

Caroline Castiglione, Associate Professor
Italian Studies & History Departments
Caroline.Castiglione@Brown.edu

Office: 190 Hope St., room 205
Office hours: Weds., 2:30-4:30 & by appt.
401-863-2098 OR 401-863-1561 (dept)

Lower division (sophomore) seminar, Italian Studies 0981-S01; History cross list: 960G-S01
When Leaders Lie: Machiavelli in International Context

COURSE DESCRIPTION: A seminar to introduce students to the writing of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527). Machiavelli was a Renaissance author both praised and condemned for his insistence on analyzing the realities of politics, rather than the cherished ideals of political behavior. His practical view of the tenuous relationship of ethics to politics has cast him alternatively as the founder of modern political science, the architect of realpolitik, and the proponent of “consequential morality” or the notion that the ends justify the means. Yet Machiavelli’s insights were as varied and subtle as his interests: he was fascinated by the latest technologies and by the examples of the ancients; he admired powerful politicians but he insisted on the responsibility of rulers to the ruled; he cared about individual freedom and the security and longevity of states. Participation in civic life constituted for him the highest human calling. His writings defy simplistic characterization and in every genre (history, treatise, and theater) they continue to be debated and admired five centuries after they were written.

Students will read closely some of Machiavelli’s most important writing in order to understand his thought in his own words and in international contexts, which were based both in the geopolitics of the sixteenth century and in comparisons between his contemporary world and that of the ancient world. Machiavelli was not the first to consider the problematic intersection of ethics and politics and the course will consider a significant predecessor on this theme (Plato). We will conclude with an examination of how Machiavelli’s ideas might be provide insight on our contemporary world. To focus our discussion, we will consider the use of military drones, examining their implications for war, politics, and civil society in the twenty-first century.

As this summary of issues suggests, this seminar takes a multi-faceted and comparative approach in order to introduce students to a thinker who was and who remains a controversial figure.

GOALS OF THE COURSE: Through close readings and discussion, students will develop a more nuanced understanding of Machiavelli’s work, its originality and its indebtedness to traditions in and beyond Europe. The last weeks of the course bring the controversial author into dialogue with the problems of modernity. What are the dilemmas and the potential insights for such a dialogue between the past and the present?

The goal of the writing assignments is to provide all students the opportunity to do their best work in a way that is challenging and simultaneously supportive of innovation and improvement over the semester. Thus there are incorporated extra credit assignments which can substitutes for a grade that the student might wish to improve. See “Extra credit writing options” (below, page 7).

Brown students enter the university with many excellent writing practices. Most students, however, benefit from a brief review of the writing process and strategies for success. The course will also familiarize students with the following aspects of the writing process: how to write responsibly using primary and secondary sources; abstract-writing; conventional outlining versus structural outlining; procrastination versus “active waiting” (Robert Boice); academic papers as “conversations” (Anne Huff); the basic elements of the 10-page paper.

REQUIRED READINGS: All required readings listed below are for sale in the Brown Bookstore and will be on reserve in Rockefeller Library unless otherwise noted. There are SHORT article-length readings that will be placed on electronic reserves, and these are indicated as “OCRA” (Reserves) below.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*, William Connell, trans. [ISBN-13: 978-0312149789]
_____. *The Letters of Machiavelli* (trans. Allan Gilbert). [ISBN-13: 978-0226500416]
_____. *The Mandragola* (trans. Mera J. Flaumenhaft) [ISBN: 978-0917974571]
J. Atkinson and D. Sices, *Sweetness of Power: Machiavelli's Discourses and Guicciardini's Considerations*. [ISBN-13: 978-0875802886]
_____. *Art of War*, trans. and ed. Christopher Lynch, [ISBN: 0-226-50040-3]
Plato, *The Republic*. Ed. and trans. C.D.C. Reeve. [ISBN-13: 978-0872207363]
Viroli, Maurizio. *Niccolò's Smile: A Biography of Machiavelli*. [ISBN-13: 978-0374528003]
Harvey, Gordon. *Writing with Sources*. [ISBN-13: 978-0872209442]

REQUIREMENTS and GRADE VALUES: **Writing assignments are explained fully at the end of the syllabus, on pages 7-8.** This is a short overview of all requirements. Suggested topics will be distributed in class for all short and longer papers.

