ABSTRACT

Salus Populi Suprema Lex: A Comparison of the Senates and Three Leaders of
Ancient Rome, the Repubblica Italiana, and the United States

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There are many similarities that exist between the Romanus Senatus (Ancient Roman Senate),
the Senato della Repubblica (Italian Senate) and the United States Senate. This thesis examines
these similarities to demonstrate that politics across time and geography contain many common
themes. Specifically, it analyzes policy work completed by Tribune Tiberius Gracchus of
Ancient Rome, Senator Paolo Naccarato of Italy, and Senator Rand Paul of the United States.
These three political figures all follow the ideology of progressive conservatism; an ideology that
uses conservative ends to achieve progressive means. By implementing legislation that focuses
on the individual to promote the community, the three political figures have achieved similar
policy goals in their respective countries. The thesis looks at three areas in their work: the role
of government, military alliances and foreign policy, and constitutional powers. Perhaps by
recognizing these similarities we can gain insight on ways to confront the political challenges our
country faces.

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SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX: A COMPARISON OF THE SENATES AND THE THREE

LEADERS OF ANCIENT ROME, THE REPUBBLICA ITALIANA AND THE UNITED

STATES

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PREFACE

In the summer of 2017, I participated in the Baylor in Italy study abroad program. Our group visited the Curia Julia (Roman Senate House), and I completed a research paper and oral report describing the building. My project taught me about the Senate in Ancient Rome, but I realized that I knew very little about the modern senate. Hence, one morning I asked Dr. Smith if I could see that Italian Parliament building. When I initially asked him, I was simply hoping to view the outside of the building. He told me that he might be able to set something up. A week later, thanks to the kind intervention of Professor/Soprintendente Gianni Profita, who is now president of UniCamillus, an international medical school, we would spend the day in the Italian Parliament.

Our day began in the dark on a 5:00 a.m. train from Viterbo to Rome. We arrived at the modern Senate House, where we would be spending our morning. At exactly 9:30, the guard called us over to the security booth and we were permitted to check-in. We handed over our IDs in exchange for badges that granted us access to the Senate gallery. After passing through metal detectors, we were admitted into the main hallway of the building. The elevator brought us to the second floor, where we were greeted by two more guards. The guards took our personal belongings, as the senate has a strict policy against taking any photos of the senate's session. We were briefed on the proper behavior for observing the senate; you must sit up straight, limit your talking and not show any emotion. Once in the gallery, the guard sat behind us during our visit so he could ensure that we continued to follow the protocol. Furthermore, if the senate were to go into a closed conference, we would have to leave the gallery until they were finished. A

closed conference could take anywhere from a few minutes to a few hours. To our luck, we only had to leave the gallery once for about fifteen minutes during hour two-hour visit.

I was surprised to see that the senate floor looked almost identical to the floor of the Texas House. The senators were unfocused on the speaker and instead were on the phone were their staff, away from their desks socializing with one another, or absent from the floor entirely. When it was time to vote, the floor suddenly became full of senators sprinting to their desks. If not for the difference in the language, it looked like a scene from a capitol in the United States.

Dr. Smith translated pieces of the discussion occurring on the floor so I could understand what was happening. The key issue of the day was how best to solve the current banking crisis. Many senators advocated for centralizing the banks, while many others were strongly against it, and the rhetoric became incredibly heated. Unlike American politics, the senators were much more passionate and full of emotion on the floor.   At one point, a female senator began yelling violently, prompting several senators to run towards her. A few unarmed guards rushed onto the floor and formed a circle around her, preventing her from being harmed.

Senator Paolo Naccarato kindly stepped off the floor and joined us in the balcony for a brief chat. Dr. Smith translated the conversation during which we discussed my plans for the future and the debate occurring on the floor. He told us to let him know if we are ever back at the Senate House, and he would arrange for us to have a tour of the building. When our time was up at the senate, we exited the building and headed for the Chamber of Deputies building. Dr. Smith and I met Congressman Girgio Lainati, his aide Fabio, the aforementioned Professor Gianni Profita and his daughter Sofia Profita in the piazza in front of the building. We entered the building and passed through a security check almost identical to the security check at the

senate house. The Congressman led us to the restaurant located inside of the building for our lunch.

After lunch, the congressman insisted on taking us on a personal tour through the gorgeous parliament building. The Congressman guided us through a number of rooms, including conference rooms, press rooms and the chamber itself. The chamber is massive, with enough seats to accommodate the 630 representatives. He explained that because there are twelve parties, the room is divided mainly between the two coalitions, and the largest party gets to sit in the front.

When the day ended, Dr. Smith and I boarded the train back to Viterbo. On the train ride home, we discussed how anomalous the day had been. What began as a simple request to go see the parliament building led to a day that was like no other. Our discussion turned to my future, and how the day might influence it. I am extremely passionate about politics, and I have planned on pursuing a career in politics since I was in high school. This experience brought some clarity to my plans beyond graduation. Furthermore, it inspired me to develop a greater understanding of politics in Italy and Ancient Rome. Specifically, it prompted me to look at the work Senator Naccarato and Congressman Lainati do in the Italian Parliament. Upon doing some research, I realized that there are many similarities between the politics of Ancient Rome and the politics of Italy. There are strong connections to be made between politicians in Ancient Rome, Italy and the United States. Thus, I became inspired to document those similarities.

I am writing this thesis for a few reasons. The aim of this paper is to make connections globally and historically that have not been made before and would not otherwise be made. First, we do not make these connections on our own; we are prompted to make them. There are telling parallels between the political situation in the United States and the political situation in

Italy. By studying the political situation in Italy, we might be able to gain a better understanding of how to solve our own problems in the United States. Second, we far too often neglect patterns that regularly occur throughout history. Whether it be social, military, or political events, history tells a story. By studying the past, we are able to ensure that our own narrative does not repeat the mistakes that have been made in the past. An examination of politics in Ancient Rome shows that many of the challenges that our nation faces today also existed in the Roman Republic.   Perhaps these comparisons might offer, if not solutions to the problems that our nation faces today, at least some insights as how best to navigate them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE

The Role of Government

This paper examines three politicians who share many of the same beliefs and have

written similar policy; Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the plebes of the Rome of 133 B.C., Senator

Naccarato from Italy, and Senator Rand Paul from the United States. They may sound like an

unusual trio, but they share more in common than initially meets the eye; the three of them are

progressive conservatives. A unique ideology that is not particularly common, progressive

conservatism aims to solve social issues by using limited, but aggressive, government. Like

progressivism, it advocates for social and economic reform; a distinctive trait from

conservativism, which seeks to preserve the status quo. However, like conservativism, it

supports limited government. Thus, it can be seen as a hybrid between the two.

Progressive conservatism is little known in the United States, but it is gaining popularity

in other countries. In Britain, Prime Minister David Cameron explains that his party, the

Conservative Party, is an example of progressive conservatism. He states that progressive

conservatism can be described as using conservative means to achieve progressive ends.[1] In

practice, this looks like using a limited, individualistic government to create a stronger civic

society. It takes conservative practices such as eliminating unnecessary bureaucracy, cutting

back on regulation, and promoting the individual to improve the community, the goal of

progressivism. For example, the United Kingdom House of Lords introduced a bill where

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[1] Oliver Letwin, "How Liberal Is Progressive Conservatism?" *New Statesman*, last modified on
    February 4, 2009.

suspects could be held for forty-days without charges. It was the progressive conservative party

that successfully got the bill dropped.[2] Whereas progressivism aims to promote the community

over the individual and conservativism aims to promote the individual over the community,

progressive conservativism aims to create a balance between the individual and the community.

Accordingly, according to this philosophy of governing a bottom-up approach is used when

formulating policy.[3]

The bottom-up approach begins with policy implementation at the local governmental

level, and allows the policy to slowly expand to the regional government, state government, and

eventually national government. For example, unions, industrial firms and the county

government all meet together to develop programs that work best for the employees. These

programs transition to the state government, then to the national government.[4] By starting out on

a local level, the policy better met the needs of the people in the community because it addressed

the actual problems that they faced. This contrasts with a top-down policy approach, where

politicians create policy at a national level that they anticipate what may be needed by the

community.[5] Therefore, this approach follows the progressive conservative philosophy of using

a conservative means to achieve progressive ends.

It is important to note that politics differs greatly across time and geography, so it is

impossible to create an exact comparison between the three political figures. While all three

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[2] Letwin, (2009).

[3] Letwin, (2009).

[4] Paul A. Sabatier, "Top-down and Bottom-up Approaches to Implementation Research: A
Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis." *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 6, no. 1, Jan. 1986,
32-33.

[5] Sabatier, (1986): 34.

politicians worked in the same type of political system, a republic, they work within different governments. Moreover, as politics in Ancient Rome was drastically different than politics today, Gracchus cannot really be evaluated by today's ideologies. However, if we were to attempt to place him on a spectrum of ideology in today's political context, he would be a progressive conservative. Similarly, while Naccarato and Paul have many similarities, it is important to realize that the governments in the United States and Italy function differently.

Tiberius Gracchus devoted his life to ensuring the people were represented accurately in the government. Gracchus was born into a wealthy and influential family in Ancient Rome, who were of the senatorial order. They held many senate positions, and were considered distinguished members in society. He joined the military and became involved in politics at a young age, serving in a number of political positions, but most notably as *tribunus plebis* (Tribune of the People). There is not a position comparable to tribunus plebis in American politics today, but it was technically a plebian position, or position of the common person, not a distinguished senatorial position. Therefore, it was unusual that he represented the plebians, and not more elite groups in government. A member of the Executive Branch in the Roman government, tribunes represented the interest of a specific group.[6] Gracchus represented the *plebs* (people), or the lower socioeconomic class. The position of tribunus plebis was created to protect the interests of the common people after it was determined that their interests were not adequately represented in the government.[7] Hence, his role in the government was to protect the interests of the average citizen.

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[6] Mary Beard, *SPQR*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015. 147-148.

[7] Beard, (2015): 147-148.

Gracchus is best known for reforming the land laws to ensure that all Roman citizens were able to own property. After noticing the decline in the number of free farmers in Rome in comparison with the growth of slave labor on private estates, he decided that something needed to be done about the lack of free land holders.[8] Consequently, he proposed the *lex Sempronia agraria*, a law that allowed the state to seize possession of the privately-owned land in Rome and redistribute it to the common men. Farmers that did not own land were give thirty acres, and they paid a small fee for rent. Each former land owner was permitted to retain five hundred acres.[9] Families that owned more than five hundred acres were forced to give up their land. Yet because each son was allowed five hundred acres in addition his father's five hundred acres, many families used this as a loophole to get around the five hundred-acre limit.[10] This proposition caused significant backlash from the elite and wealthy members of society, including many senators, who were concerned with the possibility of losing the land possessed by their family for several generations. Therefore, the move was not politically strategic, but Gracchus believed that the average farmer deserved the ability to own property and went to great lengths to achieve this feat.[11] His family ties and friendships with many senators proved to be useful in his lobbying efforts, and after a large fight in the senate he was able to get it passed.

Besides reforming land laws, Gracchus passed other policy in the Roman Republic. Specifically, he fundamentally changed the power held by the senate during the republic. Traditionally, the Senate and assemblies made all of the financial and international decisions for

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[8] Charles Oman, *Seven Statesmen of the Later Republic.* London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1902. 15-16.

[9] Charles, (1902): 18.

[10] H.H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero.* Fredrick A. Praeger: New York, 1959. 27.

[11] Scullard, (1959): 28.

the republic, even though they technically held no official power. The Roman Republic did not have a written constitution that explicitly gave authority to certain parts of the government the way that the United States and Italy do today. From the beginning of the republic, the Senate had dominant control of governmental decisions made in Rome. When King Attalus of Pergamum died, he left his land (located in modern day Turkey) to the Roman People. Attalus' death occurred in the middle of Gracchus' land reform bill fight. Therefore, Gracchus introduced a bill authorizing to use some of the land for the settlers. He announced that he wanted to bring this question before the people. This was the first time that the Senate's exclusive control of finances and international affairs was challenged.[12] The Senate, who was already displeased with him, was upset by his attempt to curtail their power. He succeeded in challenging the unrestrained power of the Senate, but he was stoned to death a few days later with many other Gracchans. His body was thrown in the Tiber river along with the bodies of his supporters, who were also stoned that day.[13]

Gracchus' challenge of the Senate's uncontested power was an important challenge of the elite group that held power. Furthermore, he encouraged the people to dispose Octavius, a fellow *tribuni plebis* at the time, and re-elect Gracchus. It is important to recognize that seeking re-election as *tribunus* was technically illegal, and so Gracchus reelection was not legal.[14] Although the *tribuni plebis* were created to represent the people, over time they turned into a chamber for the nobles. Gracchus sought to reclaim the chamber for the people. He posited that he could accomplish this by removing Octavius, who continuously blocked the requests of the

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[12] Scullard, (1959): 28

[13] Scullard, (1959): 29

[14] Scullard, (1959): 29.

people in favor of the nobles. Thus, he was a symbol of resistance against the control of government by the elite.

Senator Rand Paul is championed for being a conservative in the United States Senate. Representing Kentucky, he is the junior senator from the state. He is a member of the Republican Party with memberships on the Committee on Foreign Relations, Committee Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, and the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.[15] He is known for not being afraid to critique his own party, as is evidenced by his membership in the Tea Party Movement. The group was created in 2008 to push back against the growing size of government. It advocates for fiscal responsibility, limited government and free markets. Specifically, members wanted to push back against President Obama's use of government money to bail out the auto companies who declared bankruptcy. Therefore, it is influenced by populist views that contend the government is comprised of the people, and thus it should follow the people's interests. The movement is a grassroots movement that is composed of American citizens as well as American politicians. It prides itself on striving to fill Washington D.C. with common citizens, instead of elite insiders.[16] Accordingly, Paul is sometimes seen as a far-right, radical conservative in the United States Senate.

