Some have argued that Galileo was unnecessarily contentious with the Church hierarchy and that the whole controversy was unnecessary. I believe, however, that Galileo's contentiousness was a necessary part of his being a leader as well as a scientist. Someone had to take a leadership position on the right of the intellectual to formulate hypotheses in public without fear of retribution. This is itself an example of the kind of experimental attitude that Galileo embodied as a scientific leader.

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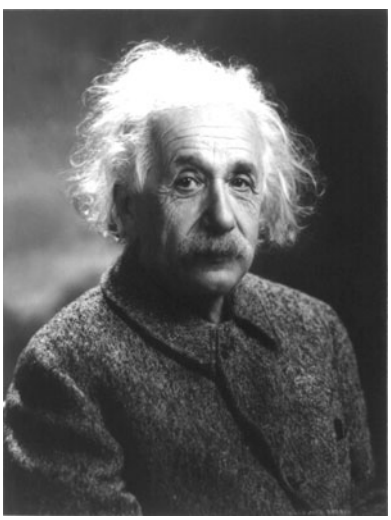
EINSTEIN: THE SCIENTIST AS HUMANIST LEADER



Albert Einstein. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-60242].

Albert Einstein (1879–1955) was a physicist whose theories changed the way we look at the universe and our fundamental assumptions about it. He was a leader among scientists for how he chose to use his fame in support of the great humanitarian causes of his time. He could have chosen the easier path of staying within his esoteric discipline for the duration of his life. Instead, he chose to use the accumulated cultural capital he had accrued through his work as a physicist for the betterment of mankind. His scientific discoveries alone revolutionized how we think about the universe and our place in it. In so doing, he also helped to advance the cause of science by way of his intellectual achievements and his ability to convey the excitement and appeal of science to a broad audience.

Albert Einstein grew up in a Germany that was booming due to its victory in the Franco-Prussian war and its rapid industrial development. His father was involved with one of the leading high-tech industries of the day: electrical engineering. While stimulated by a challenging home environment, the young Einstein did not flourish in the rigid and exacting German educational system of the day. Einstein even experienced a hiatus in his education before finally completing his higher education at the Federal Polytechnic Academy in Zurich. He stayed on in Switzerland to work at a patent office in Bern.

Einstein made great use of his time while nominally at work in the patent office. The year 1905 proved to be an *annis mirabilis* for his career as a scientist. One of the early papers he published in that year earned him his Ph.D. The second paper explained the phenomenon known to physicists as Brownian motion. A third paper hypothesized that light consists of photons possessing both wavelike and particle characteristics. The fourth paper published in the German journal *Annalen der Physik* was the most stunning of all. Here Einstein advanced his famous theory of relativity. Essentially, the paper reconceptualized our notions of time,

space, and gravitation. In so doing, Einstein almost single-handedly changed the classic model of nature and the universe that had existed since Issac Newton's days. Einstein showed that if we assume the speed of light is constant, time and motion will seem relative to the observer depending on the frame of reference in which that observer is situated. Einstein rounded out his contributions to physics in 1905 with his assertion that energy and mass were ultimately interchangeable as per the formula $E = mc^2$.

Einstein became a university teacher in the years preceding the outbreak of the World War I. Once war broke out late in the summer of 1914, Einstein found himself isolated in Berlin as his wife and children remained in Switzerland for the duration of the war. Einstein risked a lot at this time by becoming publicly known as a pacifist in a highly militarized Europe. Once the war ended, Einstein's optimism about humanity's future was reinforced with his belief that militarism had finally been discredited. He also found himself to be a world celebrity when in 1919 his theory of relativity was verified by scientists from the Royal Society of London.

Einstein now became synonymous in the public mind with scientific genius. He could have easily chosen to fritter away his newfound fame on frivolous and self-indulgent pursuits. Einstein instead used the free publicity now available to him to promote peaceful resolution of international disputes. He also played a role in defending the civil rights of Jews and other minorities. He became a leading spokesman for the Zionist cause, a movement which would help lead to the development of Israel after World War II. He also took advantage of the widespread public attention he enjoyed to travel around the world in order to explain his scientific theories to laymen and experts alike. He received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1921. The second and less successful half of Einstein's career was about to begin. He was now consumed with the holy grail of physics: uniting the fundamental laws of the universe together in order to offer a coherent explanation of the universe and its behavior. Quantum physics and its indeterminacy principle (which states that the behavior of individual subatomic particles is unpredictable and affected by the very act of observation) were to bedevil Einstein for the rest of his life. Philosophically, he could not stomach the randomness that quantum physics implied. For Einstein, it just could not be true that "God played dice with the universe."

He showed an amazing ability after the 1920s to continue his work as both a leading scientist and as a leader for his various humanitarian causes. He worked diligently in organizing campaigns on behalf of world disarmament. He engaged in a public exchange with Sigmund Freud on the question of why war continued in modern civilization. He publicly defended the idea that truth was an objective, rather than a subjective value. Einstein fought against the militarism that was again overtaking Europe in the 1930s with the onset of the depression and the rise of Hitler. Einstein made a public and prescient statement of his feelings about National Socialism when he gave up his German citizenship and left the country for good in 1933, shortly after Hitler came to power.

Einstein found refuge at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. He continued to use his leadership on scientific issues to gain a hearing for his views on politics at the highest levels of the American government. Once he became alerted to the fact that Germany had the potential to develop atomic weapons (partly as a result of his equations), he wrote to President Roosevelt about the need for the democratic world to protect itself against such a possibility. This act of leadership on Einstein's part would lead to the Manhattan Project and its guarantee that fascism in both Germany and Japan would be crushed in the end. Einstein spent much time after World War II advocating for some form of world government that could prevent a third, and probably final, world war from breaking out. Einstein stated that "What I seek to accomplish is simply to serve with my feeble capacity

truth and justice at the risk of pleasing no one." This statement eloquently explains why he became such a leading scientist and public leader.

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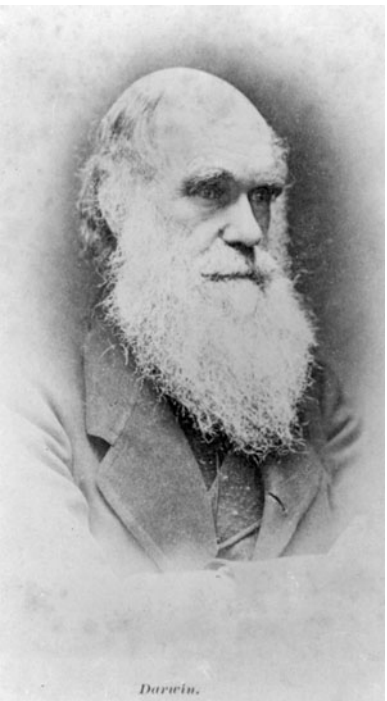
DARWIN: VICTORIAN INTELLECTUAL LEADER



Charles Darwin [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ61-104].

Charles Darwin (1809–1881) was an English naturalist and scientific leader whose ideas concerning evolution have been indispensable in forming the modern age. He is also a rare example of a leader who allowed his religious ideas to be challenged by the evidence of his own scientific investigations (he was originally planning on a career in the Church of England). By formulating the theories of natural selection and evolution, Darwin revolutionized our thinking about humankind's place in nature. He also helped to create a self-confident modern scientific establishment that felt itself increasingly free to follow research programs that went against prevalent religious convictions. When Darwin was born, science was still subordinate to natural philosophy, or the idea that theology ultimately trumped scientific explanations for natural phenomena. By the time Darwin died, science had become professionally organized and separated from most elements of religious control. Most profoundly of all, Darwin's leadership legacy for us today lies in his giving us the tools to begin taking responsibility for our own destiny. We can now foresee the day when we can take human evolution into our own hands and guide it for our own purposes. Like Prometheus risking all to give mankind the power to use fire, Darwin gave modern society the tools and opportunity to begin leaving the "childhood" stage of the human species once and for all.