*Three short response papers (500 words each): (worth 20% total). Two will be assigned according to the student's group (A, B, or C); the third assignment may be chosen by the student from weeks 3; 12; 13; or 14.

*Two longer papers: one 5-7 page paper (worth 25%) and one 10-page paper (worth 40%)

NB: These 2 papers are required to be submitted first to a writing fellow, see page 6 for further details on this process.

*Three in-class quizzes: (worth a total of 15%).

Extra credit options (optional): See below, page 6.

PARTICIPATION and ATTENDANCE: Any absence from the seminar should be explained to me with documentation when possible. More than one absence may negatively affect your grade. I expect everyone to come prepared to class, to offer their thoughts on the reading, and to share the content of their short essays. Although I don't give a formal evaluation of participation, I reserve the right to raise the grade of a student who is a great contributor to the seminar, but whose written work might be at the boundary between grades, or whose written work shows significant improvement over the course of the semester. Failure to participate could have a negative impact on your grade.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS:

Week 1: Thursday, 23 January. Introduction to Course.

Participants will take with them the distributed survey and should return it no later than 30 January, during class time (one week from today).

Week 2: Machiavelli and Renaissance Florence.

Tuesday, 28 January. Discussion. [sign up for one of 3 groups in class; quiz guidelines distributed]

Reading: Minimum –Machiavelli, “Preface A” to *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy* [OCRA] and distributed in class. Come prepared to discuss the following -- Machiavelli explains his purpose as a student of antiquity and critic of his times: what is the connection between past and present? What was great about the former and what ruined the latter? What is Machiavelli trying to accomplish in his work?

Begin reading: Maurizio Viroli, *Niccolò's Smile*, pp. 3-75. This reading introduces Machiavelli in the local and international context of his times;

Sign up for one of the three sub-groups of the class (A,B,or C) which determines which week each participant will write short writing assignments.

Thursday, 30 January. Discussion & Quiz [Return survey to class if you have not already done so; next week's quiz study guidelines circulated]

There will be an in-class quiz and discussion based on Viroli (3-75). A list of specific key words and historical figures will be distributed on 28 January. Consider the following as you read Viroli: How does the author know what he knows? Find an example of a conjecture by Viroli about what Machiavelli might have been thinking and analyze it. Did you find Viroli's conjectures believable, annoying, troubling, or all three? How far should scholars go in their imaginings about the past?

Week 3: Interpreting *The Prince* (I)

Tuesday, 4 February. Discussion. Borgia vs Borgia

Reading: Machiavelli, [Connell trans.,] *The Prince*, pick one of these 2 strategies:

**for readers who do best by reading the text in order*, SKIM, pp. 3-57 (chapters 1-6) then read with care chapter 7 (58-64); chapter 8 (64-68); chapter 11 (73-75); chapter 13 (81-84); chapter 20 (104-108). These chapters treat Cesare Borgia, the focus for our discussion, see handout.

**for readers who can skip around in texts easily*, begin with chapter 7, above and continue with the selections listed above after chapter 7

Any student may bring in a response to the question distributed for this week. It would count as one of the three required short writing assignments. [Alternatively, students may write their third short response later either in weeks 12; 13; or 14.

Thursday, 6 February. Machiavelli in and out of Political Office [Assessing Viroli; in class quiz]

Reading: M. Viroli, *Niccolò's Smile*, pp. 76-152. Issues to think about for Viroli reading: a. Consider the metaphor of Niccolò's "smile" as the organizing insight of the biography. Does it help you understand Machiavelli better? Why or why not? What is your assessment of the reflections that Viroli inserts in the text, such as the quote that begins on page 107: "A person who does good..." Is this supposed to be the voice of Machiavelli or Viroli? Did Viroli get "too close" to his subject, Machiavelli, or did he maintain his objectivity regarding Machiavelli?

There will be a second in-class quiz, based on Viroli reading.

