

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Democratic Statecraft

### *Political Realism and Popular Power*

The theory of statecraft explores practical politics through the strategies and maneuvers of privileged agents, whereas the theory of democracy dwells among abstract concepts and lofty values. Can these two ways of thinking be reconciled and combined? Or is statecraft destined to remain the preserve of powerful elites, leaving democracy to ineffectual idealists? J.S. Maloy demonstrates that the Western tradition of statecraft, long considered the tool of tyrants and oligarchs, has in fact been integral to the development of democratic thought. Five case studies of political debate, ranging from ancient Greece to the United States in the 1890s, illustrate how democratic ideas can be relevant to the real world of politics instead of reinforcing the idealistic delusions of conventional wisdom and academic theory. The tradition highlighted by these cases still offers resources for reconstructing our idea of popular government in a realistic spirit – skeptical, pragmatic, and relentlessly focused on power.

**J. S. Maloy** is a native of Austin, Texas, and Associate Professor of Political Science at Oklahoma State University. He is the author of *The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought* (2008) and of academic papers in *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, and other venues.

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power  
J. S. Maloy  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Democratic Statecraft

## *Political Realism and Popular Power*

J. S. MALOY

*Oklahoma State University*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521145589](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521145589)

© J. S. Maloy 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

*A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Maloy, J. S. (Jason Stuart), 1974–

Democratic statecraft : political realism and popular power / J. S.

Maloy, Oklahoma State University.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-19220-0 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-14558-9 (paperback)

1. Democracy – Philosophy. 2. Political science – Decision making.

3. Comparative government. I. Title.

JC423.M326 2013

321.8–dc23 2012027055

ISBN 978-0-521-19220-0 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-14558-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or  
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to  
in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such  
Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page vii</i>
1 Introduction: Realism and Democracy	I
2 Reason of State and Realism’s Two Dimensions	12
3 From the Sophists to Aristotle: Institutions Lie	42
4 From Aristotle to Machiavelli: Democracy Bites	73
5 From Machiavelli to the Puritans: Fire Fights Fire	110
6 From the Puritans to the Populists: Money Never Sleeps	145
7 Conclusion: Power and Paradoxes	189
<i>References</i>	213
<i>Index</i>	227

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power  
J. S. Maloy  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Acknowledgments

Both my first book (*The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought*, 2008) and this one have made it into print thanks to the professionalism and efficiency of the New York office of Cambridge University Press. I owe a debt of gratitude to my editor, Lew Bateman, and various of his colleagues at the Press over the last few years, including Janis Bolster, Shari Chappell, Mark Fox, Anne Lovering Rounds, Emily Spangler, Susan Thornton, and Shaun T. Vigil.

Various public libraries have provided indispensable resources for my research, including the Low Library at Oklahoma State University, the Perry-Castañeda Library at the University of Texas, the McFarlin Library at the University of Tulsa, and the University of Texas, Pan-American, Library. I've also relied heavily on the efficiency of the staff of the Evans Library at Texas A&M University and, most of all, on Lynn Wallace, Phil Parker, and the rest of the staff of the OSU-Tulsa Library.

It's a pleasure also to acknowledge some unusual places that have served as office space for me as I've been writing this book in the last couple of years, including Ambrosia Coffee and Tea in McAllen, Texas; Monster Car Wash in Edinburg, Texas; Thunderhead Brewery in Kearney, Nebraska; and the White Owl Pub in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

In the more traditional academic circles, very many people have had very little to do with this book up to now, and I regret that I'm

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

*Acknowledgments*

unable to recognize them all in this space. A few colleagues, nonetheless, undertook unusual burdens in reading and commenting on parts of the manuscript, especially Christie Maloyed and Yannis Evrigenis. Others who gave me valuable advice on early drafts of some of the chapters that follow include Dwight Allmann, Peter Argersinger, Dan Betti, Jesse Chupp, Eldon Eisenach, Lisa Ellis, Sara Jordan, Karuna Mantena, John McCormick, W.R. (Bob) Miller, Cary Nederman, and Diego von Vacano. Colleagues Argersinger, Eisenach, Evrigenis, McCormick, Miller, and Nederman, as well as Noah Dauber and Lucian Maloy, generously shared their specialist historical knowledge with me – even though I sometimes refused to adopt their considered views as my own! Perhaps they were motivated by something like the metaphor for minds meeting which often motivates me: stones clash, sparks fly, darkness dissipates.

I'm grateful to Oklahoma State University for supporting me on sabbatical leave during the 2010–11 academic year, when the bulk of the manuscript was written, and to Dr. Jim Rogers and his staff at the Department of Political Science at Texas A&M University for hosting me as a Visiting Scholar during that time. I'm also indebted to Yannis Evrigenis for the opportunity to participate in a conference, "Wrestling with Machiavelli," hosted by Tufts University in May 2011.

Toby Wilson, of the Institute for Teaching and Learning Excellence at Oklahoma State University, gets the credit for executing the graphics in Chapter 2. Jacob Carley and Josh Little assisted me with research in the later stages of my work on the manuscript.

Portions of Chapter 5 previously appeared under my name in "The First Machiavellian Moment in America," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 55, pp. 450–62 (2011), and I'm grateful to John Wiley & Sons, Inc., for permission to reprint that material here. The graphics in Chapter 6 are used by permission of Truman State University Press, and the image on the cover is used by permission of the Royal Library of Belgium.

For the many quotations from non-English texts which appear in this book, I always preferred to cite a published English



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-19220-0 - Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power

J. S. Maloy

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

*Acknowledgments*

ix

translation, if one was available, over making my own translation; but, in a handful of cases where a footnote cites a work with a non-English title in the list of References, the reader can assume that I'm responsible for the English translation.

This book is dedicated to two friends and colleagues who took turns hosting me in their respective corners of Texas during my sabbatical year of 2010–11: Cary Nederman and Christie Maloyed. I'm heartily thankful for their hospitality and conversation, and Dr. Maloyed in particular must take some responsibility for this book, having mastered the trick of being an acute distraction from it and an essential support for it at the same time.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

August 2012