Charles Darwin was born in comfortable circumstances as the son of a doctor and a member of the wealthy Wedgwood clan. Darwin did not like the rote classical education he was exposed to in school. His early and somewhat eccentric love for scientific subjects only made him an object of humor among his classmates and even teachers (his love of chemistry led others to derisively call him "Gas"). Tensions soon developed between Darwin and his father in regard to Charles' future career. Finally, after much *Sturm und Drang*, the young Darwin in 1825 went to Edinburgh University to study medicine. Although Darwin came to detest the idea of becoming a physician, his love of nature was stimulated as he was exposed to the best scientific ideas of the day at Edinburgh. For example, while Darwin was a student there, he first heard about Lamarck's theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics.

Many of the freethinking students who came to Edinburgh did so because they did not fit in with the established Oxbridge University culture in England where being Anglican was still a *sine qua non* for all students.

Once Darwin realized he could not become a practicing doctor, his father saw that his undisciplined son's last hope for a respectable career as a country gentleman might best be guaranteed by having his son finish his education at Cambridge University. After graduation, Charles might well have gone on to lead the life of an amateur naturalist subsidized by his father in return for the son's promise to lead a respectable life that would not unduly embarrass the extended family. While at Cambridge, however, Charles studied botany and met a professor in the area who suggested that Darwin might want to travel to South America to study nature there firsthand. Darwin happily sailed with HMS Beagle to South America in 1831. Many biographers plausibly state that his five-year travel on the expedition provided him with his true education and matured him as a man. Not only did he visit the now famous Galapagos Islands, but he also roamed far and wide in places such as Brazil and the Andes.

Throughout his travels, he saw nature "red in tooth and claw." He witnessed the struggles among the races and tribes of South America for power and resources. He witnessed exotic Indian tribes and their customs. He came across evidence of species that no longer existed. He witnessed fascinating geologic formations that needed explanation. He was fascinated by the finches of the Galapagos, which seemed to diverge in slight but significant degrees from one another as he made his way from one island to the next. He observed mechanisms in nature that did not seem to fit the neat picture of intelligent design inherited from the Christian tradition. Darwin brought back to England after his five-year journey over five thousand specimens and thousands of pages of notes and diary entries. Without having planned on it, Darwin emerged from his experiences as a famous geologist upon the publication in 1839 of his *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries Visited by HMS Beagle*. He joined the Geological Society and was befriended by one of the most famous geologists of the day, Charles Lyell.

A major problem for Darwin in the 1840s was the overall political climate in the British Isles. Industrialization, the Irish potato famine, demands for political reform, and the revolutions that broke out all throughout Europe in 1848 made Darwin nervous about hypothesizing in too public a fashion about his first intimations of evolutionary explanations for the phenomena he had observed during his travels. By this time, Darwin had come to the private conclusion that it was unlikely that man was the highlight of creation or that nature acted in a teleological sense. He even mused to himself that the concept of God was itself a byproduct of the brain's biological structure. His tension over these new ideas led him to experience serious gastrointestinal problems that were to plague him throughout the rest of his life. He was well aware of the fate that befell that earlier leader of scientific tumult, Galileo. Darwin was also torn by the desire to remain a respectable member of society, at the center of which was the Anglican religion. His own wife was quite uncomfortable with his new ideas.

Still, Darwin struggled to solve the puzzle of the diversity of natural forms in nature. He asked his gentleman friends about horse breeding techniques. He continued his own firsthand investigations of nature as well. If Darwin ever had a Eureka moment as a scientific leader, it probably came in 1838 when he read Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population*. The tragedy for all living beings was this, according to Malthus: food production could only be counted on to increase arithmetically while populations expanded geometrically. The result would be occasional and precipitous declines in a population with only the fittest

members surviving. Here was the genesis of the law of natural selection, which Darwin could now use to explain variation and change in biology. By the 1840s, Darwin was leading an increasingly quiet life. He was wealthy enough now to become the world's leading expert on barnacles. His theory of evolution was largely complete, but kept tucked in the pages of his own private notebooks.

After the death of his beloved daughter in 1851, Darwin lost his remaining ties to Christianity. The cultural atmosphere of England was opening up to new ideas in the prosperous and more settled 1850s. Society was becoming more meritocratic. New freethinking scientists like Thomas Henry Huxley were surviving and even thriving in the public intellectual life of the period. Huxley even met Darwin to urge him on to publish a book that would explain his evolutionary theories. In 1858, Darwin was further stimulated to get his ideas out to the public when he heard from another naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace. Wallace's studies in the Malay Archipelago were leading him to the same conclusions that Darwin had already reached. Darwin, in leaderly fashion, duly acknowledged the work of his colleague when relevant parts of their respective discoveries were revealed to the Linnaean Society later in 1858. Darwin's précis of his overall theory finally appeared in 1859 under the title *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*; or *The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. By this point, Darwin's health was constantly holding him back from being able to defend his ideas in public. One aspect of his leadership was his ability to attract devoted and protective friends who admired him for his originality, his deliberative nature, and gentle manner. His very absence from public life even added to his air of authority and leadership on matters pertaining to science. Given these facts, Darwin attracted many loyal defenders when his ideas were most vulnerable to attack. Huxley became known as Darwin's bulldog for his brilliant and determined public defenses against Darwin's many critics.

What Darwin had done was to come upon a new paradigm of scientific thought that would ramify into all areas of modern life. While some would debase his ideas into a crude mélange of what came to be called Social Darwinism, we must remember that these ideas emanated from his epigones, not the man himself. Darwin—in his own quiet manner of scientific leadership—provided mankind with its first natural account of how life evolved on the planet over the course of billions of years. In so doing, he gave humanity the opportunity to grow up and take into its own hands its cultural and biological future. What more could one want or expect from an intellectual leader? Nations will rise and fall as long as history continues, but Darwin's ideas will prove immortal and be wrestled with until the end of time.

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6

FEMALE LEADERSHIP

JOAN OF ARC: FEMALE CHARISMATIC

Joan of Arc [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-121205]

Joan of Arc (1412–1431) is one of the most famous women in history, yet her leadership skills are often forgotten. Her ability to raise the morale of French forces was remarkable given how low French fortunes had fallen as a result of its Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) with the English. She was known as the "Maid of Orleans" who relieved the city from English efforts to besiege and conquer it. Many believe this was the turning point of the war that saved France. Her ability to overcome the prejudice she faced as a result of being a French peasant woman, while still being able to gain the confidence of French society, was remarkable. She showed courage and aplomb even after being captured by the English and burnt at the stake on the trumped up charge of witchcraft. Her influence continues to this day, especially after she became a saint less than one hundred years ago in 1920.

The fifteenth century in Europe was an era that needed all the leadership it could find. War, famine, political upheaval, and pestilence plagued late medieval Europe. England had been at war with France since 1337 when Joan was born in 1412. The battle of Agincourt in 1415 was a great English victory. At this point, it appeared that the French monarchy would be dominated by English kings in the future. The

would-be Charles VII (heir of the last French king Charles VI) had to fight his way to the throne. Much of France was now in the hands of the English and their Burgundian allies.

Joan grew up as the daughter of a modest farming family in Domremy in the far eastern region of France. When Joan was twelve, she began hearing voices and seeing images related to her Christian faith. In particular, she believed she heard St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine calling her to help push the English out of France. After a few attempts to secure an audience with the Dauphin (the legitimate heir to the French throne, Charles), she finally was granted her wish after successfully predicting the outcome of a military engagement near the central French city of Orleans in 1428. After meeting with Charles, she was subjected to a careful examination and interview to determine her sincerity and adherence to official Christian doctrine. She eventually was allowed to attach herself to the army charged with taking the strategic city of Orleans from the English in 1429. She was lauded as a strategist, tactician, and morale-builder by various eyewitnesses during her participation in this military expedition. After she was shot by an arrow, Joan pulled it out herself and proceeded to lead a final charge against the defenders. Joan was often criticized for wearing men's clothing on and off the field of battle at this time. However, it was simply a good leadership decision on her part. By dressing in the role of a traditional male warrior, she was able to move around enemy lines more easily and avoid capture.