Week 4: Interpreting *The Prince* (II)

Tuesday, 11 February "How Many Kind of Principalities There Are?" and what kind is Florence?

Reading: Machiavelli, [Connell trans.,] *The Prince*, dedicatory letter and chapters 1-14 (pp. 39-84)

NB: You have already read some of these chapters, above, so you may wish to skim those. We will focus specifically in class on chapter 1: "How Many Kinds of Principalities There Are"

Group A bring in short response.

Thursday, 13 February. The Busy Ruler's Guide to Fortuna / virtù; "effectual truth;" foxes, lions, and other kinds of rulers...;

Reading: Machiavelli, [Connell trans.], *The Prince*, chapters 15-26.

Week 5: Politics as Performance: Machiavelli's *The Mandragola*.

Tuesday, 18 February. Winter Break, no class.

Thursday, 20 February. Discussion of *The Mandragola* (read entire).

Reading: *The Mandragola*; Ronald L. Martinez, "Comedian, tragedian: Machiavelli and Traditions of Renaissance Theater," in John M. Najemy, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli* (Cambridge, 2010), 206-222. [OCRA]

Recommended in the same volume: Barbara Spackman, "Machiavelli and gender," in John M. Najemy, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli* (Cambridge, 2010), 223-238. (entire volume is on reserve, please see the essay in hard copy of book).

Group B: bring in short response

Week 6: Precedents for Machiavelli's ethics of politics in Greece

Tuesday, February 25. Lies in Plato, Lies in Machiavelli

Reading: Plato's *Republic*, trans. C.D.C. Reeve. Recommended: Entire. Begin with skimming the useful introduction in the edition by Reeve, ix-xxvii. For an overview of the text see the helpful summary of all 10 books on pp. xxx-xxxiii. The glossary of key terms is also useful (pp 327-329).

For the purposes of discussion, we will focus on the following pages in Plato (edition by Reeve): 36-66; 97-102; 147-157; 208-215. These pages correspond to the following books and themes: book 2 (pp.36-66) = ideal city of Kallipolis and why lying might be ok; selection from book 3 = myth of the metals (pp. 97-102); selection from book 5, planned marriages & lottery (pp. 147-157); selection from book 7, allegory of the cave (pp. 208-215);

Group C bring in short response.

Thursday, February 27. Why things fail (book 8 in *The Republic* & a lifelong interest in these matters for Machiavelli) –

Reading: Review of above (discussion continues) and In Plato's *Republic*, book 8 (pp. 238-269) on the types of government and their deterioration, a subject dear to Machiavelli.

Friday February 28: Submission of paper 1 (electronically) to Writing Fellow.,

Week 7: Ethics and the Researcher; [Quiz on citations; meetings with writing fellows begin this week]

Tuesday, 4 March. Quiz on Citations to make sure everyone knows how to do the basic citations – hand out on quiz will be distributed; Discussion of Orwell: The impact of politics and academia on writing...

Reading: Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources*, entire; George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," [OCRA].

Thursday, 6 March. Meeting in Rockefeller Library, the Hecker Room, for an overview of electronic research resources at Brown with the Librarian Patricia Figueroa.

Week 8: Machiavelli's Rome

Tuesday, 11 March. Unrest and Politics

Reading: Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, translation Atkinson and Sices, *Sweetness of Power*). Skim the introduction, xiii-xxxviii. (outlines Machiavelli's themes and the relationship between his text and that of Francesco Guicciardini, his contemporary and friend).

Book 1, by CHAPTER in Atkinson and Sices. Please note that some chapters are only a few pages long: In book 1, prefaces, chapters 2-7; 10-18; 29-34; 37;

Group A bring in short response.

Thursday, 13 March. The People vs. Prince (the answer may surprise you)

Reading: *The Discourses (Sweetness of Power)*, In book 1, 47-49; 53-59

Friday, March 14: Turn in final version of first paper printed out and placed in my mailbox at 190 Hope Street, 2nd floor, no later than 5 pm. Include with your first draft with writing fellow comments with your submission.