Yet for Paul, the "far-right" moniker is not a perfect fit. Paul works hard to ensure that the government does exactly what it was created to do: protect the rights of the people. While he

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[15] United States Senate. "Committees." Committee Assignments. *United States Senate*. Accessed on October 23, 2017. https://www.senate.gov/general/committee_assignments/assignments.htm.

[16] Katie Connolly, "What Exactly Is the Tea Party?" *BBC News*, last modified on September 16, 2010. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-11317202.

is known for his constant criticism of the size of the government, he also places an emphasis on ending crony capitalism (favorable intervention in the market based on personal relationships)[17] and collusion between government and big business. Most recently, he sponsored the "Economic Freedom Zones Act of 2017" as a means of expanding the free market. The act is designed to provide economic relief to Americans by lowering tax rates and increasing tax credits, lowering costs for municipalities, and removing barriers within the workforce. The intention is that these changes will lead to an increase in human capital and investment in the economy. Among other things, this act will prohibit the federal government from using funds to bailout private companies. Paul believes in a free market where private companies do not rely on the government, or more specifically, tax payer dollars, to rescue them when then reach economic hardship.

Senator Naccarato of the Italian Senate does similar work to that of Senator Rand Paul; he also focuses on fighting against elitism in government. Representing the Lombardy district in the north of Italy, he is one of six senators that speak for the region. Naccarato is a member of Grandi Autonomie e Libertà (Grand Autonomies and Freedoms) group, a center-right group that is less extreme than some of the other right-wing groups and parties in the Italian Parliament.[18] The party is a part of the center-right coalition, which currently holds control of the senate. He holds memberships on the First Permanent Constitutional Affairs Commission, the Parliamentary Commission for the Investigation on the Abduction and Death of Aldo Moro, and is Vice-

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[17] Business Dictionary, "Crony Capitalism." s.v. http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/crony-capitalism.html.

[18] Senate of the Republic. "Parliamentary Groups." Grand Autonomy and Freedom Group. *Senato della Repubblica.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate March 25 2018. http://www.senato.it/leg/17/BGT/Schede/Gruppi/00000072.htm.

President of the Parliamentary Member of the Supervisory Committee on Deposits and Loans.[19]

The Constitutional Affairs Commission is currently working to reduce the size of the Senate to one hundred members who will be elected by regional councils. This will further reduce the power of the Senate, but it will also make the Senate more efficient.[20] At its current size of three hundred and fifteen senators, the Senate often experiences difficulties in achieving policy goals. A smaller senate will hopefully provide more tangible policy results, and less gridlock between coalitions. Additionally, he is an expert in intelligence; he serves as Attorney General of Fondazione Intelligence Culture and Strategic Analysis Foundation. The objective of the organization is to analyze occurrences related to internal and external security in relation to the growing unfolding of economic, financial and legal globalization. It aims to be a reference for political and administrative institutions. Hence, he has devoted a portion of his career to research for the intelligence community.[21]

Government and the Economy

Naccarato recently introduced a bill titled, "Delega al Governo per la Riforma Dell'Ordinamento Bancario Mediante la Separazione Tra Credito Produttivo e Attivita

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[19] Senato della Repubblica, "Senators," Paolo Naccarato. *Senato della Repubblica.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate on October 23, 2017. http://www.senato.it/leg/17/BGT/Schede/Attsen/00008988.htm.

[20] Erik Jones and Gianfranco Pasquino, *The Oxford Book of Italian Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[21] Paolo Naccarato, "Biography,", *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate on October 23, 2017.http://www.paolonaccarato.it/biografia.php

Finanziara Speculativa" (Delegation to the Government for the Reform of the Banking System

by Separating Production Credit and Speculative Activity), proposing to separate the activities of

manufacturing banks and speculative banks. The bill states that Italy needs to rein in the

growing banking system that allows banks to make riskier gambles by nationalizing the banks.[22]

He fondly recalls the that the Glass-Stegall Act of 1933 and Franklin Roosevelt's presidency of

the United States; the last time that Italy's banking system was reformed. By re-establishing

these principles, Naccarato desires to hold the government accountable to its money.[23] Thus,

Paul and Naccarato share many of the same policy goals. Paul believes that action needs to be

taken today in the United States which parallels that of the Glass-Stegall Act, but he raises

concerns about allowing regulation by the government.[24] Breaking up big banks reminds him

too much of Teddy Roosevelt breaking up big trusts; Paul is not a fan of using a big stick with

the economy. An alternative action that would limit the size of banks could be withholding

insurance from big banks, or limiting the amount of insurance they are able to have. Hopefully,

that would limit the size of banks without too much government intervention.[25]

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[22] Paolo Naccarato, "Law Projects." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated by Google Translator. Last modified May 27 2013. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/attivita.php?id=74&tipo=1.

[23] Naccarato, "Law Projects." (2013).

[24] Jon Ward, "Rand Paul Cool On Breaking Up Big Banks, Open To Starving Them." *The Huffington Post*, last modified on March 12, 2013. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/12/rand-paul-banks_n_2860242.html.

[25] Ward, (2013).

Like Paul's bill, Naccarato's bill includes a prohibition on using public money to bail out private banks. This serves as a means of rebalancing the power between the states and the finance.[26] Although Paul would be against nationalizing banks and is a big proponent of privatization, he would agree with Naccarato that public money should not be used to save private banks. Naccarato believes that since 2008, government bailouts of private business have become increasingly frequent. This is the same year that the federal government bailed out many of the banks and corporations that were failing in the United States. Paul was a critic of this decision, arguing that Americans who pay taxes intend for them to go towards public goods, not towards bailing out CEOs with multi-million dollar salaries.[27] Thus, Paul and Naccarato are both working diligently to stop crony capitalism in their respective countries.

Similarly, Gracchus' land redistribution parallels the work of Paul and Naccarato. Paul, a strong defender of property rights and limited government, would criticize Graccchus' proposition to redistribute land.[28] Gracchus' land redistribution could be characterized as an early form of eminent domain; the Roman government forced individuals to give up the property the inhabited for compensation. That action is similar from the American government's current practice of using eminent domain for public projects. In the United States today, eminent

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[26] Naccarato, "Law Projects." (2013).

[27] Ward, (2013).

[28] Rand Paul, "Dr. Rand Paul's FAIR Act Restores Respect for the 5th Amendment." Press Releases. *Rand Paul for U.S. Senate,* accessed October 23, 2018. https://www.paul.senate.gov/news/dr-rand-paul%E2%80%99s-fair-act-restores-respect-5th-amendment.

domain is the government taking private land and converting it to public use.[29] In accordance

with the Fifth Amendment, the government may only use private property for public use if the

owner is justly compensated.[30] The land that Gracchus redistributes is technically publicly

owned by the Roman government, as there were not strict law dictating private ownership.

Instead, land was seen as more of a collective commodity that was occupied by individuals. So,

Paul might be more inclined to support the act than if it were private property. Yet, he is

generally against government interfering with property rights; the premise of Gracchus' bill.[31]

While Paul would disprove of the idea of a government mandated land distribution, he would

approve of the idea of expanding the property ownership among citizens, and ending the

tradition of writing legislation that solely represents the upper class.

 Gracchus' decision to bring the proposed the bill directly to the Concilium Plebis

(Popular Assembly), bypassing the Senate, was unheard of. The Concilium Plebis was the lower

chamber of Rome's legislative branch.[32] The Concilium Plebis was composed of commoners,

and served as a chamber for the common people to get legislation passed. In contrast, the Senate

was composed of the wealthy, upper class of Rome. All bills went to the Senate for a hearing,

and then were referred to the People.[33] Gracchus' choice to go to the Concilium Plebis before

going to the Senate thus broke the one hundred-year-old legislative custom. His decision

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[29] Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute. "Eminent Domain." s.v.
 https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/eminent_domain.

[30] Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute. "Eminent Domain." s.v.

[31] Scullard, (1959): 28-29.

[32] Scullard, (1959): 27.

[33] Scullard, (1959): 27.

displayed his commitment to reflecting the opinions he represented.[34] Moreover, he knew that if

he brought his bill directly to the Senate the senators would never pass it, as they were some of

the largest landowners in Rome. He was correct; M. Octavius, another tribune plebis in the

Concilim Plebis, vetoed the bill at the Senate's request. Gracchus was surprised that Octavius

would sell out the interests of the people to benefit the Senate. Octavius and Gracchus held a

complex relationship, and it is unclear if they were friends or political opponents, but Gracchus

believed that Octavius would support the bill despite the fact that he stood to lose land.[35] After

much political debate over the bill, Gracchus urged the voters to remove Octavius from office

because he no longer act in the interests of the commoners.[36] In addition, he advocated for

allowing himself to stay in office longer, also an unprecedented action. Paul would support such

a gesture because he ignored the "career politicians" who would view the action as threatening to

their position. The idea of serving the people in the government and not the interests of the elite

echoes the message of the Tea Party movement. Removing Octavius from office is no different

than removing a "Washington insider" or career politician from office today.

Gracchus thus had loyalties to the elite and to the common people; his family were the

elites but he represented the common people. Part of the reason the senators were so upset about

his land reforms was because they believed that he would remain loyal to them even though they

were not the people he represented. His decision to favor the common people over the senatorial

elite was not only uncommon, but went against his family and friends. Gracchus' move to

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[34] Scullard, (1959): 27.

[35] David Epstien, "Inimicita Between M. Octavius and Ti. Gracchus, Tribuni Plebis, 133 B.C."
  Hermes. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983. 297.

[36] Scullard, (1959): 30.

choose loyalty to the *plebis* over the Senate demonstrates his commitment to helping the average citizens of Rome.

Representation in Government

Paul is working to impose term limits on Congress in the United States, which is effectively what Gracchus attempted to do in the Roman Senate. Paul co-sponsored a Senate Joint Resolution, which calls for a constitutional amendment restricting the amount of time that a member of Congress may be in office.[37] If passed, the constitution would be altered so that members in both chambers of Congress would only be able to serve for a maximum of twelve years. In the Senate, this would be two terms, and in the House of Representatives it would be six terms.[38] Like Gracchus, Paul believes that if individuals are in government for too long they become influenced by the government, and sometimes lose sight of their principles in over time. Both political figures agree that less increasing the turnover of representatives in office will lead to a government that is more vested in the people and less vested in itself.

Gracchus' notion that the people should remove a politician from office who does not represent that they want raised a question posed that is often posed in representative governments: is it the job of the representative to do what the people want, or to do what he believes is best for the republic?[39] Gracchus would maintain that it is best for him to do what the people want, and his dispute with Octavius created the fierce opposition that murdered

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[37] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. S.J. Res. 2. 115th Congress, January 3, 2017.

[38] U.S. Congress. Senate. 2017.

[39] Beard, (2015): 226.

Gracchus.[40] Gracchus' assassination acted as a turning point in Roman politics, emphasizing the

divide between wealthy Romans and poor Romans. His land reforms left the upper class upset

with the lower classes, and murdering Gracchus sent a clear message to the lower classes that

they were in power.[41] Similarly, the land reforms showed the lower classes that they could

achieve their political goals, and Gracchus' death angered them. The polarization between the

two groups would continue through the end of the republic into the empire.[42] Cicero later wrote

that Gracchus' death illuminated two views on the way that government should function; the

view that the government should directly reflect the views of the people, and the view that the

government should be comprised of the "best" men. Gracchus believed that it should directly

reflect the views of the people, while Octavius believed that it should reflect the views of the top

citizens in Rome.[43]

Gracchus' crusade to remove Octavius from office again illustrates his ability to maintain

loyalty to the common people over the elite, and his disloyalty to his family and friends. The

senate maintained control of almost all aspects of Rome's government in 133 B.C., and was

composed of the wealthiest and most influential members of society. By encouraging the people

to vote Octavius out of office, he was upsetting the traditions of government. Moreover, he was

jeopardizing his family's social status. For Gracchus to choose to support the *plebis* over the

senate was a huge sacrifice, one that cost him his life.

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[40] Epstien, (1983): 299.

[41] Judy Gaughan, *Murder Was Not a Crime.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010. 111.

[42] Henry Boren, "Tiberius Gracchus: The Opposition View." *The American Journal of Philology*
   82, No. 4. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1961. 362.

[43] Beard, (2015): 227.

The tension between the elite and the common people in Roman resembles the tensions between different groups in the United States and Italy. In the United States, there is tension between "establishment" and "anti-establishment" politicians. Establishment politicians can be described as those who are in politics to make a career out of it or achieve personal success, such as political power or business deals.[44] They focus on passing policies that help out businesses and people in power, instead of the common citizen. It is painted as a group of people that our powerful, rich and secretive; they do not pass policy that helps the common man.[45] A large movement to vote establishment politicians out of office is emerging, and Senator Paul is at the front of the fight to remove the establishment from office. When he ran for president, Paul used the slogan, "Defeat the Washington Machine. Unleash the American Dream."[46] An advisor of Paul's campaign said that the slogan was meant to be a "hat tip" to politicians like Hilary Clinton and Scott Walker, who have never held a job outside of politics.[47] Before running for senator, Paul owned an ophthalmology practice. He stresses the importance of his non-political background, as it means that he only holds the interests of the people and not himself.[48] He

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[44] Danielle Kurtzleben, "People Keep Talking About 'The Establishment.' What is it anyway?" *NPR*. Last modified on February 11, 2016. https://www.npr.org/2016/02/11/466049701/how-establishment-became-the-buzzword-of-the-2016-election.

