Accademia di Studi Storici Aldo Moro

International Conference

The Governance of Societies in the 21st Century
Thinking Back to Aldo Moro

Rome, 17-20 November 2008

Discussion Outline

October 2008

AldoMoro
TRENTENNALE

Contents

On occasion of the 30th anniversary of Aldo Moro's death, and under the High Patronage of the Office of the President of the Republic, in 2007 the Accademia di Studi Storici Aldo Moro started up an itinerary of reflection and study entitled "**Aldo Moro's interrupted project.** *Inclusion, social pluralism and the achievement of democracy*". The initiative is supported by the Fondazione Cariplo, Regione Lazio and Regione Liguria, and enjoys the patronage of the regional governments of Calabria, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardy, Piedmont and Puglia, of the provincial authorities of Bari, Ferrara, Cremona and Foggia as well as of the municipal governments of Brindisi and Lecce.

The itinerary saw an initial public event in the roundtable discussion entitled "**Responsabilità europea**. *La necessità e l'urgenza di portare a compimento il processo costituente per l'Europa unita*" (**European Responsibility. The need and the urgency to bring to completion the constitution process for a united Europe**", held in Rome on 9 May 2007 in the *Sala del Cenacolo* of the Italian Parliament. The roundtable was chaired by Alfonso Alfonsi, president of the Accademia, and saw the participation of Mino Martinazzoli, Massimo D'Alema and Pierferdinando Casini. Moreover, 2008 has also seen some scientific meetings on the key issues involved, with the participation of various scholars and researchers. These meetings were organised in the Scuola di Sociologia e di Scienze Umane, directed by Giancarlo Quaranta, with which the Accademia traditionally cooperates in carrying out its study and research activities. Finally, on 9 May 2008, on the occasion of the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of Aldo Moro's death, a roundtable discussion was held in the *Sala delle Colonne* of the Italian Parliament. The roundtable was entitled "**Aldo Moro tra memoria e storia**" (Aldo Moro between memory and history) and saw the participation of Alfonso Alfonsi, Franco Frattini, Agnese Moro, Alberto Melloni, Renato Moro and Francesco Rutelli.

The itinerary will culminate with the international conference entitled "**The governance of societies in the 21st century**. *Thinking back to Aldo Moro*", which will be held on 17-20 November in Rome, in the *Sala delle Conferenze* of the Italian Parliament.

The conference envisages an **opening session**, a **work session** (in turn divided into five séances, each one dedicated to a different theme) and a **concluding session**.

The present document, drafted by Luciano d'Andrea, director of the Accademia, is the conference **discussion outline** and consists of **three sections**. The following section ("What is at stake") looks at the **reasons underlying the event**, while the one after ("The sense of an itinerary") describes the **framework** the Accademia decided to adopt for the entire series of initiatives promoted on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Aldo Moro's death. The last section ("Conference structure") describes the five **working séances** and **issues** to be dealt with in the conference.

What is at stake

The international conference is based on the identification of a "**stake**", lying at the junction between **two needs** that are in some way summarised in the title of the event itself.

The **first need** is to broaden the scientific research and discussion on some **broad transformation processes** that are changing the deepest features of contemporary societies. As a whole, these processes shape what is usually referred to as the shift from the "**modern society**" (which found its utmost expression last century) to the so-called "**post**-**modern society**" (also known as the "knowledge society" or "reflective society"), which certainly emerged in the latter half of the 20th century, but which is gradually taking more precise shape in these early years of the 21st century.

It is this shift that is referred to in the first part of the conference title ("The governance of societies in the 21st century"), especially highlighting what – in the perspective adopted by the Accademia – perhaps represents the core theme to be dealt with, and namely the question of how to **govern** societies that increasingly escape the traditional interpretative categories and that can thus no longer be governed by means of the usual instruments (of the institutional, juridical, communication, programmatic, social, economic or other kind) of political intervention.