In the end, Joan provided the necessary élan and morale boost that turned the tide of the war against England. By being instrumental in retaking Orleans, she insured that the English and their allies would not be able to invade the heart of France. Now, Charles' forces could take the offense against the English-occupied north of the country. Charles probably made a bad decision not to exploit his victory at Orleans by heading immediately for Paris as advised by Joan. Still, Joan continued serving at the forefront of various French armies. Her luck ran out in May 1430 when the Burgundians captured her near Compiegne. She was then sold to their English allies. Charles did not go out of his way to get Joan back from the English. He perhaps feared relying too much on a French peasant woman in getting back his crown. In addition, he was jealous of the acclaim Joan continued to receive in the France freed of the English. His leadership was cautious and traditional whereas Joan's leadership was bold and charismatic.

Joan now faced the vengeful English. Joan was accused of a variety of offenses: witchcraft, heresy, and wearing male attire (a biblical offense). To make matters worse, the trial was overseen by church and other officials who were pressured or bribed by the English to come to a predetermined conclusion. The English could not afford to have Joan of Arc alive when possession of the French crown itself hung in the balance. If she could be discredited, perhaps Charles' claims to the throne could be discredited too. The trial that began in 1431 also failed to satisfy existing jurisdiction laws. Joan was not allowed to have her own independent legal advice. With all the odds stacked against her, Joan was still able to demonstrate courage in the way she handled herself in the midst of such disadvantages.

For example, she was questioned about whether she believed she was in God's grace. This was a tricky question since if she said yes she would verify the charge of heresy. If she said no, she would have admitted her own culpability. Instead, Joan responded eloquently and truthfully, "If I am not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me." The biased court was unable to paint Joan as an obvious heretic or witch. Her continued wearing of male clothing (done perhaps to avoid rape or because other attire was not available) gave the English an excuse to proceed to execution in quick fashion. So nervous were the English that they made sure to scatter her ashes into the Seine out of fear that her mortal remains could be made into relics.

Her heroism and martyrdom were such that only a few years were to pass before a retrial took place and her innocence was posthumously declared in 1456. Joan's life embodies much that is profound about the art of leadership. As a woman, she showed extreme courage in overcoming male prejudice and adopting a martial persona. She also showed great insight in fitting herself into a preexisting Celtic archetype of strong female leadership. She illustrated Napoleon's maxim that "the moral is to the physical as three is to one" by way of her ability to lead armies from the front and inspire the French to achieve victory when defeat seemed all but certain. She was also ingenious in the way she used the power of religion to strengthen her mission and the French cause as a whole. Joan's faith in her religious calling was genuine and gave her the necessary charisma to accomplish great deeds that no one would have predicted of a simple French peasant girl. She handled herself well at her trial and therefore showed contemporaries and posterity alike that she was not just a "fair-weather leader." She was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice on behalf of her cause rather than completely give in to her English adversaries. Even in death, she would continue to provide posthumous leadership for Christians, the French, and indeed anyone who admired her simple faith and courage. Above all, she demonstrated that profound leadership could emerge from either gender and any social class. Her becoming a saint in 1920 simply insures that her leadership effect will continue on ever more powerfully into the future.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH I: FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN A PATRIARCHAL AGE

Elizabeth I (1533–1603) was Queen of England and Ireland beginning in 1558. She illustrates the special power of female leadership in history. Elizabeth had to use all of her intellectual powers and social instincts to navigate through the shoals of sixteenth-century English politics and all of its attendant patriarchal assumptions. She also had the disadvantage of being born in perilous circumstances and times. Her father was the notoriously mercurial Henry VIII. Her mother was the unfortunate Anne Boleyn who would be executed largely because of her inability to produce a male heir. In the process, Henry made little Elizabeth technically illegitimate, given Parliament's declaration that her parents' marriage had been null and void from the start. That she rose above such inauspicious beginnings to lead her country into a political and cultural golden age is a testament to her extraordinary leadership.

A child in this situation could either go to pieces, hide in the shadows, or become a precocious adapter to a difficult situation. Elizabeth clearly was driven to adopt the latter option. She developed an early instinct for keeping her true opinions to herself and being extremely circumspect in her relations with others. It was even said that as a very young girl Elizabeth had the seriousness of a middle-aged adult. Luckily for Elizabeth, she was allowed to attend court ceremonies. Her father even allowed her to be named as a potential heiress to the throne (after Henry's new wife Jane Seymour and his new son Edward). Elizabeth also showed an ability to befriend the key people around her from an early age. She spent much time with Edward and Henry's last wife Catherine Parr. Most importantly, Elizabeth profited from the rich educational opportunities presented to her (a rarity at this time for even a royal female). She became something of a Renaissance woman herself due to her own

excellent education. She learned classical Greek and Latin. In addition, she became fluent in modern French and Italian.

After her father died in 1547, Elizabeth would need all the educational and cultural capital she had worked laboriously to acquire in order to meet the new threats facing her. Her guardian was now Catherine Parr who quickly married the ambitious and scheming admiral Thomas Seymour. A shock was delivered to the teenager Elizabeth when in 1549 her guardian mother died and she came under insulting interrogation regarding the supposed plot of Thomas to marry her in order to fulfill his ambitions to rule England. Elizabeth maintained her calm and poise during this terrible period. Her formidable self-control prevented her from showing emotions at the news that Thomas had been executed for treason.

Another shock to Elizabeth came in 1553 when her half-brother Edward died and her elder half-sister Mary ascended to the throne. Mary was ardently Catholic in Protestant-leaning England and added fuel to the fire by marrying the arch-Catholic defender of the faith, Philip II of Spain. Elizabeth was in the position of a young woman who had the power to rile up and scare her enemies (Catholics who did not want her to ascend the throne in case of Mary's death without an heir), but in truth she had little power to even defend herself. This tension and vulnerability would have cracked many others in her position, but Elizabeth maintained her stoic countenance and managed to keep a clear mind in the situation. She was even sent to the Tower of London after being suspected of being part of a plot to overthrow Mary. She knew how to appease her enemies without giving up her own closely guarded convictions. During this time, she placated the Catholics by protesting her own ardent dislike of heresy. She thus learned by necessity the acting and diplomatic skills needed by any leader. If she could maintain her patience, her own convictions on religious and political matters could be turned into public policy when power finally came her way. As a budding leader, Elizabeth learned quickly the power of long-term thinking.

Luck finally came her way in 1558 when Queen Mary died. Elizabeth's coronation was an act of great theater designed to bond her to the English people. When she was given a Bible in English (not allowed in Mary's time), Elizabeth elaborately kissed the book in public and thus signaled in an instant that she would be a champion of the Protestant cause. Elizabeth also had the crucial ability to seek out and reward talent on her official council. Advisers such as the gifted William Cecil would be motivated by Elizabeth to serve her loyally and lovingly for years. Elizabeth also developed into a strong leader because of her ability to self-consciously fashion an image of herself that met the imaginative needs of the English people at that time. Given the limited stock of images that existed at this time regarding strong female leaders, Elizabeth chose to embody the one image that would win over most of the hearts and minds of her countrymen: that of the Virgin Queen married solely to her own people.

The remaining dangers to her power were twofold. From abroad, she had to fear the Catholic power of Spain and its desire to bring England back into the Catholic fold. Domestically, she had to deal with the pressure to produce a male heir to guarantee the continuance of the Protestant royal line. The dilemma here was this: if she married, she risked subordinating herself to her husband and losing her carefully crafted image as a Virgin Queen. Yet if she did not marry, her Catholic relative Mary Queen of Scots would be next in line to inherit the throne of England. Elizabeth thus had to use all her leadership finesse to buy time in order to find a solution to the problem. Her guiding philosophy is well expressed in her famous utterance that "I will have here but one mistress and no master." And no wonder Elizabeth had been at the beck and call of too many arbitrary male masters up until the day she ascended to the throne. Elizabeth was also adept at using many stratagems to

get her way. She knew how to cajole, inspire, divide and conquer, and, on occasion, be quite ruthless in shutting down attacks against her (as she did when she had the hands cut off of two men who published a tract denouncing her possible marriage to a French Catholic).

