

“It is vain to say, that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests, and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm: Nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all, without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interests which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another, or the good of the whole.”  
—*The Federalist*, No. 10

“Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined.”

—Frederick Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Lincoln”

**POLI 3809: Honors Seminar in Political Science:  
Statesmanship and Constitutional Democracy  
Fall 2014**

**Description:** Statesmanship is the exercise of political virtue in high office. But, wrote James Madison anticipating life under the Constitution, “Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm.” How does constitutionalism promote, structure, or limit opportunities for statesmanship? How does statesmanship emerge in the actions of citizens in political life, or in the offices they hold? Does modern democracy make statesmanship obsolete? Is good government possible without statesmanship?

**Instructor:** James Stoner  
208B Stubbs Hall [tel: (225) 578-2538]  
e-mail: [poston@lsu.edu](mailto:poston@lsu.edu)

**Office Hours:** Mondays, 10:00-11:30  
Wednesdays, 2:00-3:00, and by appointment

**Course requirements:**

- Attendance at every class and participation in class discussion [15%]  
MW 3:30-4:50
- Five 500-word essays on the reading, due alternate weeks [35%]  
Students will write essays about the readings on a topic of their choice, due at 4:00 pm on Fridays, September 12 and 26, October 10 and 24, and November 7
- Class presentation on final paper (during November & December) [10%]  
Having begun research for their term paper, students will present a sketch of the argument they are planning in class and will field questions from their classmates; the aim is to help improve their papers through feedback, so the grade on the presentation will be replaced by the term paper grade if the latter is higher.
- 3500-word research paper on an American statesman in political context, due Friday, December 12 [40%]  
Students will choose a statesman from American political history—someone who held state or federal office and who is no longer living— or an equivalent figure from world history and write a paper that examines his/her speeches, writings, and deeds in the context of his/her office(s) and of the politics of the time. Is there a consistent aim or focus to his/her life’s work? What was his/her principal achievement? Topics are to be chosen in consultation with the instructor by Friday, October 31.

**Books available for purchase:**

- John Barry, *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul* (Penguin) [9780143122883]
- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention* (Ohio) [9780821407653]
- Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (Simon & Schuster) [9780684868554]
- Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided* (Chicago) [9780226391182]
- Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton* (Harvard) [9780674689374]
- Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (Anchor) [9781400034048]
- Jeffrey Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton) [9780691022956]
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster) [9780671510992]
- Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Little, Brown) [9780316548182]
- Tom Plate, *Conversations with Lee Kwan Yew, Citizen Singapore: How to Build a Nation* (Marshall Cavendish) [9789812616760 or 9789814398619]

**Website and Reserve:**

A course website, including material not included in the books available for purchase, is available for registered students on Moodle. Most of the books may be found on reserve in Middleton Library.

**SYLLABUS:****INTRODUCTION**

- Mon., 8/25 Introduction  
 James Madison, *The Federalist*, no. 10  
 Frederick Douglass, "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln"

**Week One: The Political Theory of Statesmanship, Classical and Modern**

- Wed., 8/27 Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, ch. 1-2; Book III (entire)  
 Aristotle, *Ethics*, Book IV, ch. 3-4; Book VI, ch. 5, 8-11  
 Aquinas, *On Kingship*, Book II, ch. 1-4
- Wed., 9/3 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. 15-24  
 Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, II.13-14  
 Rousseau. *On the Social Contract*, Book II, ch. 1-7

## Week Two: The First American Founding

- Mon., 9/8 John Barry, *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*, prologue, ch. 8, 10, 14, 17  
 John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity”  
 Winthrop, “Little Speech on Liberty”  
 John Cotton, “A Discourse about Civil Government,” in *The Sacred Rights of Conscience*, pp. 123-146 [Moodle]
- Wed., 9/10 *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*, ch. 18-19, 27, 29, 31, 34, afterword  
 Roger Williams, “Mr. Cottons Letter ... Examined and Answered”  
 Williams, “The Bloody Tenent, of Persecution for Cause of Conscience” in *The Sacred Rights of Conscience*, pp. 146-155 [Moodle]
- Fri., 9/12 **short essay due**

## Weeks Three & Four: The Constitutional Founding

- Mon., 9/15 Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*, prologue (recommended)  
 James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention*, preface, May 14-July 2
- Wed., 9/17 *Notes of Debates*, July 5-21, August 7-14, 21-22, September 15-17
- Mon., 9/22 *Ratification*, ch. 3, & one of the following: ch. 4, 5, 6, or 7
- Wed., 9/24 *Ratification*, epilogue, & one of the following: ch. 9, 10, 12, or 13
- Fri., 9/26 **short essay due**

## Weeks Five & Six: The Statesman as Political Thinker & Party Leader

- Mon., 9/29 Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided*, ch. 2, 3, 7  
 Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Ottawa, Illinois (8/21/58)
- Wed., 10/1 *Crisis of the House Divided*, ch. 9, 14  
 Lincoln, “The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address before the Young Men’s Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois” (1/27/38)
- Mon., 10/6 Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*, ch. 1-4.1
- Wed., 10/8 *The Politics Presidents Make*, ch. 8, & one of the following: ch. 5, 6, or 7
- Fri., 10/10 **short essay due**

### **Weeks Seven & Eight: The Two Presidencies**

- Mon., 10/13 Eliot Cohen, *Supreme Command*, ch. 1-2
- Wed., 10/15 *Supreme Command*, ch. 6-7
- Mon., 10/20 Jeff Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency*, ch. 1-4
- Wed., 10/22 *The Rhetorical Presidency*, ch. 5-7
- Fri., 10/24 **short essay due**

### **Weeks Nine, Ten, & Eleven: Statesmanship in the World Arena**

- Mon., 10/27 Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, ch. 1-2, 27-28
- Wed., 10/29 *Diplomacy*, ch. 29-31
- Mon., 11/3 Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, parts 9-10
- Wed., 11/5 *Long Walk to Freedom*, part 11
- Fri., 11/7 **short essay due**
- Mon., 11/10 *Conversations with Lee Kwan Yew*, pp. 14-108
- Wed., 11/12 *Conversations with Lee Kwan Yew*, pp. 109-211

### **Workshop: RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS**

- Mon., 11/17 presentations
- Wed., 11/19 presentations
- Mon., 11/24 presentations

### **[THANKSGIVING BREAK]**

- Mon., 12/1 presentations
- Wed., 12/3 presentations
- Fri., 12/12 **FINAL PAPER DUE (4:00 pm)**