The work session of the conference, as we shall see better below, is an attempt to **organise this theme of political governance of social processes** (governability?) into some of its main components in order to each time

grasp the deep thread of changes affecting contemporary societies and, at the same time, identifying the risk factors, opportunities and the links for political action that this very thread, in it continuous change, brings to light.

The idea was to give this work session a scientific feature, in the awareness that the phenomena placed at the focus of attention are still largely to be known, understood and interpreted, even if their manifestation is a challenge that the actors and institutions of the political sphere are already called upon to face today.

The **second need** steering the international conference is that of **coming to terms with the figure of Aldo Moro**, thirty years after his death, referred to in the second part of the conference title: "Thinking back to Aldo Moro".

This is firstly true for the **past**. This comparison is indeed inevitable and perhaps even pressing, if we wish to avoid the risk of giving up understanding such an important period of Italian life and of international relations.

The issue is thus that of promoting **systematic historiographic research** on Moro that is based on a careful unbiased examination of the sources in order to go beyond the many interpretations – often developed under the pressure of the current events and the political debate – proposed on him in the last three decades. These interpretations still seem incomplete, excessively involved in the events they deal with or are too influenced by the events leading to his death.

At the same time, also from a historiographic perspective, it is necessary to consider how much the **figure of Aldo Moro is deeply rooted in our collective memory**. Even today, it is possible to see a widespread desire to "remember" Moro, which finds its expression in very different ways ranging from narrations, iconographic materials, symbolic elements and demonstrations of popular acknowledgement and affection.

In any case, coming to terms with the figure of Aldo Moro does not only meet the need to fully interpret a human and political event strongly influencing the Italian and the European history. However much this event is closed within itself, it may make an important contribution to **understanding our present** and to shedding some light on our **future**.

No reference will evidently be made here to superficial links between the problems Moro had to face in his day and those of today, or to general calls to his thinking. If there is any **topicality in Moro**, it must instead be found through a laborious work of a hermeneutic nature which firstly acknowledges the deep discontinuity between the past and present. This hermeneutic work must also be able to bring to light the approaches, orientations and representations of the reality that Moro shaped during his human and political life, and that can still tell us something today on how to face the changes which are so rapidly transforming the features of contemporary societies. In this regard, we should not forget that Moro lived in times of great change in which, albeit it in a seminal form, there were already some of the main processes that are characterising the shift from modernity to today's so-called "post-modernity" – processes whose scope and implications, even in the long term, Moro could already perceive.

The sense of an itinerary

What has been said above on the "stake" connected to the international conference allows us to more easily understand also the overall sense given to the study and reflection itinerary that the conference ties in with (for a more detailed description on this, see the note on the itinerary, available in the website of the Accademia).

As highlighted by the title of this 30th anniversary, what is proposed is a reflection on **Moro's "project"**, that is, on the existence of a conscious "plan" regarding the development of Italian democracy, Europe and the governance of international relations which would have stimulated his thinking and actions for the whole of his political life. If such a plan exists, it certainly takes the form of an **interrupted project**, stunted in its development by the political murder Moro was the victim of, and thus destined to remain largely unexpressed and confined to the sphere of possibilities that will never happen, as also seen in other cases in which a violent death interrupted the action of political leaders who were the bearers of great demands for change.

Suggesting this interpretation is the presence, in Moro, of an overall view of politics and of the relationship between state and society, of a set of lines of continuity in his thought and of a series of general strategic orientations that seem to have constantly guided his political action.

The **first element** to highlight in this regard is the constant **tendency to inclusion** which Moro showed in all the phases of his political career. With great awareness and determination, he felt the urgency of a "full admission of the masses in the life of the state" so that "nobody would be at the margins, nobody excluded from the vitality and value of social life". It is in this light that we must interpret Moro's effort to involve the masses as a whole in democratisation and development processes: with the experience of the centre-left, those who identified with the socialist culture; with the so-called "strategy of attention", those who referred to the Communist area. Previously, within the context of the Constituent Assembly (which drafted the Italian republican constitution), a fairly similar action was carried out by Moro also with regard to the Catholic sphere, which – in some of its sections – had a tendency to perceive the democratic system as a space to occupy rather than as a "common house" to be built together with the other political cultures.