[45] Kurtzleben, (2016).

[46] Mike Allen, "Rand Paul Unveils Populist, Anti-Establishment Slogan." *Politico.* Last modified on April 6, 2015. https://www.politico.com/story/2015/04/rand-paul-2016-campaign-slogan-116685.

[47]Allen, (2015).

[48] Jeff Shesol, "Rand Paul and the Political Experience." *The New Yorker.* Last modified on April 7, 2015. https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/rand-paul-and-the-problem-of-political-experience.

argues that politicians who have a career in politics become involved in deal making and agendas, while politicians who are average people are more likely to represent the true intentions of the people. Therefore, a political representative should be a person with a career unrelated to politics who decides to represent the people from his home district.[49]

Just as there is a movement against the establishment in the United States, there is a movement against the establishment in Italy. In the recent elections, the anti-establishment party gained more seats in parliament. Like the anti-establishment movement in the United States, its goal is to create a parliament that is composed of politicians who truly represent the interests of the people, not merely what is good for themselves.[50] The movement believes in putting Italian citizens first, whether that be before foreigners or corporations. The Grandi Autonomie e Libertà, of which Naccarato is a member, is part of the center-right coalition that holds the majority in parliament. This coalition focuses on ensuring that the views of the average citizen are reflected in government, and not just the views of elite groups and politicians.[51]

Like Gracchus and Paul, Naccarato worked outside of politics before he decided to run for office. Prior to being a Senator, Naccarato served in the Chamber of Deputies (similar to the House of Representatives in the United States) as a representative for his district. Yet, before his

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[49] Shesol, (2015).

[50] Lauren Said-Moorhouse and Euan McKirdy. "Italy's Voters Choose Populists, Deliver Stinging Rebuke to Europe." *CNN*. Last modified on March 5, 2018. https://www.cnn.com/2018/03/05/europe/italy-elections-intl/index.html.

[51] Sylvia Poggioli, "Preliminary Results: Italy's Center Right Coalition Leads After Election." *NPR*. Last modified on March 5, 2018. https://www.npr.org/2018/03/05/590803571/preliminary-vote-tally-italy-s-center-right-coalition-leads-after-sunday-s-elect.

career in politics, Naccarato worked as a journalist. He was Director of Il Nuovo Osservatore, a monthly magazine that discusses economic, political and social issues.[52] As with the other two political figures, Naccarato did not set out to have a career in politics, but also became in politics and used his background to help his work in politics.

Gracchus, Paul and Naccarato adhere to the notion that the politicians should implement the policy that is a direct reflection of the views of the people, not policy that politicians believe is the best for the people. This governing philosophy is central to their legislation; Gracchus' worked to remove Octavius from office, Paul is promoting voting career politicians from office, and Naccarato's coalition is working to pass legislation that is directly influenced by the views of the people. The three politicians participated in movements within their respective governments to ensure that their republics were being ruled by the people, not by interest groups. Moreover, Paul and Naccarato did not seek a career in politics, but rather decided to become politicians because they saw problems within their districts that they believed they could solve. Hence, the three politicians devoted their political careers to representing the people, not acting as a ruling elite.

Likewise, Naccarato's proposal to nationalize the banks of Italy again echoes Gracchus' desire to ensure that the common man is not overlooked for the elite. In contrast to Paul, both Naccarato and Gracchus believe that government should step in to solve the gap between the people and the elite. This is distinct from Paul's viewpoint. Paul would argue that while their actions are well-intentioned, it is incorrect to assume that the government is able to solve the

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[52] Paolo Naccarato, "Biography,", *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate, March 2018. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/biografia.php

problems of the people better than they are able to solve their own problems. In fact, he might argue that the government manifested these problems; the Roman government allowed tenants to live on government owned property and the Italian government enabled a moral hazard (lack of consequences for risky behavior), by bailing out banks and turning a blind eye to their questionable activity. While the three politicians agree that the current system needs to be reformed in order to achieve the ends, they have a fundamental disagreement about the means. Paul might suggest that Gracchus solve the issue of land ownership by lowering the taxes on the farmers so they have extra spending money they can save to purchase land. Likewise, he might advise Naccarato to solve the banking problem by eliminating any government intervention with banks, doing away with their mixed economy and creating a free market economy.

Naccarato's governing philosophy is key part of the legislation he writes, but he is working the help the people of Italy in more tangible ways than writing bills. He attended the Valors i Politica (Values and Politics) workshop where he spoke on a panel titled "Democratic Quality in Community Life," and partook in a roundtable discussion and gave a speech on the importance of improving transparency of public institutions to strengthen the quality of life. He also described the work he completed in Southern Italy to alleviate some of the poverty. [53] The workshop was hosted by the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, the official think tank of the European People's Party. The think tank works to create center-right policy

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[53] Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies. "Valors i Politica," *Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies.* Last Modified in 2013. 2, 14-15.
https://www.martenscentre.eu/sites/default/files/inehca-values_and_politics_8-9_november_-_report.pdf

proposals that address issues Europe currently faces.[54] The conference focused on understanding

how Christian values can be performed in politics in today's world. For Christian politicians,

serving one another is an important part of their political ideology.[55] Therefore, understanding

ways they can serve one another their role in politics is an important part of the job. The

workshop featured speakers from democratic governments across the world who are in different

political positions in order to offer varying perspectives on the issue.[56] Both Gracchus and

Naccarato have devoted their political careers to serving the lower socioeconomic groups in their

countries. Gracchus became inspired to helping farm owners that did not own land, while

Naccarato continues to work to improve the conditions of the region that he represents in

Southern Italy.

Like Naccarato, Paul believes that a transparent government is crucial in ensuring the

well-being of the people, and works to brainstorm ways to combat economic equality in the

United States. Both senators believe that because the government is supposed to offer clear

representation of the people they should have full knowledge of its functioning. That is why

Senator Paul authored a bill titled "Audit the Fed," a bill that creates a nonpartisan governmental

agency to audit the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors and report the results to Congress. The

intention is to prevent the Federal Reserve from hiding an important information from Congress,

and therefore closely representing the way that citizens would like the government to spend their

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[54] Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies. "About," *Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies*. Accessed January 30th, 2018. https://www.martenscentre.eu/wilfried-martens-centre-european-studies.

[55] Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies. "Valors i Politica," (2013): 2.

[56] Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies. "Valors i Politica," (2013): 2.

tax dollars.[57] Paul hopes that the bill will cause Congress to examine the money that the federal

government in spending, and identify changes that can be made in order to cut back on

government spending. Currently, many federal agencies have complex bureaucracies, and there

is little disclosure about where they allocate money. This bill will make it public to both

Congress and the American citizens (who fund the federal government with taxes).[58] While Paul

and Naccarato may have philosophical differences about the role of government, they do agree

that it is necessary to hold the parts accountable to one another.

Moreover, because of the differences in political systems between the two countries, it is

possible the Paul would agree with Naccarato's policies if he were in the Italian Senate, and vice

versa. The philosophical differences might simply exist because the countries themselves are

founded upon different governmental structures. Both Italy and the United States have capitalist

mixed economies, but they have different policies within them. Additionally, the banking crisis

in Italy is far significantly worse than any banking crisis in the United States, so Paul might

agree with Naccarato's solution if he were in the Italian Senate.

Gracchus, Paul and Naccarato all use an ideology of progressive conservativism in their

policy work.   They believe in changing the political status quo in their countries to allow for the

common person to be more involved in the political process. In order to achieve this, they use

limited government, with an emphasis on the individual, which promotes the community. As

such, they take conservative measures, including strengthening local government and limiting

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[57] Rand Paul, "Sen. Paul Proposes An Audit Of The Federal Reserve." Press Releases. *Rand Paul for U.S. Senate,* accessed October 23, 2018. https://www.paul.senate.gov/news/sen-paul-proposes-audit-federal-reserve

[58] Paul, "Sen. Paul Proposes An Audit Of The Federal Reserve." 2018.

national government, which supports the community and increases the political participation of the average citizen. They advocate for a bottom-up approach when implementing policy; policy originates at the local level and is adopting at other regional and national levels if regions believe that it is practical for them. Thus, their ideology is unique because it uses traditionally conservative policies in order to create a more progressive community.

Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul have worked to ensure that the common citizen is adequately represented in the government, and is not taken advantage of by the elite. Gracchus' land reform bill gives land to farmers who are not property owners, thereby increasing their political power. Similarly, Naccarato is working to solve the poverty in his district, including meeting with leaders of other nations to gain policy ideas from them. Although these activities may appear to increase the role of government, it actually seeks to reform it and to prevent elitism. Gracchus and Paul both work to vote out politicians who have been in office for a long time, and all three politicians work to ensure that the government represents the interests of the people, not special interests of the politicians. They have a common goal; to accurately represent their constituents.

CHAPTER TWO

Military Alliances and Foreign Policy

Tiberius Gracchus, Rand Paul, Paolo Naccarato have different perspectives on foreign

policy because of their differences in geography and location.   However, despite their diverse

viewpoints, the three political figures have many similarities. Their ideology of progressive

conservativism can be seen in their approaches to foreign policy. Progressive conservativism

achieves progressive ends with conservative means. Therefore, the three figures take a

conservative approach to foreign policy to achieve progressive goals. It is important to realize

the political spectrum is different in each government, so, naturally, this looks different in each

for each of the three figures. Paul might appear radically conservative, while Gracchus might

appear considerably more liberal. Nevertheless, the three political figures are doing very similar

work within their respective institutions; they are employing a bottom-up approach, as outlined

in the first chapter, to foreign policy. Using this approach for foreign policy is different than

using this approach for domestic policy. In foreign policy, the figures use military alliances to

implement their bottom-up approach. They are able to do this by altering their government's

involvement in the military alliance, as well as in other countries governments. By changing the

contributions of their government to the alliance, they are able to expand these changes to the

rest of the alliance over time. Accordingly, their actions can be described as isolationist, while

their outcomes can be described as globalist.

Gracchus, Paul and Naccarato all take unique approaches to foreign policy. By

examining their successes (and failures) we are able to learn new approaches to confront the

issues on the international sphere that will develop in the future. Situations often replicate

themselves throughout time and across the globe. Hence, there is more in common between the

politics of Rome, the United States and Italy is initially observed.

Foreign Affairs in the Roman Republic

The Socii were a group of autonomous city-states located on the Italian Peninsula during

Tiberius Gracchus' time in office. Following the Social War of 88 B.C., the Socii territories

became Latin colonies of the Roman Republic.[59] Prior to that time, and during Tiberius

Gracchus' life, the land of the Socii were under the jurisdiction of their own authorities, not the

Roman authorities. They were autonomous governments that had sovereignty over their

territories.[60] The Socii and the Roman Republic formed the military alliance Socii Latini (Latin

Allies), based in the Foedus Cassianum (Treaty of Cassius). The Foedus Cassianum was a treaty

signed in 493 B.C. between the Roman Republic and the Socii.[61] Member states in the treaty

included: Tusculum, Aricia, Lavinium, Cora, Tibur, Pometia, Aredea and Rome. The treaty

articulated for mutual defense between the members, including equal military contribution.

Although the Romans maintained overall command of the military forces, all states gave an

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[59] Elena Isayev, "Corfinium and Rome: Changing Place in the Social War," in *Communicating
    Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities,* edited by Margarita Gelba and Helle W. Horsaes. 210-
    221. Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2011. 211-212.

[60] Isayev, (2011): 211-212.

[61] Arthur Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome.* Berkeley:
    University of California Press, 2006. 47-49.

equal contribution of forces, received the equal benefits from the military, and had a voice in military matters.[62]

Beyond the *lex Sempronia agraria* and his crusade for land rights in Rome, Gracchus set out to give public, Roman land to the members of Rome's military alliance.[63] There are varying accounts as to Gracchus' exact goal, but there is strong indication that he wanted citizens of other city-states to receive benefits from the Roman government.[64] Gracchus believed that all veterans of the military alliance should be given the same treatment as Roman veterans, even if they were not Roman citizens. Roman veterans were given public land by the Roman government in addition to monetary payment for their service. Gracchus' land reform bill helped ensure that all veterans received land, and that they received a sizeable amount. However, the Roman constitution did not authorize giving Roman land to citizens of Roman allies.[65] The Spanish War was ending, which meant that many soldiers were returning to Rome and the Italian nations from abroad. Gracchus wanted to establish a system for giving benefits to veterans of the military alliance that were not Roman citizens.[66]

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[62] Eckstein, (2006): 47-49.

[63] Martin Stone, "Tiberius Gracchus and the Nations of Italy," in *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War*, edited by Kathryn Welch, 221-234. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2015. 223.

[64] J.S. Richardson, "The Ownership of Land: Tiberius Gracchus and The Italians." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1980. 5-6.

[65] Stone, (2015): 223.

[66] Paul Erdkamp, "Roman Citizens, and Latin Colonists in Mid-Republican Italy." *Ancient Society* 41. Belgium: Peeters Publishers, 2011. 111-112.