She also maximized her power as a female leader by playing the role of mother over her subjects. This strategy worked well when she had to occasionally cajole Parliament to give her more money for her various state policies. She even became head of the Church of England under the Act of Supremacy in 1559. In this role, she had to walk a fine line between extreme Protestantism and its milder variety. Even her moderation here did not protect her from court intrigue and assassination plots. The Pope in 1580 had openly declared in so many words that assassinating such a heretic as Elizabeth would not be a sin. As tensions mounted over the issue of religion in domestic and international politics, Elizabeth discovered that the Catholic Mary (next in line for the throne) was deeply implicated in a plot against her. Although she showed much public dislike of the act of executing Mary, in the end a mortal threat to her power was now finally gone.

By 1588, tensions with Spain were at the breaking point. Elizabeth rose to a new leadership level by showing her skill at military matters. She displayed herself in Amazonian fashion on horseback garbed in a silver breastplate to her soldiers in the summer of that year and raised morale by declaring: "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too." The disaster faced by the Spanish Armada later in the year only further solidified Elizabeth's reputation as a God-anointed leader. She made her leadership a personal affair throughout her long reign. In an age without mass communications, her royal tours through the kingdom cemented the bond between the leader and the led. The veneration that had once been given to female saints in Catholic times was now focused on her, the now famous Virgin Queen of her people. Her biggest achievement in the end was to turn her female status into an asset rather than a liability in a deeply patriarchal culture.

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7

THE LEADER AS INVENTOR AND ENTREPRENEUR

HENRY FORD: A CASE STUDY IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

Henry Ford leaving the White House after calling on the president. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-111360]

Henry Ford (1863–1947) was the founder of the American auto industry. A proud son of rural America, his destiny was to greatly speed up America's industrialization and urbanization in the twentieth century. Henry Ford's business manager for many years once said of him "You cannot analyze genius and Ford is a genius." Ford proved to be a great leader for his ability to transform the lives of millions of consumers and workers. Whereas being a genius before Ford's time was an appellation only fit for lone artists and scientists, Ford showed how the label could be used to describe a whole class of American entrepreneurs who transformed the lives of average people. Ford's leadership showed how capitalism could elevate both the entrepreneur and his customers at the same time.

The future industrialist grew up in a rural environment at his family's farm in Dearborn, Michigan. As a teenager, he became fascinated with working in machine shops and tinkering with early versions of the internal combustion engine. By 1893, Ford had attained the rank of engineer with the Detroit Edison Company. Like Einstein at his Swiss patent office, Ford used the flexibility of his job to engage in experimentation on his own projects. It wasn't long before Ford built a gasoline engine and married it to a simple chassis frame to

produce a working "horseless carriage." In 1899, Ford and his backers started the Detroit Automobile Company. However, Ford wanted to focus his energies on producing better models of automobiles while his investors wanted to simply get a model out in the market and start making money. Ford showed daring leadership in breaking with his backers by going on to build a new company under his own name (Ford Motor Co.).

Ford's willingness to put his vision above the feelings of Detroit's investing class did have its costs, however. His former backers now tried to use the law to claim that Ford was infringing on a patent that was supposed to cover all gas-based automobiles. Ford's determination to fight his case in court for years was an important milestone in American economic development. Ford became a symbol, during the trial, of the independent-minded and visionary entrepreneur being artificially constrained by oligopolists who wanted to benefit from capitalism without having to engage in real competition. Although Ford lost his original case, he won his appeal in 1911. This victory—coupled with his populist goal to "build a motor car for the great multitude"—made him a folk hero for the majority of Americans who wanted to believe in a capitalism that would satisfy their wants and ambitions and not just those of the pampered few.

The result of all of Ford's work was the appearance of the famous Ford Model T (or Tin Lizzie) in 1908. Over the next two decades, he would sell an astounding seventeen million or so cars. What made Ford a leader in the industry was his ability to dominate it with his entrepreneurialism and attention to the needs of common consumers. His company's production was alone producing nearly half of the world's automobiles during this period. His key insight was to envision the car as a necessary consumer good for the masses rather than as an exotic toy for the favored few. In realizing his vision against great odds, Ford's industrial leadership was to have wide ramifications for society as a whole. By making the car a mass consumer good, Ford directly contributed to the basic forces that still define modern life: the movement from an agricultural way of life to an urban way of life (along with its attendant suburbanization), standardization, mass production, assembly line procedures, and consumerism.

Before World War I, his Highland Park factory in Michigan was producing a functional chassis every hour and a half instead of over ten hours it usually took. Soon, he would be turning out a Model T every twenty-four seconds. He captured the imagination of the world when in 1914 he raised the minimum wage of his workers to $5 a day and reduced working hours to eight a day (three shifts of eight hours a piece were now established). Although Ford could have portrayed himself as an altruistic humanitarian, he stuck to his plainspoken ways in explaining the change. He was simply being a good business leader in developing an innovative and farsighted business plan. His goal was to lower prices on his cars and expand his market by taking advantage of increased productivity and economies of scale. By 1927, his Model T was selling below $300 and his market now included his very own workers who were both able to afford the car and believe in the product they were purchasing.

Ford's radical vision continued to upset the conventional expectations of his shareholders. By 1920, Ford remade his company by making sure that all shares of the company were held by him or his family. He could now engage in a new form of industrial experimentation and growth: the development of the River Rouge plant. Ford would now gamble on a program of self-sufficiency by which he would largely control all the various factories and industries responsible for supplying the raw materials needed to produce his automobiles. His empire now reached into thirty-three countries and he controlled holdings ranging from glassworks to coal mines. As with many great leaders, however, Ford's greatest strengths could also become his greatest liabilities. The company would rise or fall based on his unique personal vision with little input from others. While this strategy could yield great decisiveness and

momentum to his running of the company, it could also yield major problems. For example, Ford was content with one color for his Model T: plain black. Other car companies were more willing to experiment on new gearshift, brake, and engine systems.

The Depression of the 1930s only added to Ford's woes. He now earned the wrath of workers for his antiunion philosophy. His company trailed in sales behind those of other car companies. Still, Ford's penchant for not following the crowd gained him more in the long run than it cost him. Even his opposition to American involvement in World War I looks farsighted in comparison to the mindless jingoism that brought America into a conflict that would yield an embarrassing peace treaty, communist Russia, and Adolf Hitler. His flirtation with antisemitism (common in the America of his day, which feared the controlling power of "eastern financial interests") ended in 1927 when he repudiated such views and sold the paper that had disseminated such sentiments. His willingness to experiment and do good in ventures outside the purview of his automobile company was admirable. He oversaw attempts to reform education by giving it a more vocational bent. He saw the virtues of soybean for nutritional and industrial purposes. He tried to revive the rural values of his youth by sponsoring such worthy endeavors as Greenfield Village Museum. Above all, Ford proved that capitalism could not exist without creative and bold entrepreneurs as himself. Insofar as capitalism is about satisfying the needs and dreams of the many, Ford was the ideal leader for updating capitalism for the consumer culture of the twentieth century. "Fordism" has now entered the language to describe how his singular synthesis of capitalist enterprise came to dominate capitalist practice throughout the world for much of the twentieth century.