Moro showed this attention to inclusion above all in his constant attitude to avoid putting up fences or establishing boundaries, and in his equally tenacious propensity to seek negotiation channels when these fences and limits were established by others.

It must also be stressed that a similar tendency on Moro's part is also found in foreign policy such as in his interpretation of the process of detente between East and West, which he wanted to be always based on trust rather than on the balance between the forces they fielded. This tendency is even clearer in Moro's action in support of the full involvement of economically less advanced countries and peoples in international political decisions by developing relations of cooperation on an equal footing and by promoting human rights. Important traces of this orientation can be found also in Moro's view of European unification, which he considered a profound process transcending the economic and political-institutional sphere and that could, if properly guided, create new spaces of free expression for all the continent's cultural and social realities, including the weakest and most peripheral ones.

A **second element** leading us to think of the existence of a "project" by Moro can be found in his tendency to support **social pluralism**, which he considered a manifestation of the multiplicity and vastness of forms taken on by social life that he viewed favourably as the "expression of the free expansion of man's varied and rich unitary vocation". Hence Moro's propensity to let himself be questioned – also as a man of faith – by the signs

of change coming from society, as well as his tendency to seek, in any condition, a convergence between the demands and meanings of each cultural, religious or political family, on the basis of a common "**human value**" also going beyond individual value systems and that could be placed as the foundation not only of civil cohabitation, but also of the governance of international relations. This conviction drove him to consider the democratic state itself as "the state of human value", that is, a "state founded on every man's prestige and which guarantees the prestige of every man" and thus transcending individual cultural, philosophical or religious orientations.

Finally, there is at least a **third element** hinting at a "project" underlying Moro's political action, which revolves around the idea of "**achieving democracy**".

Several times during his political career, Moro showed a clear awareness of the incompleteness of the democratic process. He repeatedly highlighted the limitations of the political system in **completely and effectively representing** all the members of a society which had become progressively more articulated and differentiated, and which had become the bearer of increasingly more vivid and pressing aspirations and claims. With not little apprehension, Moro also perceived the signs of the coming **crisis of the "political party" form**, by noting, on the one hand, the growing inadequacy of political forces in facing the deep social and cultural changes underway at the time and, on the other, the tendency of important sections of civil society to "go beyond the party structures" to seek other ways to access politics. This reflection also shaped the theme – typically of Moro – of "**blocked democracy**", that is, of a rigid democratic system tending towards immobility, a victim of vetoes and political divisions, where, for Moro, the democratic state manifested itself as an "expansive phenomenon and not a closed world", called upon to develop towards forms that are both more stable and more open to change.

It is this complex interweave of issues that opened up a prospect of a "**third phase**" in the development of the political system, which Moro devoted himself to, above all, in his last years of life – a phase which should have enabled the introduction, even in Italy, of a real **democracy of alternating governments**, able to regulate political debate, to favour turnover in leaderships and to increase the level of the representativeness of institutions.

These three elements – but perhaps others can also be found – already seem enough to confirm the thesis of the existence, in Moro, of a strategic continuity that takes on, for many aspects, the features of a real political project whose presence can also be found in the more difficult and contradictory phases of his human and political life.

Conference structure

The international conference, as already mentioned, is organised into an **opening session**, a **concluding session** and a **work session**.

The **opening session** envisages the participation of exponents of the cultural and political world. It aims to present the general framework of the conference and to introduce the themes to be dealt with during the initiative.

The **concluding session** involves some of the speakers already speaking in the preceding work session, in order to summarise the results and to relate them to each other.

As regards the **work session**, which represents the most important part of the conference, it is focused on **five theme areas**, each one of which has a specific **seance**, as detailed in the following sections.

- FIRST SEANCE
  ITALY AND EUROPE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CHANGE PROCESSES

The first seance focuses on the theme of the **role that Italy and Europe** are called upon to play within the international scenario.

A comparison with Moro appears of particular importance and is perhaps unavoidable, in view of the influence – also in the long term – of his political action in the **international field**, both as foreign minister and as prime minister.