Week 9: Reconciling *The Prince* and *The Discourses on Livy*

Tuesday, 18 March. The Place of Fortuna and Virtù in Roman History

Reading: In the translation by Atkinson and Sices, *Sweetness of Power*, In book 1: chapters, 25-27; 29; 33-34; 39; 41; book 2, preface, chapters 1; 10; 13; 17; 19; 22; 24; 29; 30.

Thursday, 20 March. Concluding discussion of the Discourses: Can decay and degeneration of states be avoided?

Reading: In the translation by Atkinson and Sices, *Sweetness of Power*: book 3, chapters 1-2; 5-6; 16; 19; 26; 29.

Group B bring in short response.

Week 10. No Class, Spring Break: Safe Travels

Week 11 : Epistolary Clues to Machiavelli's Thought

Tuesday, 1 April. Is this yet another Machiavelli? Letters vs More Formal Writings

Reading: Machiavelli, *Letters of Machiavelli* (trans. Allan Gilbert), entire recommended, but we will focus on his letters in and around the year 1513, especially those to his friend, Francesco Vettori: Pages for discussion: Pp 43-82 (Gilbert's analysis of the letters. I find it useful, though you may skip if you prefer to jump into the letters); Letters: pp. 90-107; 117-148;

Thursday, 3 April. Behind the scenes

Reading: Machiavelli, *Letters of Machiavelli*, pp. 148-163; 178-186; 197-205; 248-249.

Group C bring in short response:

Week 12: Machiavelli on Warfare

Tuesday, 8 April. Military Practice & Technologies Old & New in Sixteenth Century

Reading: The Art of War, recommended: entire; required: TBA

Thursday, 10 April. Reconciling Civilian and Military Lives

Reading: above

Any student may bring a short response during week 12.

Friday, 11 April, Submission of paper 2 (electronically) to Writing fellow.

Week 13: Assessing America's Drone War: Is there a Machiavellian Perspective?

Tuesday, 15 April. Background meeting: We will view *Dirty Wars* (documentary, 2013, dir. Rick Rowley, 1 hour 27 minutes) possibly in a new location, so we can see it in its entirety. Students who cannot remain will be able to watch the conclusion on electronic reserves.

Dirty Wars with journalist Jeremy Scahill situates the use of drones in the context of the hidden activities of JSOC (Joint Special Operations Command) and secretive aspects of US warfare.

Thursday, 17 April. Discussion of film and following readings:

Reading: Jane Mayer, "The Predator War: What are the Risks of the C.I.A's Covert Drone Program," *The New Yorker* (Oct 26 2009) [OCRA]

Ian Graham, Ronald Shaw and Majed Akhter, "The Unbearable Humanness of Drone Warfare in FATA, Pakistan," *Antipode* 44.4 (2012): 1490-1509.

[This article provides general background on drones and specific historical example of their use in FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) of Pakistan]. [OCRA].

[for a brief summary on US drone activity in Somalia, see Medea Benjamin, *Drone Wars*, 204-205 (distributed in class)]

Any student may bring a short response during week 13.

Week 14: . (Re)visions of War in the 21st-century

Tuesday, 22 April. Discussion: Legal and Ethical Issues

Reading: Council on Foreign Relations. "Brennan's Speech on Counterterrorism, April 2012." Apr, 2012. <http://www.cfr.org/counterterrorism/brennans-speech-counterterrorism-april-2012/p28100#>

Jo Becker and Scott Shane, "Secret 'Kill List' Proves a Test of Obama's Principles and Will," *New York Times* (May 29, 2012). [OCRA]

Executive Summary and Recommendations of Living Under Drones: Death, Injury, and Trauma to Civilians from US Drone Practices. Stanford University Law School and New York University School of Law, September 2012. The report focuses on drone strikes in northwest Pakistan. Full report and executive summary available on-line at <http://www.livingunderdrones.org/>

Medea Benjamin, "Murder by Drone: Is it Legal?" and "Morality Bites the Dust" in *Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control*, 127-164; 242-243. New York, 2012. [OCRA]

For an ongoing list of known drone strikes by the US: <http://apps.washingtonpost.com/foreign/drones/> [last attack listed as I typed this syllabus, Dec. 27, 2013; current tabulation is 368 strikes in Pakistan since 2004; 75 in Yemen and Somalia]

Thursday, 24 April. Concluding Discussion

Reading: Derek Gregory, "From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 28.7-8 (2011): 188-215.