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THOMAS EDISON: THE INVENTOR AS LEADER

Thomas Edison and phonograph. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-BH826-31346]

Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) represents the idea of the inventor as leader. He was to eventually hold 1,093 patents (a record not yet surpassed). Not only was he gifted as a prolific inventor, but he also succeeded in systematizing the inventive process itself at his research lab at Menlo Park, New Jersey. His genius as a promoter of inventions and their adoption in American life helped to update the traditional notion of the inventor. After Edison, the archetypal inventor was no longer the solitary savant, but someone who worked in the context of cooperative and planned invention in a research lab environment. Edison's focus on practical inventions also gave hope to the working-class base of America that it too would soon enjoy a material cornucopia produced by the almost continual arrival of new consumer goods and beguiling technologies.

Thomas Alva Edison was born as the last of seven children in Milan, Ohio. Some studies on

leadership done by Frank Sulloway and others argue that younger children often have strong incentive to pursue riskier strategies for attention and success even if it means rebelling against the status quo of the day. Older children, in this view, have an incentive to "fit in" with existing hierarchies in order to enjoy the social niche that is often carved out for them because of their first-born status. Adding to this incentive to take risks was the fact that Edison suffered hearing problems from an early age. Because of his deafness, Edison had to learn to work in solitary fashion for long hours. He was also strongly motivated to develop devices that would extend the range of the human senses.

Edison had very little formal schooling. He was even found to be a bit slow in terms of his learning abilities due to his deafness and boredom in the classroom given the rote-learning methods of the day. Edison did what many a great leader has done in a hostile environment: rely on his own resources and use books as virtual mentors and inspirers of personal achievement. In 1859, Edison left school behind and became a railroad worker. Railroads were the Internet of the day in terms of being at the forefront of high technology (as seen in their ability to spur the rise of other innovative industries such as telegraphy). Indeed, by 1863, Edison was focusing on telegraphy full-time in the railroad industry. His precocious inventive energies were amply stimulated in this rich environment. After a few years of tinkering, he had improved telegraph technology by coming up with a way to transmit two messages at the same time on a single wire. This initial success gave Edison the confidence to seek his fame and fortune in New York City.

Contrary to the stereotype of the lone inventor, Edison was quite pragmatic in working with the best mechanics, machinists, and scientists of the day in order to solve the problems he was working on. In New York, he quickly joined forces with some of the best experts on electricity in order to come up with a stock ticker device that would quickly yield him forty thousand dollars. He also showed himself to be an entrepreneurial leader at this time, given his ability to play one corporate sponsor off another so as to realize the best deal for his own growing enterprise. Further work on improving telegraph technology earned him further windfall profits by the mid-1870s.

By 1876, Edison could afford to focus on setting up a research center in Menlo Park, New Jersey. Here he happily surrounded himself with the best assistants he could find. While he could be cantankerous, eccentric, and arbitrary in his relations with colleagues, he was the charismatic center of research endeavors that utilized the full abilities of many talented people (such as the physicist Nikola Tesla). He became a master and exemplar of the art of applied research. As he once said, "I do not depend on figures at all. I try an experiment and reason out the result, somehow, by methods which I could not explain." Edison also showed himself to be a leader during the course of his multitudinous research endeavors by never assuming the impossibility of any task. After Alexander Graham Bell had patented the telephone in 1876, Edison's next big project was to develop a carbon transmitter that improved the audibility of this and other devices. His subsequent development of the phonograph by 1877 gained him worldwide fame. He was now known as the "Wizard of Menlo Park" (it would take some years, however, before the device could be successfully commercialized).

Edison's next challenge was to bring electricity and light to Americans in their private homes and public offices. Many fine minds had been trying to work out a practicable incandescent electric light technology for over half a century before Edison turned his attention to the problem. After much work, a carbon filament was found to provide a solution to the problem of incandescent light. With the new technology came the need for producing electricity for the populace. Edison took charge of overseeing the development of the first power distribution center in New York in 1882. In developing a practical solution for the

provision of electric light, Edison was leading the way for the larger electronics industry that was to follow.

By the 1880s and 1890s, Edison's research would focus on perfecting the phonograph, developing the motion-picture concept, and creating a viable alkaline storage battery. Much of his work at this time was done at a new research facility in West Orange, New Jersey. As science became ever more professionalized and his firm's operations ever more complicated, Edison found that he missed the smaller and more chaotic work environments he had enjoyed as a younger inventor. This problem was compounded with Edison having to confront his biggest failure: the failure to develop a practicable magnetic ore separator. As iron prices shot up in the 1880s, the incentive to separate iron from poor ores arose. His investments in moribund mines and in the new technology that was supposed to make them valuable again came to naught as iron prices dipped. Still, Edison remained an indefatigable worker until the end of his life. As the automobile surpassed trains as the leading technology of the time, Edison was creative enough to collaborate with new industrial leaders such as Henry Ford (Ford needed a battery for the self-starter mechanism in his cars).

Edison's leadership as an inventor expanded the notion of what it meant to be an American. By serving as an exemplar to future leaders in the fields of technology and science, Edison's life vastly expanded the quality of life (and the possibility for self-improvement) for billions of other human beings.

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8

DIPLOMATIC LEADERSHIP

BISMARCK: LEADER OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

The Prussian diplomat and chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) illustrates the great leader's ability to master the predominant forces of his age and use them for his own ends. He did for Germany what Lincoln did for America: turn disunited states into a strong nation. Bismarck led Prussia through three successful wars. These wars were planned by Bismarck to achieve his dream of German unification under Prussian suzerainty. In a sense, he was also a founder of the modern conservative movement. His ingenuity lay in his ability to use radical methods to achieve conservative ends. He managed to make absolute monarchy a going concern well into the nineteenth century. He attempted to maintain the hegemony of a small ruling class in an age of mass democracy. Although technology, the economy, and elite thinking were evolving rapidly in his century (and ours), he was shrewd enough to gamble on the proposition that the average voter in his times was essentially a small "c" conservative who would ultimately cast his lot with tradition and the forces of order. However, Bismarck's hubris lay in his assumption that the complicated ship of state that was imperial Germany and its complex web of alliances could be managed by anyone but him after he died.

Bismarck was fittingly born in the heart of old Prussia. His father was a relatively unsuccessful landowning aristocrat. His mother was more progressive thinking than her husband and made sure that young Otto's education took place in the most forward-looking schools of the day. Although he disliked going to school in Berlin, young Otto's situation in the competitive milieu of the capital city forced him to rethink his rural prejudices and assumptions. At the university level, he studied law in order to fulfill the family's ambitions for him to achieve a job in the civil service of the Prussian government. He was terribly bored with both his university education and the resulting civil service job he eventually received. Upon the death of his mother, he felt free to go to the aid of his father whose management of the family estates always left something to be desired. The years he spent as

a country landlord throughout most of the 1840s were remembered as the happiest time of his life.

Bismarck was fortunate to marry a woman who shared his conservative temperamental outlook. Johanna von Puttkamer helped to convert him to a traditional religious pietism, which reassured Bismarck that he was following the path of God in his later efforts to preserve the traditional Prussian state against the forces of modernity. His first political speeches were in fact quite reactionary. For example, he criticized the political emancipation of Jews in Germany (a process only slowly begun by the mid-1800s). Then came the revolutions of 1848. All the major countries of Europe except for England and Russia were affected by a surge in liberal revolutionary forces throughout Europe. For a time, it seemed that the traditional pillars of European society—aristocracy, monarchy, and the church—were to be overthrown in favor of liberalism. Bismarck reacted so harshly to the revolution in Prussia that he offered to fight on behalf of his king in Berlin with peasants from his own estates against the revolutionaries, if necessary.

Luckily for Bismarck, the revolutions of 1848 were to end with a whimper instead of a bang. The most progressive middle-class elements leading the liberal revolutions were always outnumbered by more conservative farmers and workers. Unlike other reactionaries, Bismarck was to pay attention to this central fact in his later political battles. In 1849, Bismarck was elected to the lower chamber of the Prussian parliament. His ardent defense of the king, Frederick William IV, led him to be appointed to the all-German federal parliament that met in Frankfurt. This parliament dealt with the affairs of state that arose between the many independent German states of the time.