However, this experience has still not been fully analysed and interpreted. Some observers wonder, for example, whether, under Moro, there really **was a foreign policy**, that is, a precise detailed plan meeting the cultural, historical and political conditions of that time and divided into specific action

strategies, or, if there was such a plan, whether it would have led to significant **results** in any case.

Regardless of the answer to this question, which deserves careful analysis of a historiographic kind, one can hardly overlook the detailed nature of Moro's action on at least **three counts,** which are structurally interconnected.

The **first** concerns **East-West relations**. It is well-known that Moro, along with a very small group of political leaders, was one of the most consistent and careful promoters of the "**strategy of detente**" aiming to establish relations based on mutual trust that is taken as a single effective guarantee for peace. This orientation favoured the gradual overcoming of the policies of deterrence, dissuasion or containment which focused on the relation of power between the two sides and on the balance of their war potential; these policies had actually led to a dangerous escalation in the form of the arms race. The shaping of this view in Moro was also influenced by his perception – in some respects, an anticipatory one – of the progressive dissolution of social and political factors underlying East-West confrontation, under the pressure of stronger and more extended change processes that were transforming the very structures of modern society. In this sense, the agreements established in 1975 at the end of the Conference of Helsinki, which saw a leading role in Moro, represented in his view the manifestation of a process already underway for some time.

The **second aspect** is the **construction of a united Europe**. More than on aspects of a political-institutional nature, Moro stressed the substance of bonds of a social, cultural and economic nature that were being established between European countries, which he viewed as necessary elements to consolidate the continent's pacification, to strengthen democratic structures and to make Europe a "global" actor, able to take on world distension and international development as distinctive elements of its own mission. This interpretation is demonstrated also by Moro's attention to Euro-Mediterranean relations, not merely with a view to "good neighbourly" relations but to the construction of a common development area that could provide the framework for forms of economic, social and cultural cooperation on an equal footing.

As we can see, this is a "high" idea of Europe that contrasted with an interpretation – prevailing at the time – that saw it, above all, as a common economic space or as a political tool mainly geared to safeguarding the interests of the member states. It should thus be of no surprise to see Moro's

tendency to consider co-essential to the construction of a European subject, the affirmation and concrete defence of human rights, and this not only within the European space but also in the economically and politically less privileged parts of the world.

It must be noted how this ambitious vision of European unification went hand in hand, in Moro, with a full awareness of the many factors weakening Europe, starting from its intrinsic cultural, social, linguistic and institutional diversity or from its turbulent history of conflicts and divisions which still cast their shadow on relations between member states. Also, along with a few other leaders of his time, Moro had also realised how much these weaknesses – once interpreted within a different and more advanced framework than the one provided by national perspectives or by the logics of East-West contra-position – could represent peculiar strengths since they added a surplus of political meaning and ideal substance to the unification process.

Moro's point of view would actually influence the formation of European institutions. It is enough to think of the influence he had in defining Community policies in support of inter-regional cooperation and those geared to helping the poorest regions of the Community (policies that led to the setting up of the European Regional Development Fund).

The **third aspect** that Moro devoted much energy to is the **North-South relations**. We should not forget his action to strengthen the instruments of international cooperation (it was under Moro's ministry that the first Italian law for cooperation for development was promulgated) as well as his attention to the relationship between cooperation, development and, once again, the safeguarding of human rights (one should recall, here, for example, Moro's commitment in support of the democratisation of Latina American countries). Finally, of no less importance is Moro's attitude in recognising and treating on an equal footing the political leaders of the southern hemisphere of our planet, in political times in which relations between developed and developing countries were still strongly asymmetrical – a legacy of the colonial age that had only just ended and was still difficult to get over.

Over the last thirty years, the scenario has certainly **deeply changed**, along development lines that, however, at least in part, Moro himself had envisaged or imagined. Perhaps it is also for this reason that certain orientations characterising his actions in the international sphere are still

worth examining because they are an important point of reference to reflect on **Italy and Europe's contribution** on issues such as world peace, the advancement of democracy and a more balanced development of our planet.