Matt Delmont, "Drone Encounters: Noor Behram, Omer Fast, and Visual Critiques of Drone Warfare," *American Quarterly* 65.1 (2013): 193-202.

Any student may bring a response during week 14.

Week 15: Reading period, no formal meetings but all students should hold open in their schedule class time during reading period on Tuesday, 29 April JUST IN CASE class has to be cancelled due to weather, etc. Reading period is to be devoted to working on revisions of papers and to meeting with me, if you wish, for your final revisions.

Friday, 2 May, Submission of final version of paper 2 printed out and placed in my mailbox at 190 Hope Street, 2nd floor, no later than 5 pm. Include with your first draft with writing fellow comments with your submission.

Detailed overview of writing assignments:

Three short response papers (500 words each) (worth 20% total). The class will be divided into three groups “A” and “B” and “C” (more lively names may be chosen, if a group wishes). Each group will write two short response essays as scheduled above by group. Students will be assigned to a group in week 2. For the third response paper, students may choose from the topics distributed for the meetings for weeks 3; 12; 13, or 14. Each essay is worth approximately 7/100 course points, for a total of 20% of the grade.

Due to the use that we will make of the short essays in seminar, I cannot accept late papers except in the case of documented medical emergencies. Those students who do not submit these short papers will lose approximately 7 points from their grade per paper.

Two other papers: one 5-7 page paper (worth 25%) and one 10-page paper (worth 40%)

Three in-class quizzes: There will be three in class quizzes (worth a total of 15%). Key words will be distributed in class for the first two quizzes. The third quiz will be based on Harvey, *Writing with Sources*.

Extra credit writing options: A student may choose to write one or two additional short responses, and each additional short response will substitute for the lowest 7% of the grade. The student may select the extra response from any week s/he wishes. Please be advised that because almost all students do very well on the quizzes and papers, so extra credit is usually not necessary.

Required process for submission of two longer papers: The two longer papers (i.e. the 5-7 page paper and the 10-page paper) must be submitted first to a writing fellow who will offer suggestions for revision. Each author will receive comments from the writing fellow about one week after s/he has submitted the paper to the fellow. The author then has time to address these suggestions before submitting the final essay for the grade. Thus each paper has two submission deadlines as indicated below. When the paper is submitted to me in its final form, each author must also submit along with it the earlier version of the essay, upon which the writing fellow has commented. The grade for the paper is that of the final version of the paper.

Longer Papers and their due dates: Summary, dates are the same as above

paper 1 (5-7 pages): February 28 (to writing fellow, electronically); March 14 (to Castiglione, printed out, placed in my mailbox on 190 Hope Street)

paper 2 (10-pages): April 11 (to writing fellow, electronically); May 2 (to Castiglione, printed out, placed in my mailbox on 190 Hope Street).

OTHER COURSE POLICIES:

Office hours: I look forward to speaking individually with each student during the semester. If you are not available during my office hours, we can set up another time. When students are working on papers, sign-up sheets for extra office hours will be circulated.

Citations for papers and academic honesty: The system of source citation for all papers is that of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, available online through Josiah. A paperback abridged version of the *Chicago Manual of Style* is Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term*

Papers, Theses, and Dissertations. I urge you to purchase Turabian. I reserve the right to penalize papers for sloppy citation style, even if there is no academic dishonesty involved. In cases of academic dishonesty, be advised that the academic code of Brown University fully applies to this course:

http://brown.edu/Administration/Dean_of_the_College/curriculum/academic_code.php

Please make yourself familiar with this document if you do not already know it.

Format for papers: All papers should be DOUBLE-SPACED with PAGE NUMBERS, proper citations, and bibliography.

Late papers: To be fair to all participants, late papers are penalized 1/3 of a grade per day, unless the student clarifies the grave extenuating circumstances that caused the paper to be late. The short essays are not accepted after the class in which they were due.