The Constitution did not explicitly state that non-Roman citizens could not receive Roman public land. It did, however, say that public land was to be given only to Roman citizens. Moreover, as a Roman elected official, the constitution forbade Gracchus from writing legislation that pertained to nations other than Rome.[67] To bypass this, Gracchus enacted *fundus fieri*. Fundus *fieri* stated that Italian nations could adopt Roman legislation if they passed their own legislation that was identical to the Roman legislation.[68] Gracchus encouraged the Socii to pass *lex Sempronia agraria*. Yet, there was another constitutional issue with his plan. The governments of the Socii held jurisdiction over their territories, and the Roman government held jurisdiction over its territory.[69] If the Socii were to distribute land to veterans, they would have to distribute their own land, not Roman land. Thus, they would have to pass their own legislation written by Socii officials, not Gracchus' Roman legislation. Furthermore, the land given to the veterans would have to be Socii public land, not Roman public land.[70] Ultimately, Gracchus influenced the governments of the Socii to pass legislation that stipulated veterans receive land from their respective governments. It became common practice that veterans would receive land from the Socii governments in addition to their monetary payment, following the system used by the Romans.[71]

Gracchus' interaction with the Socii governments demonstrates the complexities of military alliances. The Romans did not outright colonize the Socii in 133 B.C. (although they

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[67] Erdkamp, (2011): 111-112.

[68] Stone, (2015): 224.

[69] Stone, (2015): 225.

[70] Stone, (2015): 224.

[71] Erdkamp, (2011): 111-112.

would eventually), but they exercised other forms of hegemony to control the actions of the city-states they were in alliance with. Members of the Socii Latini were not officially required to adopt Roman laws and institutions, but they found it practical to do so.[72] For example, the Socii adopted the practice of passing legislation modeled after Roman laws. While it was not Gracchus' intention to see that all allies of Rome followed the same laws and institutions, he played a key role in influencing the legislators of other governments to adopt Roman customs.[73] His desire for all city-states a part of Foedus Cassianum to give public land to veterans created a new system for adopting Roman legislation that was distinct from fundus fieri. Now, instead of simply adopting the legislation written by the Roman government, elected officials from other governments would write their own legislation mimicking the Roman legislation.[74]

Although Gracchus was unaware of it at the time, the implication of his policy method would be a form of supremacy used by the Romans over the Socii. Until the Romans actually conquered the city-states, the Romans would exert political power over the city-states by encouraging them to adopt their laws and institutions. Therefore, in an informal way, Rome began using the military alliance as a way to promote republican values and institutions to Italian city-states that neighbored Rome. The alliance was not just a treaty of mutual defense; it was also a way to control the political practices of the surrounding city-states.

[72] Stone, (2015): 226.

[73] Stone, (2015): 226.

[74] Stone, (2015): 227.

The relationships between Rome and its allies parallel some of the relationships that exist today between the United States' and Italy's relationships with their allies. In fact, the role of the United States in its military alliances closely resembles the role of Rome in its treaties. Specifically, Foedus Cassianum and the allied relationship of Socii Latini resembles the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), of which both the United States and Italy are members. NATO is a political and military treaty organization composed of twenty-countries located in North America and Europe. The current member countries are as follows: Albania, Belgium, Bulguria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.[75] NATO was formed in 1949 to create a military alliance based on mutual defense at the start of the Cold War. The Treaty of Brussels, a treaty of mutual defense signed by several European countries served as the basis for NATO. The countries decided to expand the treaty to other European countries the United States, resulting in the formation of NATO.   The primary goal of the organization is to defend its members against attack. Member countries are free to choose how they respond to an armed attack against an ally (army, air force, navy, etc.), but they are required to give some form of response.[76] Article V of the treaty explicitly states the conditions that must be met by the member states following an attack on one of the member

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[75] NATO. "Member Countries," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018. https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html#members.

[76] NATO. "Basic Points," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018. https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html#basic

states. This article has only been invoked once, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United

States. NATO deployed troops to Afghanistan following the attacks as an act of mutual

defense.[77]

Beyond the mutual defense agreed upon by the members, NATO engages in "crisis

management" with both military personnel and non-military personnel. This includes diplomacy

to solve political disagreements, disaster relief following a natural or humanitarian disaster, and

peacekeeping missions to resolve conflicts.[78] Hence, while the focus of the organization is

defending the member states against attack, military force is only used after it has attempted to

solve the problem through all other methods. As such, NATO currently devotes a large portion

of its resources to counterterrorism efforts.[79]

Like Rome, the United States uses its involvement in military alliances in a seemingly

hegemonic fashion. The United States uses NATO to become involved in European politics. The

military alliance provides the United States with an instrument to influence the values and

institutions in other countries, especially other republics.[80] NATO states in its mission that its

purpose "is to guarantee the freedom and security of its members through political and military

means."[81] It defines "political means" as promoting democratic values, cooperating on defense

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[77] NATO. "Events," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018.
https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html#events

[78] NATO. "Basic Points," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018.
https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html#basic

[79] NATO. "Basic Points," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018.
https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html#basic

[80] John Agnew, *Hegemony*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005. 15.

[81] NATO. "What is NATO?" *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018.
https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html.

and security-related issues, building trust and preventing conflict.[82] Thus, the United States is

able to influence the institutions and legislation in other countries. NATO's promotion of

democratic values and aim to prevent conflict is similar to Gracchus' desire for the Socii Latini

to adopt the laws of Rome. Furthermore, Rome's role in the Socii Latini is comparable to the

United States' role in NATO; both states (whether officially or unofficially) serve as the head of

their treaties. The United States encourages the member states of NATO to adopt its laws and

institutions the same way that Rome encouraged the member states of Socii Latini to adopt its

own legal and societal norms. By promoting democratic values and institutions, the United

States uses hegemonic actions over the member states. The republican model can often

encourage the desire to expand territorially. Yet, the republican model also resists the

colonization that is associated with the model of an empire. Hence, hegemony provides an

alternative method for republics to expand their territories.[83]

As a member of the United States Senate, Senator Rand Paul is active in making

decisions concerning the United States' involvement in NATO. He cautions against the United

States giving too many resources to NATO. Most recently, he disagreed with the decision to

allow Montenegro to join the organization, although the majority of the Senate supported the

decision. He reasoned that adding another country into the organization would further increase

the already large military burden of the United States. He added that including Montenegro in

NATO does not aid the national security of the United States in any way, but creates a "one-way

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[82] NATO. "What is NATO?" *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, accessed January 2, 2018.
   https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html.9o.

[83] Agnew, (2005): 15-16.

street" where the United States is now responsible for defending NATO.[84] He believes the

overwhelming desire to expand NATO by Americans appears to come from a fear of Russia.

Instead of giving into fears, Americans should be more deliberate about who joins their alliances,

and consider some of the ramifications that might come with it.[85] He even argues that many

countries use the United States' contribution to NATO as their main form of defense, instead of

their own resources. This allows them to use their own resources for their domestic affairs since

they are not spending money on defense. Furthermore, it is important to remember that the

United States is responsible for defending any country if that is a member of NATO if they are

attacked. As a result, the United States is responsible for defending many countries without

getting much in return.[86]

Paul's apprehension of expanding NATO and proposition to scale back United States'

involvement in other countries suggests that he is opposed to the influence the United States

exercises over other countries though the military alliance. Unlike Gracchus, Paul advocates

ending the tradition of the United States influencing the institutions of other countries. While it

is unlikely that Paul would be given the opportunity to bring legislation to another country like

Gracchus was able to bring Roman legislation to the Socii, Paul's comments on NATO indicate

that he would turn down the opportunity.

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[84] Rand Paul, "Russia Policy: Rand Paul Against Montenegro Joining NATO." *Time*, last
   modified March 31, 2017. http://time.com/4718958/montenegro-nato-rand-paul/.

[85] Paul, "Russia Policy: Rand Paul Against Montenegro Joining NATO." *Time*, last modified
   March 31, 2017. http://time.com/4718958/montenegro-nato-rand-paul/.

[86] Paul, "Russia Policy: Rand Paul Against Montenegro Joining NATO." *Time*, last modified
   March 31, 2017. http://time.com/4718958/montenegro-nato-rand-paul/.

Italy's involvement in NATO is different from the United States, but it also plays a large role in the organization. In March, Fondazione Intelligence Culture and Strategic Analysis (ICSA) of which Naccarato serves as Attorney General, discussed the future of NATO in Italy, and published their conclusions. The organization stated that President Trump's description of NATO as an "obsolete instrument" was hyperbolic, as so many of the president's statements are, it neveretheless may suggest something about the current condition of the alliance.[87] What NATO needs, states ICSA, is a serious reassessment of its objections. Similarly, NATO needs to increase the number of resources that are allocated to terrorism, because terrorism is the biggest threat that the member countries face right now. Likewise, ICSA argues that currently NATO is not accomplishing any of its goals.[88] Yet, ICSA proffers a solution. A hub comprised of several terrorism experts has been created in Naples, Italy to work alongside with NATO's Allied Joint Force Command in Naples. It is not enough to solve the current terrorism problem that the world faces, but it is a significant step. Hopefully, it will encourage other members of NATO to contribute more energy and resources to fighting terrorism.[89]

The organization's analysis of NATO suggests that Naccarato will likely agree with Paul that currently, NATO is falling short of meeting its objectives. However, they take different approaches to addressing the current situation. Paul advocates for limiting the size of NATO by preventing Montenegro from joining, and decreasing the United States involvement in the

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[87] Andrea Bonetti, "Next Libya Strategies and NATO's Future." Research and Analysis, *ICSA Fondazione*, Translated by Google Translator. Last modified March 2, 2017. http://www.fondazioneicsa.info/2017/03/02/next-libya-strategies-natos-future-and-italian-air-force/.

[88] Bonetti, (2017).

[89] Bonetti, (2017).

organization. In contrast, ICSA and Naccarato state that Italy should contribute more resources

to NATO, so the organization can achieve its objectives. The opposing solutions to the problem

show the differences in their approaches to foreign policy. Paul is more skeptical of alliances,

while Naccarato is more supportive of them, granted they are successful. The majority of the

United States Senate disagrees with Paul's stance on NATO,[90] however, which suggests that the

United States Senate seems to be generally inclined to agree with Italy's approach.

Unlike Paul, if Naccarato were given the opportunity to bring legislation to another

country like Gracchus was able to bring Roman legislation to the Socii, it is likely that Naccarato

would accept the opportunity. In fact, he has already sponsored legislation that promotes

republican values to a regional government. While he was not given the opportunity to bring

legislation to a foreign government, he was able to help a government within Italy. Naccarato

refers to himself as "Il Padre del Nuovo Statuto della Calabria" (The Father of the New Statute

of Calabria). The title comes from the role he played in writing a new statute for the Calabria

Region. His work included an updated interpretation of the constitution and adopting the charter

of European Rights.[91]

The Calabria Region of Italy is located in Southern Italy. It is one of twenty regions,

which are administrative divisions of the country. Each region is an autonomous entity that is

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[90]Paul, "Russia Policy: Rand Paul Against Montenegro Joining NATO." *Time*, last modified
March 31, 2017. http://time.com/4718958/montenegro-nato-rand-paul/.

[91] Paolo Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic
XVII Legislature.* Translated with assistance of Google Translat. Last modified October 19
2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

granted its power from the Constitution of Italy.[92] Thereby, while all regions are under the

authority of the national government and the Constitution of Italy, they are free to create their

own laws and policy without interference from the national government. Regions are ruled by a

legislature, called a regional council, and an executive branch (which includes a president). A

regional council is composed fifty elected representatives. Each region is given representation in

both chambers of the national congress.[93] Hence, a region resembles a state in the United States.

Like a state, a region maintains its own government and autonomy, but it is not a sovereign state.

Calabria is a rural region, with only two large cities, and many small towns. The main industry

is farming, but the rugged terrain makes it difficult to farm. As a result, Calabria has slow

economic development, is considered one of the poorest areas of Italy, and has a high crime rate.

However, recent government investment in tourism is helping the region's economy.[94]

      The Region of Calabria is ruled by the Consiglio Regionale della Calabria (Regional

Council of Italy). Naccarato worked with the council to write and pass "Il Nuovo Statuto della

Calabria" (The New Statute of Calabria), a reform of the existing government. The statute aims

to create greater democratic values in the region by promoting transparency, bipartisan

cooperation and efficiency.[95] The statute includes thirty-eight articles focused on executing

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[92] Francesco Talarico, "The Guide of Calabria." *Council of Calabria*, accessed January 7, 2018.
  http://www.consiglioregionale.calabria.it/hp4/pubblicazioni/GuidaConsiglio_En.pdf.

[93] Talarico, (2018).

[94] Encyclopedia Britannica,"Calabria, s.v. https://www.britannica.com/place/Calabria-region-
  Italy.

[95] Paolo Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic
  XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate. Last modified October 19
  2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

these values. Notably, Article IV promotes public participation by the people in the political process. It ensures local services are available for involvement in social issues, as well as procedures for citizens to voice their opinions to the government.[96] Article V increases the transparency of the government by making all administrative documents available to the public.[97] Article IX creates a special body to assist citizens in researching information pertaining to regional activity. The aim is that this will create a more informed and more politically active citizenry.[98] Moreover, Article Thirty-Eight makes adjustments to the electoral system to ensure that all elections are fair. The article strengthens regulations of the electoral system, making it more difficult for illegal interference in the elections.[99] Lastly, Articles XIV through XXXVII detail the composition of the Consiglio Regionale della Calabria, a description of each position, requirements for meetings (including location, frequency, etc.), and duties of the council. This will ensure that the council follows the requirements of the Constitution of Italy, and serves the people as intended by the authors.

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[96] Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate. Last modified October 19 2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

[97] Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate. Last modified October 19 2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

[98] Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate. Last modified October 19 2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

[99] Naccarato, "Statute of Calabria." Activities, *Paolo Naccarato Senator of the Republic XVII Legislature.* Translated with the assistance of Google Translate. Last modified October 19 2004. http://www.paolonaccarato.it/statuto.php.