- SECOND SEANCE
  BUILDING CONSENSUS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

The second seance focuses on the theme of **consensus-building** around the great political decisions.

The problem of how to obtain and steer consensus towards stable forms of governance of societies is certainly not new. However, over the last few decades, it seems to have become even more difficult to face due to the progressive emergence and subsequent consolidation of the so-called "post-modern society". It is a deep and complex shift that is creating increasing social and cognitive **fragmentation** such to make traditional institutional, political, economic and cultural structures of modernity less and less effective.

Within these more general changes, many observers have pointed to the opening of a **further development phase of democratic systems** in advanced countries that is, in many regards, in clear discontinuity with regard to previous ones. For example, hypotheses concerning a nascent "post-democracy" move in this direction – those prefiguring a "deconsolidation" of democratic systems or those identifying the birth of new "places" of politics, far from and partly in opposition to traditional political institutions. The **solutions envisaged** (and only partly experimented) to support current forms of representative democracy through such things as the adoption of practices of "deliberative democracy" or the strengthening of local powers, have produced not always univocal results. Nonetheless, really alternative roads have still not been put forward.

The incomplete realignment of political forms with respect to changed social conditions has already had evident **negative effects** on such things as the speed, quality and efficiency of decision-making, the cohesion and stability of political majorities, the confidence of citizens in political institutions or conflict prevention and management.

Of this complex **shift from modernity to "post-modernity"**, Moro only saw the initial stages, but he could still perceive its scope and envisage the

main effects. In the changes underway, he grasped the early signs of an emerging society that would be very different from the past, more dynamic and rich, boosted by the growing capacity of ordinary people to – either individually or collectively – express their own subjectivity and autonomy, often also within a more general and shared demand for human and social emancipation, perceiving, though, not just the potential but also the risks.

At the same time, because he was aware of the structural and pervasive nature of the forthcoming changes, Moro also managed to grasp – more than others – the **limitations of the political system** – limitations linked to the inability to interpret these changes and to steer them towards a strengthening of the institutions and to an enlargement of the democratic base. Not by chance, he repeatedly stressed the weaknesses of politics, the crisis of the usual forms of representation, the fragility of political parties and the risks linked to a mistaken interpretation of the relations between state and society.

These are themes which are still topical today – even more so that in Moro's day, if only for the fact that the changes he had observed in their early manifestation have today acquired greater pace and importance, opening up the road to more advanced and complex forms of modernity.

- THIRD SEANCE
  ALDO MORO IN HISTORIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

The third seance will deal with **historiographic research on Aldo Moro**. More than just a reflection on the state of historical studies on Moro – evidently still too early to carry out –, the aim is to, above all, promote a debate on **three important issues**.

The **first** concerns the **preconditions** to be assured and the **problems** to be faced to start up a serious **historiographic process** on Aldo Moro.

In this regard, the priority aspect to consider is **the availability and quality of historiographic sources** that can be used in reconstructing and interpreting the figure and especially the political action of Aldo Moro. It is also a matter of opening a reflection on the factors which have so far hindered the development of **first systematic studies** on the statesman (something that has not happened for other political leaders of his day) –

studies which represent an unavoidable step towards a mature historiographic analysis.

The **second** question concerns the more effective **research strategies** for approaching a figure such as that of Aldo Moro which, as already stressed in the introduction, appears particularly rich and complex – at the political as well as human level. In effect, we are dealing with a political personality that had an important impact on his country's development, on the construction of Europe and on international relations, not just through a direct action of government, but also by means of a continuous activity of a "cognitive" nature, so to speak, that is, an intellectual, cultural, interpretative, relational and even symbolic one, at times difficult to document.

For this reason, whatever the historiographic analysis strategy one aims to adopt, it should in any case be sufficiently mature to avoid more or less conscious forms of "**reductionism**" (be they of a disciplinary kind or based on a-priori mechanisms for selecting the phenomena to be observed) which in the end lead to eliminating – from the analysis – these "cognitive" aspects, which still represent an essential part of Moro's overall action. This is all the more true if we consider how already today, also in the absence of significant elements of historiographic analysis, many summary interpretations of the figure of Aldo Moro have been produced that can influence the choice of research lines to start up in the future.