Bismarck spent nearly a decade in the bourgeois and commercial milieu of Frankfurt. Here he learned the power of nationalism in an age of burgeoning mass politics. He also came to dislike Austria since it tended to dominate interstate affairs within Germany at the expense of his beloved Prussia. Bismarck polished his diplomatic credentials by serving as ambassador to Russia and France between 1859 and 1862. He admired the way in which Louis Napoleon of France manipulated his people by using nationalism and foreign affairs to distract attention away from his domestic critics. This knowledge was soon to come in handy for Bismarck when the new Prussian king William I asked him to become prime minister of Prussia in 1862. Bismarck could not have assumed his new position at a worse moment. Prussia was experiencing a full-blown constitutional crisis, given the king's demand for more money for his military and the parliament's refusal to provide the necessary sums.

Bismarck took bold steps in his initial actions as prime minister. Between 1863 and 1866, he simply continued to collect (without parliamentary authorization) the old taxes based on the theory of national necessity. People who know a little bit about Bismarck remember his famous speech in which he argued that the great decisions of the day (German unification in particular) would not be decided by "speeches and majority resolutions" (as had been attempted by the revolutionaries of 1848), but by "blood and iron." Parliament was still in no mood to listen to Bismarck's call for a Prussian-led German unification that would drown out cries for domestic reform. Bismarck now used his diplomatic creativity to find a foreign crisis he could manipulate to his advantage in his battles with the liberals in Prussia. A perfect situation from his perspective was to be found to the North in little Denmark. Denmark's southern provinces of Schleswig and Holstein contained significant numbers of ethnic Germans within its boundaries. Playing the nationalist card, Bismarck instigated a short but successful war with the Danes over these provinces and won handily.

The liberals of Prussia were still unsatisfied. Bismarck then decided to play for higher stakes by tackling the larger issue of German unification. Who was to lead Germany? Austria

or Prussia? Bismarck gambled that a solution to the "Deutschefrage" that favored Prussia would finally end all domestic rebellions within Prussia itself. In 1866, Bismarck got the war that he wanted by making Austria appear the aggressor against Prussia. Austria was quickly defeated in a matter of weeks due to the Prussian advantages in terms of railroads, the general staff system, military training, discipline, and technology such as the Dreyse needle gun. Bismarck demonstrated great leadership by making sure the war ended without undue humiliation of Austria. This insured that Austria would be available later as an ally in the future after she had licked her wounds.

Bismarck was near to completing his dream of German unification under Prussian auspices. He had surprised all of his opponents by showing the ability to use radical means to obtain conservative ends (such as attacking fellow monarchical powers and extending the suffrage to the poorer elements of the German population). However, the south German states were still staying away from the proposed new German empire under a Prussian monarch. A war with France would therefore complete the process of unification from Bismarck's perspective. Since France was the only remaining guarantee to their independence, even the south German states would be driven into Prussia's arms if Bismarck could gain victory over the French. It was to be the greatest gamble of his life. France was still considered by many to be the greatest military power in the world. Bismarck used his diplomatic leadership to great effect in preparation for this conflict. He made sure Prussia would not be attacked from behind by Austria or Russia if war broke out between France and Prussia. He artfully maneuvered France into war and made his enemy appear to be the aggressor over the relatively minor issue of whether a branch of the Prussian Hohenzollern family could sit on the Spanish throne. France demanded unsuccessfully that Prussia forever renounce this option. Amazingly, Prussia under Bismarck's leadership won its third and biggest gamble in its final war with France. By 1871, Prussia had made France sue for peace after Bismarck allowed the Prussian military to do its job. Prussia won a big indemnity and the territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

The rest of Bismarck's political career up until the year 1890 (when he stepped down from power) was devoted to managing the new international system he had created. He tried to motivate the French to look abroad for empire-building opportunities instead of seeking revenge against Germany. He tried to bring Italy, Austria, and Russia into alliance at various times with Prussia to preserve peace in the East and South. He maintained good relations with Great Britain. The trouble was that Bismarck had produced a situation in which Germany was now the hub of a complex and potentially unstable international situation. France was now permanently angry at Germany due to its loss of Alsace-Lorraine. Italy could not be relied upon. Austria and Russia were incompatible allies to have since both had rival ambitions in the Balkans. Bismarck feared having to choose between Austria and Russia. Increasingly, Germany bet on the wrong horse (Austria) after Bismarck left office. The tragedy of Bismarck was that he erected a diplomatic system that only he could manage.

This fact was most sharply revealed when the young and inexperienced Kaiser Wilhelm took command of foreign policy in 1890. Bismarck had staked his political career on strengthening the powers of the German emperor, and now he was to reap what he had sown. The new Kaiser forced Bismarck to step down in 1890. The Kaiser then went on to antagonize England, Russia, and France and thus brought about the very alliance that was to fight and defeat Germany in World War I. Before he left office, Bismarck continued his "politics of cooptation" in domestic affairs. He gave the German people the first welfare state in the world to keep them loyal to the conservative government. He could not fight all

the forces of the modern age, however. The socialist party continued to grow as did south German demands for more religious autonomy in regard to their Catholic beliefs.

In sum, Bismarck had moved Prussia from being the weakest of the great powers into being the strongest among them. The costs of doing this were to prove immense, however. Bismarck failed to lay a stable foundation for German foreign or domestic policy that could outlast him. His attempt to reconcile absolute monarchy with the modern age could only last as long as the genetic role of the dice produced farsighted emperors and statesmen such as Bismarck. Bismarck's greatest attribute was to take the weak hand he was dealt with originally in terms of Prussia's domestic and foreign policy situation and to parlay it into magnificent success, at least as long as he lived.

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METTERNICH: DIPLOMATIC LEADER OF EUROPE

The Austrian statesman Clemens von Metternich (1773–1859) is another German leader we must know about in order to comprehend the modern age. Like Bismarck and Frederick the Great, Metternich was instrumental in shaping international politics. Metternich was Europe's first modern diplomat who set the tone for professional diplomacy as it is still practiced today. He began his career attempting to protect Austria's interests against Napoleon. He ended his career trying to save his beloved Austria from the powerful forces of nationalism and liberalism. No less a diplomat than Henry Kissinger wrote his dissertation on Metternich and his policies while still a student at Harvard. While great leaders can often produce great wars, great diplomats are always needed since every war must end. The failure to end World War I well in terms of diplomacy was to prove once again the indispensability of great peacemakers such as Metternich.

Clemens von Metternich was the son of a diplomat who had represented the Holy Roman Empire in its waning days in the late eighteenth century. By this period, Voltaire's crack that the "Holy Roman Empire was neither holy nor Roman" began to sting. The Holy Roman Empire still meant a lot to the Metternich family and many Germans who believed in the ideal of a Christian emperor who would continue the legacy of ancient Rome. The Holy Roman Empire under Habsburg leadership had given Europe, and in particular Germany, a great deal of political stability and protection that it would otherwise have lacked. It had protected Europe from a series of Eastern nomadic invasions throughout the Middle Ages. Then it had protected Europe against Muslim invaders who nearly took Vienna in the seventeenth century. Finally, this Empire had given Germans a sense of unity and protection from the Spanish, French, and Russian empires which had periodically looked at Germany as a target for their own expansionist dreams.

Metternich was taught to appreciate the values of balance and harmony in society and politics. He would see his views attacked for a quarter of a century after the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. The French revolutionaries wished to change the world overnight and impose an abstract regime of reason on Europe and its peoples. Metternich's own family had to flee to England and then Vienna in 1794 after their own family estate was taken from them in the aftermath of the French invasion of the German Rhineland. Conservatives like Metternich and Edmund Burke reacted to the French Revolution with horror. They feared the consequences of wantonly destroying tradition and historical

continuity in the life of civilization. They realized that simply replacing the traditional Christian notion of God with the revolution's faith in human reason could not guarantee liberty for all. Indeed, reason could become a new god in the hands of revolutionaries who could then erect a new and even more repressive hierarchy in its name. In inventing modern conservatism in reaction to the French Revolution, leaders such as Metternich and Burke were not claiming that all change was bad. They simply argued that such changes must come in orderly fashion after new ideas had proven themselves superior to traditional ways and customs.