Both Gracchus and Naccarato identified independent governments and encouraged them to adopt legislation that benefited the citizens subject to the government, specifically citizens who might be more disadvantaged. Gracchus helped the Socii to adopt the land reform law because it would provide the farmers with land; Naccarato helped the Consiglio Regionale della Calabria pass a new statute that gave citizens more participation and a greater understanding of their government. Furthermore, both political figures used a kind of an alliance as a mechanism for encouraging the government to adopt their legislation; Gracchus used the Foedus Cassianum, while Naccarato used the Constitution of Italy, under which all Italian regions are united. Hence, both political figures were able to implement laws that already existed in other governments to increase the well-being of the people they represented.

Their involvement in the politics of other governments contrasts Paul's belief of avoiding intervention in the politics of other governments. Paul's hesitation to get involved in the politics of other countries is related to his criticism of the United States' involvement in the Middle East. Paul proposed an amendment asking the Senate to cut $43 billion out of the United States' 2018 budget for defense. His amendment did not pass, but he by proposing it conveyed the notion that he believes too much money is spent on defense.[100] Moreover, he attempted to amend the National Defense Authorization Act of 2018 by proposing an amendment that would end the authorization of military force response in the response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He argued that the authorization of military forces in Afghanistan and Iraq was unconstitutional to begin

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[100] David Sherfinski, "Senate Defeats Rand Paul's Attempt to Cut $43 Billion in Spending." *The Washington Times*, last modified October 11 2017. https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/oct/19/rand-pauls-attempt-cut-defense-spending-defeated/.

with, and that the longer that forces remained overseas, the longer the injustice continued.[101] The

military forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as the forces fighting ISIS in the other parts of

the Middle East were directed by the executive branch, and the constitution requires that all wars

are authorized by the legislative branch. Therefore, the military forces were not authorized in

accordance with the constitution. Furthermore, he stated that the United States is currently

fighting seven wars, an unnecessarily high number and a resulting high financial burden to the

country.[102]

As Attorney General of ICSA, Paolo Naccarato was involved in a conference to discuss

Italy's role in NATO in 2011. A report titled, "L'Italia e la NATO in Afghanistan: Un

Approccio Integrato per la Stabilizzazione dell'Area" (Italy and NATO in Afghanistan: An

Integrated Approach for the Stabilization of the Area) was authored at the conference. The

report explains that Italy first contributed military forces to NATO for Operation Enduring

Freedom following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States.[103] The report concludes that

efforts in the country have not proven to be as successful as was anticipated, and the war has

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[101] Rand Paul, "Rand Paul: Why We Must Repeal the 16-Year-Old Authorization for the Use of
  Military Force." *Rare*, Rare, last modified September 11, 2017.

[102] Paul, "Why We Must Repeal the 16-Year-Old Authorization for the Use of Military
  Force." *Rare*, last modified September 11, 2017. http://rare.us/rare-politics/issues/foreign-
  policy/rand-paul-why-we-must-repeal-the-16-year-old-authorization-for-the-use-of-military-
  force/.

[103] ICSA Fondazione. "Italy and Afghanistan: Negotiating for an Integrated Approach for the
  Stabilization of the Area." *ICSA Fondazione.* Translated with the assistance of Google
  Translate. Last modified in 2011.
  http://www.forzearmate.org/sideweb/2010/approfondimenti/plugin-Documento-
  integrale__Afghanistan.pdf. Trans. Translated with the assistance of Google Translate.

been going on with no progress. Even so, it would not be a strategic move for Italy to remove troops from Afghanistan because it would damage Italy's image to the international community.[104] The other European nations and Canada have continued to devote their military resources, even though they have significant losses. [105] Likewise, President Obama has developed a new strategy for fighting terrorist organizations in Afghanistan, and the success of the operation is dependent on increased training of Afghan militia. The United States needs help from its allies to train all of the Afghan militia.[106] Therefore, Italy will remain committed to supporting the stabilization and revitalization of Afghanistan. Specifically, Italy would like to focus on strong political institutions to promote the political stability on the country.[107]

The report issued by Naccarato and the rest of the ICSA illustrates the uncertainty that Italy felt with its involvement during 2011. Like Paul, Naccarato seems to be hesitant to get involved in the politics in other countries, specifically Afghanistan. He is concerned about the loss of military forces that Italy has lost in the duration of operation "Enduring Freedom." He would likely agree with Paul's argument that the war is expensive and is no longer making progress at achieving its goals. Both Paul and Naccarato believe that both their countries and other countries would benefit from less involvement in other nations. Furthermore, Italy's decision to keep military forces in Afghanistan despite the losses demonstrates the leadership and influence that the United States exerts over NATO. Ultimately, ICSA decided that Italy should keep its military forces in Afghanistan because they felt obligated to support Obama's

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[104] ICSA Fondazione. (2011): 11.

[105] ICSA Fondazione. (2011): 11.

[106] ICSA Fondazione. (2011): 11.

[107] ICSA Fondazione. (2011): 11.

new strategy in the war. The United States was able to influence the decision making of another country in NATO.

The Ideology Behind Foreign Policy

Isolationism is defined as "the policy of partial or complete non-participation in international matters, and it is often associated with American foreign policy.[108] For example, the United States did not enter World War II until Pearl Harbor was attacked. Isolationism is a conservative approach to foreign policy because it emphasizes focusing on the well-being of one country instead of the entire world. Paul's belief that NATO should remain small in size, as well as to limit involvement in other countries, can be described as isolationist. Similarly, Naccarato's analysis of Italy's involvement in NATO and the war in Afghanistan exhibits characteristics of isolationism. Although less extreme than Paul's view, he still vocalizes against Italy's involvement in other countries. Even Gracchus can be described as a type of isolationist; his involvement in other governments was limited to one time, and he did not advocate for further involvement in the politics of other states.[109] Hence, the three figures expound a view of foreign policy that is isolationist in nature.

Despite being isolationist in their actions, the policy goals of the politicians are not isolationist. Paul states that a smaller sized NATO not only helps the United States by saving money, but it makes the organization more effective. Therefore, while Paul is critical of NATO, he is not against the organization itself. Similarly, he is against the use of military force in Afghanistan and Iraq because it is expensive, and the military actions are unconstitutional. He

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[108] The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy, 3rd Edition, "Isolationism," s.v.

[109] Stone, (2015).

also believes that the military forces currently in these countries are no longer achieving the initial goals of the operation. Likewise, Naccarato's analysis and criticism of NATO is not because he does not believe in NATO, but rather, because he believes that the organization currently is not fulfilling its intended purpose. Both senators take a more isolationist stance towards the organization with the intention that it will improve the work that the organization is doing. This way, the organization will be able to help their member countries in the best way possible. Correspondingly, Gracchus encourages the Socii to adopt Roman legislation because he wants to help the citizens of the member states. Therefore, the end goals of the politicians are not isolationist, because they are not putting their countries first. Instead, their actions are motivated by a desire to aid other countries.

The politicians can therefore also be described as globalist. Globalism is defined as "the idea that worldwide problems should be approached on a worldwide basis."[110] This political philosophy advocates for a global culture where countries are focused on implementing policy that benefits as many countries as possible. This goes against the conservative notion of focusing policy decisions on only one country. Instead, globalism is the progressive notion that no country should be put before other countries. This results in countries helping one another to achieve their policy goals.[111] The work of NATO and the Socii Latini is defined by countries helping one another in their military and political aspirations. By maximizing the success of the organizations, the political figures are practicing globalism.

Accordingly, Naccarato's work in Calabria and Gracchus' work in the Socii governments follow the bottom-up approach of government that is championed by progressive conservativism.

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[110] The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy, 3rd Edition, "Globalism," s.v.

[111] The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy, 3rd Edition, "Globalism," s.v.

Both politicians work at the local level to create policy that strengthens the community by promoting the individual. Naccarato's statute strengthens the political participation of the individual citizen so that he is able to become more involved in government and improve his community. Moreover, Naccarato does not propose a bill at the national level mandating what local governments must do in order to solve the problems in Calabria. Instead, he went directly to the government in Calabria and wrote a statute that solved the problems that existed only in that region. That way, he was able to avoid creating unnecessary bureaucracy in other regions that might not have the same problems as Calabria. Similarly, Gracchus did not encourage the Socii governments to adopt all of Rome's laws. Instead, he only encouraged the governments to adopt the land bill, because it addressed a specific problem that they had. This avoided creating laws that were not necessary in the Socii governments.

Thus, the three political figures used conservativism and isolationism to accomplish progressive, globalist goals. Paul believes that a smaller sized NATO will make NATO more successful, and he believes that removing the United States' military forces in Afghanistan and Iraq will aid those countries in rebuilding their governments. Similarly, Naccarato believes that NATO needs reorganization in order to achieve its objectives, and that ending operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan will allow the country to begin to rebuild. Although the two senators have slightly different positions on the issues, they both believe that less involvement in other countries will be beneficial for the other countries. Gracchus holds a similar belief, he wanted to share one piece of legislation with the Socii; he did not want Rome to control their governments. Hence, due to the variation in time and location, the three figures hold varying perspectives, but ultimately the same principles.

Thus, there are several parallels between the ancient and modern relationships in military alliances. Gracchus helped the Socii to pass legislation that was similar to the land reforms that he passed in Rome. This ensured that veterans received public land as part of their compensation for their service. Unknowingly, he set a precedent for Rome's government to encourage their military allies to adopt their laws and institutions. This would result in Roman supremacy over its military allies.

In this way, Rome's relationship with its military allies resembles the relationship of the United States with its military allies. Rome used the Treaty of Cassius to encourage its allies to adopt its laws and institutions; the United States uses NATO to adopt its laws and institutions. Even so, Paul believes that the United States' military involvement in NATO and other countries is too great, and should be scaled back. This is beneficial for the United States because it will save money, and it is beneficial for the other countries because it will allow for a more streamlined used of resources. Unlike Gracchus, Paul is very wary of becoming involved in the politics of other countries. Naccarato agrees with Paul that NATO is currently not fulfilling its objectives, but believes the remedy to this problem is increasing the number of resources that Italy gives to NATO. This will ensure that NATO can be more successful in its endeavors moving forward.

Unlike Paul, Naccarato is more willing to intervene in the politics of other governments. Naccarato's involvement with the Statute of Calabria is analogous to Gracchus' involvement with the land bill in the Socii governments. Naccarato helped the region of Calabria update their statute to address some of the transparency issues that they have recently dealt with. Like Gracchus, Naccarato saw a local problem and helped the local government pass legislation that could solve the issue. Even so, both Paul and Gracchus expressed similar concerns about their

respective country's involvement in the Middle East. They agree that the current involvement is not achieving its goals, and that something should be done to solve the issues. Naccarato explains that although Italy has experienced significant losses in the Middle East, there is pressure from other countries to keep military forces in the countries.

Consequently, the three politicians all use some degree of isolationist policy to obtain globalist results.   They believe that limited involvement from their country in many situations, such as Afghanistan, is more beneficial for both countries. By limiting their government's involvement in other countries politics, they are implementing some aspects of isolationist policies. Even so, their objective to help other countries grow can be seen as a globalist objective. Hence, they are able to pursue globalist objectives within the confines of limited global outreach by advocating for legislation that promotes working with other countries and preserving the autonomy of all governments.

Thus, Gracchus, Paul and Naccarato differ somewhat in their strategies, but they are able to use varying approaches to achieve their goals. Their differences in time and geography demonstrate that similar policies can be implemented to obtain like results.   The similarities between the United States and Rome are especially useful because of the difference in time. By looking at the consequences of Gracchus' policies the United States is able to anticipate the consequences of its policies that resemble his policies.

CHAPTER THREE

Constitutional Powers

The Res Publica Romana (Roman Republic), Repubblica Italianna (Italian Republic), and the United States of America are all republics founded on a constitution. Within each government, there is debate about the interpretation of the constitution, as well as the powers that the government holds. The Roman Tribune Tiberius Gracchus, Italian Senator Paolo Naccarato, and U.S. Senator Rand Paul hold a similar ideology: they believe in something like an originalist interpretation of the constitution. For Gracchus, this would have been a general respect for the *mos maiorum*, "the way of the ancestors," upon which I will enlarge below. For Paul and Naccarato, originalism is something closer to an actual definition such as "the view that the Constitution should be interpreted according to its original meaning."[112] Thereby, the intent of the authors of the constitution is preserved over time. Proponents of originalism argue that the design of the initial constitution promotes the best well-being of society. If there an issue with part of the constitution, it can be rectified with a supermajority.[113] Hence, a strict interpretation of the constitution bolsters the success of society because it does not give into impulses as times change, but instead ensures that the principles of the country remain constant. There is still the possibility for change if it is necessary, but the intent of the document remains the same.[114]

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[112] John McGinnis and Michael Rappaport. *Originalism and the Good Constitution.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013): 1.

[113] McGinnis and Rappaport, (2013):12.

[114] McGinnis and Rappaport, (2013):12.

An originalist interpretation of the constitution is aligned with the ideology of progressive conservativism that the three political figures adhere to. The strict interpretation of the constitution follows a conservative ideology, as it is leaves less room for laws to be passed that are not explicitly in the constitution. However, it does not eliminate all governmental action, it just restricts that action. Therefore, while actions made by the government must fall within the confines of the constitution, the government can still pursue the progressive goal of balancing the needs of the individual and the needs of the community. The three political figures follow this ideology, but each of their governments have a unique constitution. Thus, the originalism practiced by the three political figures looks different for each individual.

One of the key issues pertaining to the interpretation of a country's constitution is citizenship. Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul interpret the constitution from an originalist perspective, and therefore, hold conservative stances on citizenship. However, they also hold the progressive notion of supporting immigration and increased citizenship in their countries. Thus, the three politicians passed legislation within their respective governments to create programs promoting immigration and citizenship, while adhering to and without altering the regulations for citizenship outlined in the constitution.