In this view, it will also be important to grasp the weight that the events connected to **Moro's death** have had, which, from a historiographic interpretation standpoint, risk becoming a serious distortion factor. Indeed, the last days of Moro's life have been the object of many publications that have contributed to creating a sort of "veil" on his overall political and human life or, worse still, have imposed an interpretation of this very life only in the light of the tragic way it was cut short.

The **third** question to be dealt with in this seance concerns the risks that can be run in the **historiographic analysis of the entire period** that saw Moro among the leading figures – that is, the period going from the post-war years to the end of the 1970s. It is a particularly complex period, not only for the political events characterising it, but also for the rapid great changes marking it, many of which of a cognitive nature (concerning such things as the mechanisms for building collective identities, lifestyles, personal orientations or the formation of expectation systems). In this case, too, the risk of reductionism is particularly great, as is the danger to grasp the more

superficial and evident social dynamics, without grasping the deeper change processes.

Fully interpreting these years thus calls for a particular effort, still to be made, which should perhaps imply the adoption of inter-disciplinary approaches that can jointly coordinate the contribution of historiography with that of other social sciences like sociology or social psychology.

- FOURTH SEANCE
  RELIGIONS AND DEMOCRACY

The fourth seance focuses on a reflection on the theme of the **relation between religions and democracy**.

This relation seems to be on at least three different levels, which are to some extent found also in Moro's political action and orientations.

The first level is defined by the relations established between **religion and politics** in the **sphere of personal choices**. Christian inspiration undoubtedly underlies the reasons, also subjective ones, of Moro's political commitment. It is also evident how Moro had tried to put forward essential mediation elements between the two in order to avoid the dual risk of a drift towards more or less explicit forms of **integralism** (that is, resorting to faith as the direct source of inspiration for political strategies and programmes) and lapses into **anonymism** (restricting the religious sphere to private life).

Perhaps the most significant element of mediation in Moro was his constant attention to acknowledging the full autonomy of political and social events and processes, avoiding caging them, at birth, within a pre-established value judgement system. This drove Moro – in this way, anticipating and following the lines marked out by the Vatican II Council itself – to never close the door to novelties continually coming to light, but to come to terms with them in an open, lay and unbiased manner. This meant not renouncing the opportunity to grasp them, within a picture that remains inevitably hazy and uncertain, also as signs calling upon both the man of faith and the politician.

The second level on which the relations between faith and politics take place is the relationship between **religions and democracy** in the latter half of the 20th century. In the mass society – and especially in contemporary ones,

projected towards new and more complex forms of modernity – there tends to be a powerful "demand for sense" as a form of reaction to social and anomy fragmentation phenomena always characterising social contexts exposed to rapid change. Unlike what was prefigured by many theorists of secularisation, today these demands often find in religion one of the most powerful meaning systems that can welcome and interpret them. They thus leave the private and existential sphere to turn into concrete ethical, cultural or political demands pressurising institutions and steering their action and, in some cases, putting their legitimacy itself into question.

Moro was aware of the positive aspects and of the potentially dangerous ones linked to this complex dynamic and, in this regard, shaped a peculiar vision, albeit it never fully formalised, which seems to maintain important traits of validity even today.

He was certainly inclined to linking the question of relations between religions and democracy to the more general one of the affirmation of **pluralism** as the key element of civil cohabitation. However, pluralism, in Moro's view, could not be based on a "regime" of mere tolerance, by its very nature leading to de-potentiate the different religious and cultural expressions of their stronger meanings and, for this reason, more difficult to share. On the contrary, Moro felt that pluralism itself – and thus a stable and consolidated democracy – should be nurtured on diversity; in other words, it could only come about if every religion and every cultural option, in the free democratic interplay, were put in the condition to "**give its best**", finding the spaces to be able to fully manifest itself and to thereby make an original contribution to the overall advancement of social life.