Metternich now had to make his way in the imposing imperial city of Vienna. Through hard work, he made his way into the Austrian diplomatic corps. His talent and skill for the diplomatic arts led him to become the Habsburg minister to Berlin in 1803. His fascination with spiders made sense given the intricate webs of diplomacy he himself would spin throughout his long career. In a few short years, he would be promoted to the rank of ambassador to France in 1806. His diplomatic mettle was sorely tested in these years. He had to show consummate patience during the years of Napoleon's meteoric success, particularly in Metternich's native Germany. His tact in avoiding dangerous overreaction to any particular crisis is summarized by his quip that over most matters, *daruber muss man schlaffen* (better to sleep on it before coming to a rash decision). By the end of 1806, Napoleon had utterly defeated and humiliated both the great German states of Prussia and Austria. Metternich used his considerable skill in preventing further damage to Germany as a result of Napoleon's victories there. It was too late to save the institution of the Holy Roman Empire, however. By 1806 Napoleon had constructed a new form of political organization on Germany that better suited his interests: the Confederation of the Rhine, which would be subservient to France.

Contrary to the great statesman's image as a reactionary, Metternich was quite willing to consider radical and innovative ideas in the movement to check or even defeat Napoleon. For example, he admired the ability of the Spanish guerrillas to tie down large numbers of Napoleon's forces in Spain. He believed that popular rebellions throughout Germany might help liberate Germany from France. Although he hoped that Austrian rebellion against the Napoleonic system might succeed, such was not to be. In 1809, Austria was again defeated by Napoleon at the battle of Wagram. Austria had fought well, but not well enough. Metternich would now have to be doubly creative in order to ward off French calls for harsh measures against the Habsburgs and their Austrian empire. His ingenious solution to this problem was to support the idea of Napoleon marrying into the Habsburg family. In 1810, Napoleon's marriage to the emperor's daughter Marie Louise played right into Metternich's hands. First, it made Napoleon less willing to seek revenge against his new family. Second, it allowed Metternich to co-opt Napoleon by having him marry into the most establishment-minded royal family of Europe. This itself would take the wind out of the revolutionaries' sails as their leader Napoleon now looked to be more interested in establishing his own dynasty than in doing away with all European kings and princes.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia would prove his undoing. Metternich made sure that Austria lent aid to Napoleon for this invasion, but at the same time he left himself enough maneuver room to cover his bets in case Napoleon's venture in Russia turned sour. Napoleon's retreat from Russia surprised Metternich, but it did not cause him to act rashly. While hotter heads argued for a quick alliance with Russia and others opposed Napoleon, Metternich showed sure leadership in thinking about the long-term consequences of such a change in Austrian policy. After all, if France were too quickly and decisively beaten, would Russian hegemony in Germany be any better than French hegemony? He met with Napoleon to see

if the latter would be willing to limit his ambitions and thereby save his throne and achieve Metternich's goal of a restored balance of power in Europe. Napoleon would have none of it. Having gone the extra mile to see if a deal could be reached with Napoleon and having nothing to show for it, Metternich was now willing to join the bandwagon against Napoleon while the time was still ripe. His skills were such that he became the natural leader of the grand coalition of Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria against Napoleon.

Metternich was a farseeing leader who was already preoccupied with the peace that would come in the wake of Napoleon's defeat. Thanks to his skill, the peace conference would occur in Vienna, his country's capital. At the Congress of Vienna, the Austrian foreign minister and chancellor was consumed with the goal of restoring the balance of power in European society. He knew he would have to use all his skill to convince the victors not to seek revenge against France. This would only provoke future aggression on the part of France. He was now consumed with the threat Russia posed to Germany and the larger European balance of power. He used his diplomatic connections with England and France, to check Russia's expansion in eastern Europe. His attention to the social world also paid dividends. His charm and the grand balls he held for visiting dignitaries epitomized his ability to turn a weak Austrian hand into a strong one through the use of such "soft power" tactics. He reconfigured German politics through the new institution of the German Confederation. In so doing, he made sure that Austria was at the head of this new Confederation. The growing rivalry with Prussia would have to be dealt with later after Metternich's time.

So successful were Metternich's policies that the whole period between 1815 (when Napoleon was defeated) and 1848 (when revolutions broke out throughout Europe) has been labeled the "Era of Metternich." He was tactful during this era in working with—and attempting to harmonize—such disparate forces as strong-willed Russian czars, intellectual revolutionaries, and the concerns of the other great powers. He thus guaranteed that he would leave as his legacy a sense of restoration and balance in Europe that had been upset by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era. Criticism that he repressed freedom in Austria and the rest of Germany has merit, but must be understood in the context in which Metternich worked. First, he was the servant of the Austrian emperor. He himself favored devolution of power in constituent parts of the empire, but the emperor disagreed. Second, he felt he had to quash radical sentiment for fear that if it got out of hand, the arch-reactionary Russian czar Alexander would intervene in German affairs directly. While many have blamed Metternich for the revolutionary activity that broke out in 1848, close observers of his career point out that his power began to wane as early as 1835 with the advent of a new emperor ill-disposed to Metternich. Metternich's various proposals for domestic reform (which might have alleviated the force of revolutionary activity in Austria) were denied. The era of Metternich is remembered even today as a golden age by modern Europeans who are trying to recreate aspects of this peaceful period in the form of the European Union. This is fitting as Metternich was wont to say at his retirement that "Europe has had for me the quality of a Fatherland."

9

THE ARTIST AS LEADER

PICASSO: LEADING THE WORLD TO SEE THE WORLD IN A NEW WAY

The great Spanish painter Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) is included here to show how great artists can be models of leadership. In leading by example and on his own terms rather than through hierarchical or institutional power (as is so often the case when we think of traditional leaders), Picasso encouraged his followers in and outside of the arts to become creators and leaders in their own right. Picasso demonstrated an ability to master the best traditions of the past and to transcend them in his constant effort to surpass his own latest achievements. Thus, he led the famous Cubist revolt against the tradition of realism in the European arts, which had existed since the Renaissance. He also was able to speak to a broader audience outside of the art-world and change the way we see the world. This is seen most powerfully in his famous painting Guernica, which comments so powerfully on the evil behind the fascist bombing of the Spanish town of Guernica in 1937. In this painting, he showed how artists could use visual language to comment on the central political issues of the day. He showed how great artists can be models of leadership in no small part because of their ability to reimagine societal "givens" that others take as unchanging realities.

Thinking of artists such as Picasso as leaders makes us realize that leadership is not just about political power, but about the power of the imagination and of aesthetics to reconfigure the very reality in which the dynamics of leadership and followership play themselves out. No thinking person today—whether a leader or follower (or both, as most of us are)—can ignore the fact that the very way we look at the world has been unalterably affected by Picasso's artistic vision. It has been said that those who think ideas are bunk are usually themselves slaves to some idea or thinker they cannot even name. One may well say the same of those who think they look upon the world objectively when their very perception of reality has been shaped by some unknown master artist.

It is said of Picasso that he drew before he learned to speak. Picasso's prodigious artistic abilities were nurtured by his parents, especially by his father who was himself an art teacher. Contrary to romantic myth, Picasso was not always the innovative and even rebellious painter we typically define him to be. Like most leaders in a given domain, he had to pay his dues by mastering the techniques and traditions of the past while finding mentors (living and dead) with whom he could develop his own talent. His early work shows a mastery of traditional European painting as it had been developing since the Renaissance. Again, contrary to stereotype, he was quite able to use skills such as linear perspective to convey through his art a three-dimensional feeling of reality on a two-dimensional canvas. This realist tradition in the arts had been put into question with the invention of photography. If photography could capture reality realistically and with some artistry, what was left for painters to do?