Constitutionalism and Citizenship in the Ancient World

The Roman Republic did not have one, uniform document that served as its constitution. Instead, like Great Britain today, it had several documents and traditions that constructed its constitution, all of which informed the overarching, unwritten notion known as the *mos maiorum*. The original governing document of the Roman Republic was the Lex Duodecim

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Tabularum (Law of Twelve Tables).[115] Lex Duodecim Tabularum was written around 450 B.C. as part of Rome's transition from a monarchy to republic. At the time, and throughout the republic, Rome was primarily comprised of two groups of citizens; patricians and plebeians. The patricians were considered the wealthy, more powerful, upper class, while the plebeians were the underprivileged, lower class.[116] This would result in an ongoing political conflict between the classes throughout the republic. To help remedy the conflict, a total of ten representatives, some from each group, were assembled to create the Lex Duodecim Tabularum. The intent was that these laws would serve as the foundation for Roman politics, and they did. While the laws changed somewhat over the course of the republic, they remained the basis for all other laws.[117] They were written on bronze tablets that were displayed in public to ensure that all citizens were aware of their rights. Therefore, the Lex Duodecim Tabularum defined the constitutional powers of the republic. They were central to the civic involvement of the republic; young boys even memorized them in school.[118]

The Roman Republic used a system of separation of powers that would inspire the similar separation that exists in the United States today.[119] As Tribune, Gracchus used the power of the Executive Branch to check the power of the Legislative Branch. Roman politicians made a

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[115] Forsythe Gary, *A Critical History of Early Rome.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 201.

[116] Forsythe, (2005): 201.

[117] Forsythe. (2005): 202.

[118] Forsythe. (2005): 202.

[119] Eric Posner, "The Constitution of the Roman Republic: A Political Economy Perspective" in *University of Chicago Public Law & Legal Theory Working Paper No. 327* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 3.

considerable effort to ensure the executive branch did not gain too much power, but it was crucial that no branch, not just the executive branch, gained too much power.[120] Gracchus worked to rein in the power of the Roman Senate when he felt that they were acting beyond their constitutional powers. Specifically, Gracchus' land bill was an unprecedented challenge to the Senate's to the control that the Senate exercised over legislative affairs.[121]

Unlike the Italian Senate and the United States Senate, the Roman Senate did not have any constitutional power. Instead, the Senate held a more advisory role; nothing it did was legally binding. It issued decrees recommending policy that should be passed, received delegations and digested reports.[122] The Senate was comprised of the wealthiest and most powerful men of Rome, and as a result, their policy suggestions were almost always accepted. Therefore, over time the Roman senate unofficially adopted the power to legislate. During the republic, it legislated freely without constraints from the other branches, even though the constitution technically did not allow it to do so.[123]

Included in the practices informally adopted by the Senate was the practice of managing the finances and international affairs.[124] Hence, when Attalus of Pergamum bequest his land to the Roman Republic, the Senate believed that it was their jurisdiction and began trying to decide

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[120] Scullard, (1959): 28-29.

[121] Scullard, (1959): 28-29

[122] Posner, (2010): 6.

[123] Posner, (2010): 6.

[124] Scullard, (1959): 28-29

what to do with the land.[125] Attalus of Pergamum decided to leave his land to the Romans, and not his own people because of the close relationship he held with the Roman government. Attalus of Pergamum's relationship with the Roman government was not new, Attalus of Pergamum and the Romans benefited from one another for many years prior to his death. The Romans initially began supporting King Eumenes of Pergamum, Attalus of Pergamum's father, when they were afraid that he was becoming too powerful. After his death, his son, Attalus of Pergamum succeeded the throne and continued the partnership.[126] Thus, he was not a Roman citizen, but he held a close relationship with the Roman government. More importantly, he left his land to the populus Romanus (Roman people). The Senate debated what to do with the land, but it was technically the executive branch's jurisdiction. As a member of the Executive Branch, Gracchus decided to challenge the Senate's authority over the newly gifted land.[127] Although it followed the constitution, this was seen as an unusual action, something possibly even against the mos maiorum, though that "way of the ancestors" had not always been so, as we know from the fact that no Roman law actually established the Senate's vote as binding upon legislation. No tribune had challenged the Senate's power in a long time, and his decision to do so curbed the Senate's seemingly unlimited power.[128] Thus, his challenge of the Senate's control of the bequest followed the philosophy of checks and balances; he was ensuring that the Senate did not exercise power beyond its means.

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[125] Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, ed., *Roman Civilization.* Vol. I *The Republic.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. 237.

[126] Lewis and Reinhold, (1951): 319-320.

[127] Lewis and Reinhold, (1951): 319-320.

[128] Lewis and Reinhold, (1951): 319-320.

Regardless of the Senate's abuse of power, the government had to determine what was to be done with Attalus of Pergamum's land. His bequest was unusual, and the government's decision could set a precedent for future situations like this one. Furthermore, with no prior examples nor protocol in the constitution, the Senate did not know what to do with the inheritance. Some people believed that because Attalus left the land specifically to the populous romanus, the people should decide what to do with the land. At the very least, they argued, the people should benefit from the new land.[129] Attalus of Pergamum was not a citizen, and therefore did not hold the rights that the citizens of Rome held. Yet, he was an ally of Rome, which frequently gave the privileges of citizenship to surrounding city-states in Italy. Following the Social War in 90 B.C., the citizens in the Socii Latini, while technically not Roman citizens, were able to enjoy the benefits of Roman citizenship.[130] Gracchus' implementation of a land reform in the Socii Latini, as outlined in the previous chapter, demonstrates the privileges inhabitants of the Socii Latini nations received. Therefore, Attalus' decision to bequest his fortune to Rome while unusual, is not entirely unconventional; he enjoyed some of the privileges of Roman citizenship as a Roman ally. Ultimately, Gracchus successfully passed his land reform bill, and used the land from Attalus' bequest for the land distribution program.

In 133 B.C., different groups of people enjoyed different types of Roman citizenship. Individuals living in the Roman Republic were considered full citizens, as were inhabitants of cities outside of the Roman Republic that Rome granted full citizenship. These cities still had autonomous governments from Rome, but they were able to enjoy the benefits of Roman

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[129] Beard, (2015): 226.

[130] Scullard, (1959): 2.

citizenship.[131] Other cities were given half-citizenship; they were given some, but not all, of the rights that Roman citizens held. Often times half-citizenship was given to Roman colonies as a way to influence the governments of the city-states they had colonized, as most of the colonized territories retained their existing governments. Often times, these inhabitants were eventually given full citizenship. Allies, however, did not have full or even half citizenship.[132] Instead, they received a few of the privileges of Roman citizenship. Some city-states received more privileges than others; the Socii Latini enjoyed many benefits, whereas other allies only secured a few benefits. After Rome defeated the Socii Latini in the Social War in 90 B.C., the Socii Latini were considered colonies instead of allies, and they were granted full citizenship. Hence, citizenship was somewhat fluid, as alliances and colonies changed, Romans could grant or revoke it.[133] The Roman government later made it a tradition to grant citizenship to nations that it conquered. Moreover, Roman citizens that moved out of Rome to an ally state frequently lost their Roman citizenship; a key part of citizenship was living in the city itself.[134] Nonetheless, a person could acquire citizenship by moving to Rome or a city-state that held the privileges of Roman citizenship. There was no process applying for citizenship after moving to a new city-state, nor did the citizenship of a person's spouse or parent grant him citizenship; the only requirement was residency.[135]

Likewise, different groups of Romans who were full citizens enjoyed differing benefits; men held more rights than women, and wealthy citizens held more rights than poor citizens. For

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[131] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

[132] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

[133] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

[134] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

[135] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

example, women did not have the right to vote or own land, even if they held full citizenship.

Slaves also posed another class of individuals, they were considered property. However, often times they were able to earn their freedom and receive full citizenship. While enslaved, they were subject to many of the benefits associated with living in Rome, such as the military protection and security. Rules regulating citizenship stated that freeborn persons and slaves could not intermarry. Hence, even full Roman citizenship was complex, with different groups and different levels for the types of citizenship.

Roman citizenship was primarily defined by the protection of Rome. Although there were many benefits for Roman citizens, it was primarily defined by the protection of Rome. Rome aided its colonies and allies with its military power, but it devoted the majority of its resources to protecting its citizens. Thus, a strong appeal of becoming a Roman citizen was the resulting security.[136] City-states that were granted Roman citizenship were under Rome's military law. Consequently, Rome's army protected them as if they lived in Rome. Yet, it also meant that as Roman citizens, they were obligated to devote a certain amount of resources to Rome's army. Citizenship was a quid pro quo relationship; Rome gave protection, citizens gave their service.[137] In addition to military protection, the other primary desire for citizenship was the ability to vote in Rome's elections. Although colonies and allies possessed their own governments, the Roman government exercised significant political influence over their cities. As such, colonies and allies that were able to vote in Roman elections valued their ability to influence the decisions regarding their future.[138] Similarly, there are records indicating that after

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[136] Scullard, (1959): 18-19.

[137] Scullard, (1959): 18-19.

[138] Scullard, (1959): 18-19.

Rome created a new colony, Roman citizens were encouraged to move to the new colony. It is unclear if these citizens retained or lost their citizenship, but regardless, the colony was given some privileges of citizenship. Again, this demonstrates the fluid nature of Roman citizenship, which meant different things for different groups of people.[139]

Gracchus' decision to challenge the Senate's power over legislation by controlling Attalus' bequest follows the notion of originalism. Gracchus believed that because the Senate did not have the power as outlined in the constitution to legislate, they did not have that power. This follows a conservative approach to interpreting the constitution; the constitution did not forbid the Senate from legislating law, and so, the argument could be made that it was an implied power. Moreover, Gracchus held the conservative view that all branches should hold an equal amount of power. Beyond espousing originalist ideals, Gracchus' challenge of the Senate's power offered an example of checks and balances. As a member of the executive branch, he used his power to stop the legislative branch from abusing its power. Furthermore, Attalus' lack of Roman citizenship did not pose a problem for Gracchus. He followed a direct interpretation of Roman law, using it to his advantage to allocate the bequest as the funds for his land bill.

Despite the limited abilities of different groups of citizens and non-citizens, the Romans were political people. Romans would travel from all over to attend major speeches and debates in the Roman Forum, even if they could not vote nor partake in the political process.[140] For example, hundreds of people attended the debate between Gracchus and Octavius over the land

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[139] Richardson, (1980): 4.

[140] Callie Williamson, *The Laws of the Roman People.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005): 6.

reform bill.[141] All people, from the elite to the servant, followed politics and attended political

events. This level of political involvement is astonishing because all members of society were

able to participate in the political process, regardless of their status as citizens. Since the Roman

Republic, no society has replicated this high of a level of political involvement.[142]

Constitutionalism and Citizenship in the Modern World

The Republic of Italy follows many of the same principles as the Roman Republic. Like

the Roman Republic, it is representative government, and is governed by three branches of

government that operate through a system of checks and balances. However, Italy's constitution

is only one document. Italy wrote its constitution in 1946 following the conclusion of World War

II by the Constituent Assembly. At the end of the war, the citizens of Italy voted on a popular

referendum to end the existing monarchy establish a republic. Composed of political figures and

well known scholars elected by the public, the Constituent Assembly aimed to represent the

people. Catholic social thought, the country's dominant religion, influenced the constitution, and

principles that protect the lower classes in society were written into the constitution. Therefore,

private property is not an absolute in the constitution, but rather, a social privilege that has

limitations.[143] Moreover, the constitution nationalized industries that the Constituent Assembly

believed to be critical in order to allow for a land reform program if necessary. The overarching

goal of the constitution, however, was to create a system of government that could not be

dominated by one person; the Constituent Assembly wanted to avoid fascism from reappearing

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[141] Williamson, (2005): 6.

[142] Williamson, (2005): 6.

[143] Spencer Di Scala, (2009): 292.

in the country.[144] The constitution was modeled after the constitution in the United States, and like the United States, the central idea of the government is that the republic will adhere to constitutional principles, just at the United States does.[145]

The Constituent Assembly's decision to nationalize certain industries with the possibility for land reform parallels Gracchus' desire for land reforms. In fact, in 1950, the Italian government performed land distribution similar to Gracchus' reform. Initially, the government set out to redistribute land across all of Italy, but after examination, Parliament passed a bill calling for land reforms only in the southern regions of the country. In order to improve the living conditions of the farmers in Southern Italy, many of whom were impoverished, the government implemented a ten-year plan to improve the agriculture sector in Southern Italy.[146] The goal was that an increased production of agriculture would improve the economy, and thus, improve the living conditions of the farmers. Like Gracchus' land reform, the program in Italy took property from land owners who held a monopoly on the land in their region, and distributed it to farmers who did not own land.[147] A total of 1.4 million hectares of land were identified by the government, taken from the owners at the time, and given to new land owners. In total, approximately 500,000 citizens who did not previously own land became land owners as a result of the land reforms. Citizens were assigned a specific amount of land based on their budget and financial needs. For example, families received larger portions of land than individuals because

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[144] Di Scala, (2009): 292.

[145] Di Scala, (2009): 292.

[146] Robert Dickinson, "Land Reform in Southern Italy." *Economic Geography.* Vol. 30, No. 2. Worcester: Clark University, April 1954. 159.

[147] Dickinson, (1954): 172.

they needed larger incomes to support themselves.[148] The end result was a more robust agrarian

economy in Southern Italy, which helped to improve the living conditions of the area.