The third level on which the relationship between faith and politics develops hinges on the theme of the **contribution of religions to the construction of the ethical bases** of democratic cohabitation. It is a question that, in the past, particularly concerned the great ideologies of the 20th century, each of which set itself up as the bearer of its own representation of the ethical foundations of civil living, anchored in turn to a peculiar view of man. Over the last few decades, with the crisis of 20th century political and philosophical ideologies and with the emergence of increasingly more multiethnic and multicultural societies, the influence of religions has certainly progressively grown, not rarely leading to conflictual situations.

With regard to this theme, Moro maintained a **prudent stance**, which may be worth reflecting on even today.

On the one hand, he was conscious of the "fragility of ideal values", once they concretely became incorporated in the rapidly developing society. To this may also be linked his attitude of using the same concept of "value" in a sparing and measured manner, sometimes preferring the use of the term "principle" – perhaps because it is less connected to general and structured visions of the world and of man.

On the other hand, Moro also seemed convinced of the fact that the ethical bases of civil cohabitation could not be installed from the outside, but had to be retraced in the social and cultural processes affecting the life of a community and which steer its development over time. Accordingly, he interpreted these processes also as the origin of a "moral force" calling upon the institutions and politicians to be recognised, interpreted and supported.

- FIFTH SEANCE
  CONSTITUENT PROCESSES AND THE ACHIEVING OF DEMOCRACY

The last seance focuses on what, in short, could be defined as "**constituent processes**".

This is an expression that many observers are given to using today in a broader meaning compared to the more usual one, in order to refer not so much to the acts of a juridical and political nature of constitutional importance, but to social, cultural and economic type phenomena and tendencies that, often in a hidden manner, modify and steer the concrete relations between political institutions and between these institutions and citizens themselves, continuously redefining their rights, duties, responsibilities and spheres of action.

In many respects, Moro anticipated this **dynamic and "meta-juridical" vision** of constituent processes. He actually devised a peculiar "**substantialist**" approach to these processes, that is, devoid of any technical-juridical formalism and geared to grasping, recognising and making visible and operational the values emerging in society (tolerance, equality, peace, secularism, respect for individual freedom), in order to go beyond the previously dominant universes of meaning like nationalism or colonialism.

This interpretation is also connected to **Moro's view of democracy** that was already fully expressed in the Constituent Assembly, mentioned earlier. For Moro, democracy must not be viewed solely from a political perspective,

but also in a social sense because it is rooted in the dynamics of society itself and, more profoundly, in a sense that he called "largely human", thereby recognising a connection between the enjoyment of democratic freedoms and the full manifestation of each individual's personality and orientations.

Because he was conscious of the importance of what was at stake as regards constituent processes, Moro was also careful to consider the risks deriving from the establishment of a rigid, hypo-state, self-referential political **order** incapable of modifying itself and of adapting to the **fluidity** of social life. In this sense, for Moro, political action had to remain highly fluid – the constant search for a possible order that could guarantee conditions of pluralism and freedom –, but also assure a regulated and balanced development to the community.

This seance will see discussion on this set of themes which still seem of great importance today. On closer inspection, in contemporary societies, more than in the past, the political order is continually subjected to **changes of increasing pace and scale**, while the cultural, social and symbolic factors which should be brought into play in order to provide a "common foundation" to this political order seem to be increasingly more difficult to identify. It is also in this light that the many profound signs of **deterioration** in relations between political parties, lobbies, institutions and citizens can be grasped, and which are found, to a greater or lesser extent, in all countries of high economic development, behind which there is often a lack of shared views on key aspects of democratic life.

Adopting an even broader perspective, it must also be stressed that constituent processes not only play a decisive role as regards the solidity and quality of a democratic framework, but more generally represent a factor decisively influencing the "**social fate**" of a community (be it a local, national or international one), affecting its very capacity to establish shared development goals and to concretely pursue them through policies and action strategies which necessarily call for high levels of cooperation between all the actors involved.

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