Much of Picasso's career can be interpreted as an artistic leader's response to this fundamental question and challenge. He took a calculated risk by leaving his native Spain and moving to Paris in 1900. He was not to be satisfied with his technical mastery of the already established techniques of the traditional methods of painting. As he once said, "In art one has to kill one's friends." He would now begin to challenge himself by studying the works of the leading *avant garde* schools and painters of the time. By studying the works of impressionist and postimpressionist painters such as Cezanne, Picasso would simultaneously be challenging himself to develop his own artistic vocabulary and vision. If the photographer could capture our everyday sense of reality in the medium of photography, could not the artist aspire to help us see that our picture of reality was not so simple after all? After a transitional phase in his career (often referred to as his blue and rose periods), he reached full maturity with his painting "*Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*" in 1907. This early example of cubism took as its nominal subject five prostitutes. The painting experimented with a new vision of reality marked by the sense of simultaneity (e.g., seeing frontal and rear parts of the human body on the same plane), dissonance, and fragmentation. Perhaps he was unconsciously visualizing the spirit of the twentieth century itself in all its Einsteinian paradox and restlessness. In so doing, he was giving all of us new lenses by which to see and contextualize ourselves.

What is so interesting about Picasso is that at any juncture of his career one can imagine another artist in his position choosing to rest on his laurels and form his own school. Instead, Picasso chose to challenge himself further by constant experimentation in his own approach to painting and art (eventually he was to incorporate things like bicycle parts into his sculpture). In his Parisian atelier in Montmartre, he chose to challenge himself as well by playing host to a salon including creative leaders from all fields. He used his art to cut through the abstractions of politics when he produced the antifascist painting *Guernica* that depicted the pain and suffering of the German bombing. During World War II he remained in Paris during the German occupation and even received art supplies from the French Resistance who recognized that his art stood for all that the Nazis despised: innovation, experimentation, and individualism. His dabbling with communism led nowhere while his relations with women were troubled at best. Still, his amazing drive to continually recreate himself through his art to show us new ways of seeing the world will remain his true lasting monument to all students of leadership.

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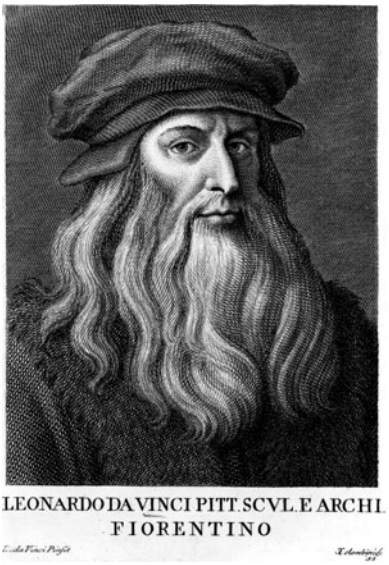
LEONARDO DA VINCI: RENAISSANCE LEADER



Leonardo da Vinci. [Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-111797]

The Florentine artist, scientist, and engineer Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) led life by embodying Renaissance values. He remains to this day the very model of l'uomo universale, or the universal man who aspires to excellence in as many fields as possible. Da Vinci revolutionized our sense of what it means to be human. Before his model of what a Renaissance life could be, human life was considered as defined or scripted in a preordained fashion by God. After da Vinci showed how one's life can itself become a work of art, the modern individual now had a new model to aspire to: a life defined by experiment and serious play (homo ludens of the most serious kind). Before da Vinci's life, the artist was humble and anonymous for fear of offending God and the static social hierarchy of the day. After his life, the artist (defined in the broadest sense possible) could aspire to be a guiding light to all of society. Above all, Leonardo was a leader for showing that if it were true that God made man in his own image, then surely man could return the favor by creating divine works of art. As the art historian Kenneth Clark commented, Leonardo possessed the "most relentlessly curious mind in history."

Leonardo Da Vinci was a product of Renaissance Italian society. As a son of a middling landowner and a peasant woman, he was dependent on the more meritocratic society of Renaissance Italy to give him the chance to rise above his relatively low social origins. Italy at that time was more educationally advanced than other parts of Europe. Even common people had to be numerate and literate in order to function in the relatively advanced economy of the time (banking, commerce, textile production, shipping, and the luxury goods business were the predominant industries of the time). His elementary education was sound but by no means complete. But Leonardo had the Renaissance spirit to become great through his own individual efforts. He pushed himself to learn Latin, advanced mathematics, and other fields of scholarly endeavor on his own. Leonardo summarized well his philosophy when he said that "anyone who in discussion relies upon authority uses not his understanding but his memory."

Leonardo enjoyed the opportunity to apprentice under the artist Andrea del Verrocchio. During this apprenticeship, he cultivated his natural talent for close observation of the natural world. For Leonardo, "the grandest of all books, I mean the universe, stands open before our eyes." Later, this skill would blossom and influence Leonardo's philosophy of life (a philosophy embodied in the phrase *saper vedere*—knowing how to see). In a sense, he led a revolution in human consciousness by seeing the world afresh after the one-thousand-year period of the Middle Ages. In the medieval era, leaders and led alike tended to see the world as "fallen" and hopelessly inferior to the Christian afterworld. Whereas medieval art would eschew tools such as linear perspective in favor of capturing the spiritual essence of the person or event being depicted. Renaissance pathbreakers such as Leonardo would dare

to question this assumption. For Leonardo, the key was to see the natural world as a wonder worth admiring and learning about for its own sake. The best way to worship the Christian God according to this line of thinking might consist in being creatively godlike oneself. This Leonardo proceeded to do in his long and varied career.

Art and power were allied in Italy in a way rarely seen in history. Leonardo was continually lionized by the leaders of Florence, Rome, Milan, and France. Leonardo received patronage and artistic freedom. In exchange, the leaders of these polities got legitimization and respect for having the taste and acuity of mind to recognize artistic genius. Whereas other Renaissance artists focused on one or two fields of endeavor, Leonardo's expertise was sought in fields as diverse as civil and military engineering, painting, architecture, and sculpture. He was *primus inter pares* among Renaissance leaders. The example of Leonardo's life still supports the idea that a leader's reach should always exceed his grasp. While many of his projects could not be completed due to limitations in technology, politics, or funding (witness the fate of his flight machines, the biggest equestrian statue since ancient times, and his huge canal project), Leonardo was always ready to move on the next project without giving up on the old ones.

In helping to form the modern notion of the autonomous and creative individual, Leonardo made it respectable for individuals to create their own roles in life rather than having such roles scripted for them by the Church, parents, or society. Leonardo was also interested in science. His leadership in changing how we perceive the world (as shown in his meticulously realistic drawings and paintings) was part and parcel of his larger ambition to increase our knowledge about the natural world. His apparent dream of one day capturing, in almost encyclopedic fashion, nearly every relevant feature of the natural world in his drawings would help lead to the scientific revolution and the attempt to understand nature on its own terms. Leonardo's perceptual revolution allowed the natural world "to speak for itself" for the first time without humanity's imposition of a preordained teleology or ideology onto it. Leonardo was prepared to let the natural forces and motions he observed in the natural world guide him in terms of his scientific and artistic conclusions about it.

Leonardo's preparedness in approaching the task of painting explains why he was a leader in this specific field. He mastered all the technical arts pertaining to painting (perspective, chiaroscuro, composition, anatomical study, etc.) in order to say something new in visual language. Works like the *Last Supper* allow viewers to see the world afresh and to understand old stories as if they were being told for the very first time. In this sense, Leonardo shared with other great leaders the ability to help his followers see the world as filled with possibilities rather than limitations. By embodying the Renaissance idea that man could be the measure of all things and that he can do anything that he wills, Leonardo gives us a model of the artist as leader who made us see the world in a new light. If we value human dignity and potential today, it is because artists like Leonardo gave us new lenses by which to perceive the world.

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