Correspondingly, a modern analysis of Gracchus' land bill suggests that the redistribution of land

greatly increased the number of livestock in Ancient Rome, which in turn increased the

economy.[149]

Today, Senator Naccarato represents that Calabria Region, one of the regions involved in

the 1950 land reforms. Naccarato's work as the Padre del Nuovo Statuto della Calabria, as

described in the previous chapter, demonstrates that the problems that currently affect Calabria

are not new. While the land reforms in 1950 greatly improved the conditions of the citizens

living in Calabria, the region still experiences a high rate of poverty. Naccarato's work to reform

the government in Calabria closely resembles the land reforms of 1950 and Gracchus' land

reforms.   Like Gracchus, Naccarato is committed to aiding the less fortunate members of

society.

Citizenship in modern Italy can be obtained in three ways: by birth, by naturalization or

by reacquisition. Any child that has one parent who is an Italian citizen is an Italian citizen upon

birth.[150] Any spouse of an Italian citizen is eligible to apply for citizenship after three years of

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[148] Dickinson, (1954): 173.

[149] G.K. Tipps, "The Generosity of Public Grazing Rights Under the 'Lex Sempronia Agraria' of
   133 B.C." *The Classical Journal* 84.4 (1989): 340.

[150] Consulate General of Italy. "Italian Citizenship General Information." *Consulate General of
   Italy*. Last modified on March 15, 2016.
   http://www.conssydney.esteri.it/consolato_sydney/resource/doc/2016/03/how_to_-
   _italian_citizenship_by_descent.pdf. 1.

marriage, or one and a half years of marriage if they couple has children. All spouses have the

right to become citizens, unless they are criminals. Spouses do not have to pass a test in order to

earn citizenship, something that is required in many other countries in the European Union.[151] In

addition to naturalization through marriage, descendants of Italian citizens are able to apply for

citizenship. If a person can show documentation of native grandparents and/or other relatives,

often times he is granted citizenship. Former Italian citizens automatically become civilians

again after living in Italy for one year.[152] Unlike the Roman Republic, different groups of people

do not receive different benefits of citizenship; all citizens receive the same benefits. Such

benefits include the ability to vote in Italian elections, access to Italy's healthcare system and

public education, and the ability to own property without restrictions.[153]   Therefore, Italian

citizenship functions differently than Roman citizenship.

However, citizens of other countries in the European Union are able to enjoy some of the

benefits given to Italian citizens. For example, citizens of other EU countries who are living in

Italy may use the Italian healthcare system. Conjointly, citizens of other EU countries are able to

come to Italy to work without obtaining a visa or a work permit, steps that citizens of non-EU

countries would have to complete.[154] Therefore, the EU functions in a similar way as Rome's

allies did with Rome. While EU citizens are not citizens of Italy just as allies of Rome were not

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[151] Consulate General of Italy. (2016)

[152] Consulate General of Italy. (2016)

[153] Italian Citizenship Assistance. "Benefits of Dual Italian Citizenship." *Italian Citizenship Assistance.* Accessed on March 3, 2018. http://italiancitizenshipassistance.com/benefits-of-italian-dual-citizenship/.

[154] Rosie Scammell, "EU Citizens: What Are Your Italian Rights?" *The Local.* Last modified on August 19, 2013. https://www.thelocal.it/20130819/how-to-work-in-italy-europeans.

citizens of Rome, citizens of EU countries are able to enjoy some privileges of citizenship the same way that allies of Rome were able to enjoy some of the privileges of Roman citizenship.

As with any government, the Italian government frequently addresses issues surrounding citizenship. Naccarato's membership on the 1st Constitutional Affairs Commission grants him considerable involvement in the interpretation of the constitution and the process of citizenship, including questions of citizenship. The influx of migrants in Italy is prompting questions about mitigating the potential ramifications of allowing foreign citizens into the nation. From January to June of 2017, approximately 73,000 immigrants migrated to Italy from other nations.[155] Prime Minister Italy's EU representative, Maurizio Massari, declared this number to be "unsustainable."[156] The government is working to accommodate the increased number of immigrants, while ensuring that its own citizens are safe. The majority of the migrants come from North Africa via Libya, and arrive in Italy by boat.[157]

The influx of migrants raises questions surrounding their ability to obtain citizenship. Citizenship in Italy is "ius sanguines," meaning that it is by blood, not by birth. In contrast, citizenship in the United States is "ius soli," meaning that it is by birth. Thus, someone who is born in Italy is only an Italian citizen if they have at least one parent who is an Italian citizen. Similarly, someone who is born abroad is automatically an Italian citizen if they have at least one

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[155] BBC News. "Migrant Crisis: Italy Threatens to Shut Down Ports." *BBC News.* Last modified on June 28, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40437917.
[156] BBC. (2017).
[157] BBC. (2017).

parent who is an Italian citizen.[158] This presents a unique challenge to the hundreds of migrants arriving in Italy, as the children of migrants who are born on Italian soil are typically not Italian citizens. To help remedy this problem, a bill to change Italian citizenship from ius sanguines to ius soli was debated on the floor in December 2017, but it did not pass. The intent of the bill was to make it easier for children of migrants born in Italy to obtain citizenship, but it would restructure the system of citizenship used by Italy since the creation of the republic in 1948.[159] The children are still eligible to apply to be Italian civilians when they turn eighteen.[160] The center-right groups in the senate, a few of which Naccarato holds membership, opposed to the bill because they did not believe that securing citizenship for migrants should be a priority. Right leaning members of the Senate believe that it poses a threat to national culture and security.[161]

In August of 2017, the Constitutional Affairs Commission passed a resolution titled "La Protezione del Minori Migranti" (The Protection of Migrant Minors); a resolution that addresses

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[158] Isla Binnie, "Italian PM Mourns Failure to Pass New Citizenship Law as 'Flaw' on Record," *Reuters.* Last modified on December 28, 2017. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-politics-citizenship/italian-pm-mourns-failure-to-pass-new-citizenship-law-as-flaw-on-record-idUSKBN1EM1I8.

[159] Binnie, (2017).

[160] Binnie, (2017).

[161] Binnie, (2017).

the influx of migrant children into the country.[162] Many unaccompanied minors arrive in Italy

without any support system. They face many difficulties once they arrive in Italy, and also on

the migration routes to Italy, including physical violence, organ trafficking and sexual

exploitation. When minors reach Italy, in accordance with the protocol set out be the European

Union, they are fingerprinted and cross-border registration is completed in order to locate any

family ties they may have.[163] Hence, Italy intends to create better protections for migrants who

are minors. The commission will promote the integration of migrants who are minors with the

funding that is currently available. Regardless of their status and their parents' status of

citizenship, they will be given access to healthcare, psychological support, and education.

Additionally, the resolution commits the Italian government to working with other countries in

the European Union to accomplish the following objectives: strengthen the protection of minors

of immigration routes, expedite the availability of resources for migrants who are minors, create

a more efficient registration process for migrants who are minors, and increase efforts to combat

gender violence of migrants.[164] The commission intends for the resolution to increase the safety

of immigrants as they make the journey to Italy.

　　Naccarato's allegiance to the center-right groups in parliament indicates his belief in a

strict interpretation of the constitution. Changing the process of citizenship in Italy would alter

the original protocol for citizenship defined in the constitution. Hence, Naccarato displays

originalist principles. Even so, Naccarato worked with his committee to create solutions to the

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[162] Senate of the Republic. First Permanent Commission on Constitutional Affairs. Doc. XVII. N.
　　215. Translated by Google Translate. XVII Legislature. August 1, 2017.
　　http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/1040257.pdf.

[163] Senate of the Republic. (2017).

[164] Senate of the Republic, (2017).

problems that many of the immigrants faced, without having to alter the country's governing

documents, a more progressive action. His work with the Constitutional Affairs Commission to

accommodate the children of migrants without transforming the current citizenship laws is

similar to Gracchus' dedication to helping citizens of the Socii Latini. Both individuals use

progressive conservatism to help the citizens of other nations without violating their

constitutions.

There are considerable similarities between the Italian government and the United States'

government. In fact, the Italian Republic modeled its constitution after the United States'

constitution. As a result, the two countries are often posed with similar issues. Yet, there are a

few notable differences in the structure of the government. Most notably, the American

government is a constitutional federal republic, but the Italian government is a parliamentary

republic. This means that Italy's government is technically one government, and local

governments and administrative branches do not have true autonomy.[165] Instead, the government

of the United States is not one government, with local governments and administrative branches

retaining autonomy. The United States modeled its constitutional republic after the Roman

Republic and consequently, follows many of the traditions of the Roman Republic.[166]

The United States adopted its constitution in 1789 after experiencing problems with its

previous governing document, the Articles of Confederation. Delegates from the colonies within

the United States met at the Constitutional Convention, and wrote the document.[167] It contains

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[165] Central Intelligence Agency. "Italy," "United States." *The World Factbook*. Accessed on
  March 3, 2018. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2128.html

[166] Central Intelligence Agency, (2018).

[167] John Vile, *A Companion to the United States Constitution and Its Amendments*. Santa
  Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2015. 15.

many influences from Protestant Christianity, the country's dominant religion.   As a result, it contrasts with ancient Rome and modern-day Italy's notions of property ownership. Unlike the other two governments, property ownership is considered a right.[168] The redistribution of property performed by the Roman government and the Italian government is unlikely to occur in the United States. Like Italy and Rome, the government is divided into three branches with the intent that no branch should be more powerful than the others, and that each branch will perform checks and balances to ensure such.[169]

Citizenship in the United States is ius soli; anyone born in the United States is a citizen. Correspondingly, having American citizens as parents does not make a person an American citizen. A person must be born on American soil to be an American citizen.[170] This contrasts with Italy's notion that citizenship comes from blood, not from soil. Like Italy, the spouse of an American citizen receives citizenship. Furthermore, citizens of other countries are able to acquire citizenship through naturalization. Non-citizens can apply for citizenship, which includes passing a citizenship test. Similarly, a foreign citizen who marries an American citizen automatically gains American citizenship. A person can acquire permanent residency, or a long-term visa, if he or she plans on residing in the United States for a certain period of time, but he or she does not need to have citizenship.[171]

Immigration in the United States is comparable to immigration in Italy; the United States is experiencing high rates of migrants immigrating to the United States. Like Italy, the United

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[168] Vile, (2015): 5-6.

[169] Vile, (2015): 23.

[170] United States Government. "Immigration and Citizenship." *United States Government.* Last modified on November 27, 2017. https://www.usa.gov/become-us-citizen#item-36212.

[171] United States Government. (2017).

States is attempting to manage the influx of immigration. Currently, there are forty-four million immigrants living in the United States, and the percentage of the population who have immigrated to the United States has increased from 4.7% in 1970 to 13.5% in 2016.[172] It is now a point of contention between political parties. Like Italy, there is debate over the possibility of citizenship for migrant children that reside in the United States. Children who are born in the United States are automatically citizens, even if their parents are not. However, children who are brought to the United States at a young age are not citizens. Upon turning eighteen, they are able to apply for citizenship, but they are not guaranteed to receive it.[173]

In 2012, President Obama created a program titled, "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals" (DACA), a program that would prevent immigrants brought to the United States as children from being deported. The intent of the program is to allow children who have grown up in the United States the ability to remain in the United States and eventually gain citizenship, as they were not responsible for entering into the United States without citizenship. Additionally, they have spent the majority of their lives in the United States.[174] In 2017, President Trump ordered that the program end, leading to strong disagreement in Congress. Thus, the United States is currently attempting to solve many of the same issues pertaining to migrant children as Italy. Senator Paul has played a large role in aiding both sides of the aisle to reach a compromise

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[172] Jie Zong, Jeanne Batalova and Jeffery Hallock. "Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute.* Last Modified on February 18, 2018.

[173] Zong, Batalova and Hallock. (2018).

[174] Caitlin Dickerson, "What is DACA? Who Are the Dreamers? Here Are Some Answers." *New York Times.* Last Modified January 23, 2018.

in the debate on DACA after gridlock caused the government to shut down.[175] Paul's primary

aim was to re-open the government, and then address legislation concerning the bill. He worked

out a deal with the Democrats that if they ended the government shut down, the Senate would

allow for a series of votes on immigration.[176]

Previously, Paul introduced legislation to implement a system for securing the United

States' border, including a requirement that Congress create a blueprint for the new border

security.[177] He argues that Congress can more efficiently design a plan for border security than

the Department of Homeland security, because Congress does not have the same bureaucratic

protocols that the Department of Homeland Security must deal with. Even so, Paul believes that

the application process for immigrants applying for citizenship should become more

straightforward.[178] Thus, like Naccarato, Paul believes in a thoughtful but austere interpretation

of the constitution. Both Senators promote the immigration of non-citizens to their countries as

long as it does not violate or alter the constitution. This demonstrates the ideology of

progressive conservatism the senators hold; they support immigration but do not want the

existing laws to change.

Rome, Italy and the United States contain many of the same principles in their

constitutions, and they face many of the same difficulties regarding citizenship and immigration.

Their constitutions were all written during a transitional period from a monarchy to a republic.

As a result, the constitutions place a large emphasis on ensuring that the executive branch does

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[175] Dickerson, (2018).

[176] Dickerson, (2018).

[177] Rand Paul, "Immigration." *Rand Paul for U.S. Senate,* accessed February 28, 2018.
   https://www.randpaul.com/issues/immigration.

[178] Paul, (2018).

not obtain too much power. Furthermore, the governments emphasize a system of checks and balances to protect the government from being overrun by one branch. The authors of the three constitutions specifically focused on safeguarding against executive power, but they did not anticipate the legislative branch gaining too much power. In Rome, the senate began legislating even though it did not have the authority to do so. Gracchus succeeded in curbing the power of the senate, but senators stoned him to death for limiting their wealth and power. In Italy, the rate of migrants entering the country is becoming unsustainable, but Parliament is unable to find a solution for the problem. Although protections for children were passed, it does not solve the issue of adult migrants entering the country. In the United States, disagreement in the Senate over the DACA program caused the government to shut down. Paul helped to facilitate a deal to reopen the government, but it did not solve the gridlock and there is no guarantee that the government will not shut down again over the issue. Thus, the three political figures used their originalist viewpoints to check the power of the legislative branch. The strict interpretation of the constitution that they follow allows them to take action without violating the constitution, which is not the case of their counterparts.

Similarly, the three political figures aided their countries in deciding how to define citizenship. Rome, Italy and the United States all faced similar challenges regarding questions of citizenship and immigration. Rome's approach to citizenship varied from Italy and the United States' approaches to citizenship. By allowing for various types of citizenship, and granting privileges of citizenship, Rome provided individuals with the benefits that they sought within its borders. It determined how the republic could benefit from outsiders, and found ways to incorporate them into their country. For example, residents of Socii city-states were given privileges of Roman citizenship, although not actual citizenship, and in return they were military

allies with the Roman Republic. Italy's relationship with EU countries resembles Rome's

relationship with the Socii Latini. Foreigners were attracted to many of the same qualities in

Rome that foreigners are attracted to in Italy and the United States today; political stability and a

successful economy. Unlike Rome, the United States and Italy do not have programs for

attaining partial forms of citizenship. Permanent residency is somewhat comparable, as a person

can reside in the country and receive some, but not all benefits of citizenship. Interestingly, the

ancient Romans could lose their citizenship when they moved away from Rome or the territory

where citizenship was granted. This likely created a strong incentive for citizens to remain in the

territory they currently resided in.[179] Perhaps Rome's fluid conception of citizenship, if

implemented in the United States and Italy, could solve some of their immigration issues.

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[179] Scullard, (1959): 16-17.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Crux of the Republics

Tiberius Gracchus, Paolo Naccarato and Rand Paul work in different governments that exist in different time periods and geographic regions. Despite these major differences, their policy work contains many of the same themes. The similarities in their work, as well as the similarities in the objectives they labor to achieve, suggest that politics follows the same patterns across time and geography. It is important to remember that although the three politicians all work within republics, they work within different governments. The countries each hold unique constitutions and political traditions, so these ideologies have played out different in each country. Hence, they cannot all hold an identical ideology, especially because Gracchus does not operate in the sphere of modern politics. Still, there are strong parallels between the three political figures that warrant examination. This analysis has aimed to explore how similar objectives implemented in different times and places developed. Each politician works to represent the interests of their constituent base and to achieve the greatest good for the republic.

 Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul all use the ideology of progressive conservativism in their political work; a rather atypical ideology among these statesmen in any of their governments. They are sometimes portrayed as being extreme with their political ideologies, but this is a misconception. In reality, they merely hold true to the principles that they possess. The ideology of progressive conservativism uses conservative means to produce progressive ends. As such, they use conservative policy that focuses on the individual to create government that is more localized and less nationalized, which bolsters the community.

This form of policy implementation uses a bottom-up approach; policy emerges at the local level and reaches the national level after (and if) other regions choose to adopt the policy. As a result, communities are able to implement policy that works well for them, not policies created by representatives from other districts, whose districts might have different needs. Furthermore, they anticipate that this localized shift in government will allow for the wrote policy providing economic reform to help the average citizen. Gracchus' *lex Sempronia* increased the wealth of the lower economic classes by providing citizens who did not own land with property. Besides giving poorer citizens land, which stimulated the economy, it ended, if only for a season, the monopoly that the elite classes held on land. Naccarato and Paul achieved economic reform within their countries by working to reform the banking systems in their countries. Both senators wrote legislation to stop the government from using public money for private company bail outs, with the hope of ending crony capitalism. Beyond creating a stronger divide between business and politics, Naccarato and Paul also both work to create greater transparency in government so the public is aware of the government's actions regarding spending. Likewise, Gracchus and Naccarato worked to help citizens' in lower socioeconomic groups; Gracchus did so with his land reforms while Naccarato did so by meeting with politicians of other countries to learn ways to address the poverty in his district. Gracchus' political office was different than Paul and Naccarato's position because he was not in the Senate, and there is not position in modern politics that is similar. His desire to help the *plebs* was significant because he was part of a distinguished family that was in the senatorial order. He held loyalties to both the elite and the common citizens, but he ultimately worked to pass policies that helped the common citizens and hurt the elite.

In order to ensure that the government is not exclusively controlled by elites, and that the average citizen is adequately represented in government, the politicians also worked to reform the tradition of favoritism government. Paul sponsored a joint resolution to impose term limits in Congress as a means of preventing members of Congress from working for the interests of special interest groups, and not the people they represent. Gracchus' attempt to remove M. Octavius from office, Paul's movement to vote Washington insiders from office, and Naccarato's involvement with the center-right movement in Italy demonstrate their aims to change the representation of the people in the government. As such, the voter bases of the three political figures are primarily comprised of grassroots efforts to ensure that all citizens are involved in the process of government. They believe that the representatives should create policy based on a direct representation of the will of the people, not according to what they believe is best for the country.

While Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul might disagree with one another over some of the policies they each advocate for, they all agree that the focus of a representative government should be reflecting the policy needs of the average citizen. Gracchus and Paul hold contradicting opinions over the government ordering land to be given from one private citizen to another, differences that could be the product of working in different governments. Despite their divergent opinions, they both agree on the same end goal; they aim to promote the common citizen and end elitism in government.

The similarities in their policies can also be found in foreign policy. The Rome's involvement in the *Foedus Cassianum* corresponds to Italy and the United States' involvement in NATO. Both alliances are based around the notion of mutual defense, but also contain some humanitarian elements to their work. Gracchus helped the Socii governments to pass legislation

that replicated *lex Sempronia Agria* in Rome in order to ensure that veterans returning from the Spanish was would receive land from their governments. This allowed the common citizens of other city-states, not just Rome, to become land holders. Gracchus' influence on the Socii government led to a tradition of the Roman government influencing the politics of their allies. This is similar to the way that the United States influences the politics of European countries by encouraging members of NATO to adopt their laws.

The United States and Italy both believe that NATO needs to rethink some of its policies, and both Naccarato and Paul believe that NATO should remove its troops from Afghanistan. ICSA believes that the resources Italy contributes to Afghanistan are not benefitting the country, but that it should remain committed to the helping the other countries on this project. Instead of contributing these resources to rebuilding Afghanistan, it should use them to fight terrorism. Italy established a hub of terrorism experts to work alongside of NATO Joint Allied Forces Command in Naples.

Paul believes that the NATO should end involvement in Afghanistan because Operation Enduring Freedom was not constitutional to begin with, and costs the United States many resources. Paul and Naccarato both believe that their NATO's involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq is costing their countries, and it is not producing beneficial results. In the same way, Paul was critical of the United States' decision to allow Montenegro to join NATO because it would deplete the United States of more resources. He argues that if the United States allows itself to become adopt too large of a role in NATO or involved in too many alliances, then it will hurt both the United States and the countries that it is involved in. Therefore, he advocates for the United States to be selective and limited with its involvement in other countries.

In contrast, Gracchus and Naccarato both contribute to the laws of other governments; Gracchus helps the Socii nations adopt land reforms comparable to the land reforms that he facilitated in Rome. Similarly, Naccarato helped the Calabria Region of Italy reform its Statue. Il Nuovo Statuto della Calabria consists of thirty-eight articles that concentrate on creating more transparency and citizen engagement in the government. It does this by creating more services for citizens to enlist for political participation, such as voicing their opinions, obtaining government documents and tracking regional activity. It also restructures the electoral system and provides guide lines for the political offices and procedures to affirm that the Consiglio Regionale della Calabria will act in accordance with the Constitution of Italy.

Paul's opinions might differ with Naccarato and Gracchus somewhat over the amount of involvement that a foreign politician should have in another country's government, but he still holds the same ideologies as the other two politicians; a mixture of isolationism and globalism. Specifically, they all use isolationism to achieve globalist goals. They encourage isolationist actions by limiting the amount that their government is involved in other countries; Paul and Gracchus promote ending military involvement in Afghanistan in Iraq and reforms of NATO, while Gracchus limits Rome's involvement in Socii governments to one piece of legislation. Despite their belief in limited participation in other governments, however, the three political figures also set out to achieve globalist goals. They aspire to create a global culture where countries work to help one another. Naccarato and Paul support ending military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as reforming NATO because it bolsters the governments of other countries in addition to their governments. An isolationist would only be focused on the outcome of their country. Likewise, Gracchus' participation in the Socii governments focuses solely on granting more land for Socii citizens. He was only concerned

with helping their nations, not his own. Thus, they are able to achieve globalist goals with isolationist policy.

This ideology is also prevalent on their stances towards interpreting the constitutions of their countries. They all support an interpretation of the constitution, known as originalism. They do so by restraining any changes to the constitution itself, but they allow for evolving policies within their governments. Hence, they use conservative actions to attain progressive policies within their governments.

The constitutions of the three governments contain many similar policies as the United States based its constitution on Rome's constitution and form of government, and Italy based its constitution on the United States' constitution. Despite the influences on one another, there are a few key differences. Namely, the United States considers property ownership a right, while Rome and Italy do not. Italy and Rome have both passed land reforms that resulted in the government distributing private property from some citizens to others. The reason for the different attitudes towards property in Italy and the United States might result in the different religious influences; Italy's constitution was influenced by Catholicism while the United States' constitution was influenced to a greater extent by Protestantism. Beyond their differences, all three constitutions emphasize the importance of checks and balances and put systems in place to prevent on branch of government from becoming more powerful than the others.

Gracchus worked to check the power of the Roman Senate by challenging their authority over the land that Attalus of Pergamum bequest to the Roman people. The Senate did not have the ability to make decisions related to finances or international affairs, nor to write legislation, but they did so nevertheless. When the Senate began debating what to do with the bequest, Gracchus challenged their authority for the first time in the history of the Senate in the

Republic. He then used the land as part of his land reforms and allocated it to Roman citizens who did not own property. Although these actions angered many senators, and went against the loyalties he held towards them, it remained in accordance with the constitution.

Moreover, Attalus' actions raised questions about Roman citizenship. Roman citizenship was fluid in nature; different groups of people held different privileges and notions of citizenship. Attalus was an ally and held a close relationship with Rome, which gave him many privileges, and ultimately justified using the land for Gracchus' agrarian bill. The questions surrounding the bequest identified some of the different types of citizenship the existed during the Roman Republic; individuals living in Rome were automatically granted citizenship, and oftentimes so were Roman colonies. Even so, male citizens held more rights than female citizens, who could note vote or even officially own property in their own names; additionally, there was a class of slaves and freedmen in Rome. Allies held some privileges, which fluctuated depending on Rome's relationship with the city-state. Hence, there were not always hard and fast rule regarding citizenship.

Naccarato also uses his country's constitution to resolve issues surrounding the constitution. In Italy, citizenship is ius sanguinis, so it is determined by blood, not by birth. This presents a challenge to the large numbers of migrants moving to Italy, especially young children. Naccarato completed work as part of the 1st Constitutional Affairs Commission to provide more services that ensure the health and safety of migrants when they arrive in Italy. Yet, they still face challenges concerning citizenship; they are not Italian citizens because they do not have parents that are citizens. Even if the child of migrant parents is born in Italy, the child is not a citizen because it does not have Italian blood. Many members of the Italian Parliament propose changing citizenship in Italy so that an individual born in Italy is a citizen,

but Naccarato's political groups oppose it because it would alter the constitution. Nonetheless, Gracchus' work in on the commission displays his willingness to help the migrants; he works on policy that falls within the confines of the constitution to support immigration to Italy.

Paul's work on immigration is similar to Naccarato's in Italy. Recently, Paul worked to help Democrats and Republicans reach a comprise in the heated DACA debates. Additionally, he wrote plans for Congress to implement new border security protocols to halt illegal immigration, but he supports the immigration to the United States legally. Citizenship in the United States is ius soli, so a person must be born on American soil to be a citizen. This differs from the notion of citizenship in Italy. Even so, Paul holds the same attitude towards immigration as Naccarato; immigration law should allow for migrants to gain citizenship without any difficulty, as long as the policies adhere to the constitution.

Consequently, the three politicians are in favor of progressive policies as long as they do not violate the constitution. They use a conservative interpretation of the constitution to achieve progressive goals that benefit the community, especially regarding immigration. The differences in their constitutions result in different demonstrations of this ideology.

Despite working in different locations and time periods, Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul passed legislation in several areas that illustrates their commitment to the constituents that they represent. They aim to preserve the political traditions of their countries, aligning with conservative ideologies; yet, they also seek change that benefits the community, support progressive ideologies. Hence, they are progressive conservatives. Their work is unique within their governments and exhibits the thoughtfulness and attention to detail that each of them put into their legislation.

Thus, it appears that there are patterns that exist throughout politics. Whether they are as extensive as this paper suggests, it is wise to be mindful to the possibility that political issues of similar natures may appear in multiple governments, especially republics. Furthermore, beyond the accuracy of these similarities, it cannot be denied that Gracchus, Naccarato and Paul work hard within their respective governments.   They all attempt to improve their countries with the policy work that they complete in their governments, accurately reflect the beliefs of their constituent bases, and ensure that the common citizen is able to hold a voice in government. Their work is meaningful in contempt of the outcomes. Above anything else, let this analysis serves as a testimony to the work that the statesmen have contributed to their countries, which labor is all too often a thankless job.

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