



Accademia di Studi Storici Aldo Moro

International Conference

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

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An Anthology of Aldo Moro's Writings and Speeches

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Introduction

On occasion of the 30th anniversary of Aldo Moro's death, 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**".

One of the more significant initiatives included in the itinerary is the international conference entitled "**The governance of societies in the 21st century. Thinking back to Aldo Moro**", which will be held in Rome on 17-20 November 2008, in the Palazzo Marini, hosted by the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament.

As the first part of the title shows, the conference will be an occasion for discussing some of the great **change processes** characterising contemporary societies in the shift from "modernity" to the so-called "post-modernity", by highlighting the issue of how to provide political guidance to social realities that have become increasingly more fragmented and complex over time. In promoting this reflection, as the second part of the conference title suggests, the Accademia aims to favour an **open discussion on the figure of Aldo Moro**, above all, for those aspects which, if analysed in adequate depth and recontextualised, can still be useful today in order to face the change processes underway, despite the fact that Moro lived and worked in very different times to those of today.

To facilitate the debate, it was decided to prepare this **short thematic anthology** of passages taken from Moro's writings and speeches, as **support material** for the conference.

Therefore, this is not a critical edition of a historiographic kind, but a document – drafted in both Italian and English – primarily addressed to the **conference speakers**, with particular regard to the non-Italians who are presumably less familiar with Moro himself (also because there are, unfortunately, no official translations of his writings and speeches available – in English or in any other language).

Nevertheless, the anthology may be of some help also for a **vaster and more composite audience**, especially if we consider how little the figure of

Aldo Moro has been studied and analysed in depth, at least with respect to the events linked to his kidnapping and murder.

It is a **sober and essential document**, firstly for its brevity: little more than fifty passages, out of the vast and detailed body of writings and speeches produced by Moro. This anthology is, therefore, certainly not exhaustive and does not purport to reflect the complexity and wealth of Moro's reflections, judgments and views. Rather, it has been conceived as a way to **gain some insights** into some of the more recurrent notions and categories of his thought, solely as regards the themes dealt with by the international conference in November.

In view of this very specific and, in some respects, decidedly practical aim, **some decisions** were taken in the arrangement of this document, and it is worth mentioning them here, both as regards the actual **passages chosen** and the **organisation of the anthology** itself.

As regards **text selection**, to facilitate readability, it was decided not to include entire speeches and writings by Moro, but to take some relatively short extracts from them and to provide a title which would enable the reader to grasp the meaning, at least from the editors standpoint. This has meant an improper, but necessary action of extrapolation of passages with respect to their original context (the political and social situation of the times, but also the circumstances in which the passages were produced). It was also decided not to provide a critical comment to each passage, but to just include some essential indications on the piece of writing or speech each passage was taken from.

As regards the **arrangement of the anthology**, it deliberately reflects the programme of the conference work session of which, as already mentioned, it is a support. The chosen passages have thus been arranged into four chapters corresponding to four of the five work sessions, and namely:

- Chapter 1 - "Italy and Europe in international relations change processes";
- Chapter 2 - "Building consensus in contemporary societies";
- Chapter 3 - "Religions and democracy";
- Chapter 4 - "Constituent processes and the achieving of democracy.

The document does not, however, include passages linked to the work session dedicated to “**Aldo Moro in historiographic research**”. The reason for this is simple: unlike the other work sessions, this one does not have a thematic framework, but highlights an issue running through the whole conference, and namely that of the current state and possible future lines of development of historiographic research on Aldo Moro and on his times. Not having a specific thematic focus, it was thus not possible to include passages by Moro that could be included elsewhere.

It must be highlighted how, despite their limited number, the passages included in this anthology are already enough to show the significance and urgency of a serious and in-depth commitment of historiography on the figure of Aldo Moro, that to date has been hindered by many factors. Moreover, it is not a task which only concerns Italian historiography. As the historian George Mosse¹ said as far back as 1979, Moro’s political life is not limited to the Italian sphere, but “takes on a significance of general interest since it is strictly connected to that crisis of the system of parliamentary government that has come out in all its gravity during the 20th century”. Moro found himself dealing with these crucial issues, linked to the transformation of all societies of high industrial development, such as the inclusion – in the democratic dynamics – of social subjects and groups that had previously been excluded, and he also was a leading player in dealing with key processes and events in international relations. It is thus not by chance that Mosse suggested approaching Moro as one of the rare cases where a “man gifted with reason and critical capacities” managed to “survive and even to leave his mark in this age of the masses”.

Finally, one must stress the many **overlaps and links** between the themes at the heart of the various chapters. For example, some passages concerning Moro’s views with respect to international politics can be traced in chapter four besides chapter one. Similarly, there are areas of thematic overlap between chapters two and four. The various passages were thus assigned to the different chapters partly in an arbitrary manner, in not few cases by adopting a mere criterion of prevalence, that is, the greater or minor accentuation given by Moro, within the same text, to one topic with respect to another.

¹ Mosse G.L., “L’opera di Aldo Moro nella crisi della democrazia parlamentare in occidente”, in Moro A., *L’intelligenza e gli avvenimenti. Testi 1959-1978*, edited by G. Quaranta, Garzanti, Milano, 1979

In each chapter the passages are not arranged in chronological order but according to a “**semantic itinerary**”, albeit a very elementary one, which is briefly described in the introduction to each chapter.

The present anthology was edited by a team of the Accademia di Studi Storici Aldo Moro, consisting of Luciano d’Andrea, Maria Letizia Coen Cagli and Marco Montefalcone, with the cooperation of Alfonso Alfonsi. It was translated by Franco Amodeo.

Chapter One

Italy and Europe in international relations change processes

Introduction

This chapter contains 13 passages taken from Moro's writings and speeches on the theme of international relations and refer to the years between 1969 and 1974.

- The first four passages (1-4) highlight Moro's perception of the rapid change of relations between peoples, countries and geographical regions, within an increasingly more globalised world characterised by deeper and more complex forms of interdependence between the east and west and between the north and south of our planet. Unusually for the times, Moro also made reference to the emergence of what he called "a world public opinion", destined to count more and more, and which marks the "start of a new civilisation".
- There are then three texts (5-7) focusing on the détente theme. The first enables us to grasp the interpretation full of meaning that Moro gave to the détente as a process going beyond the mere political sphere and inter-governmental relations. The other two passages instead focus on Europe's role in promoting a real and lasting détente process.
- The next three passages (8-10) dwell on the nature of the European unification process which, for Moro, does not only concern the economic sphere, but also the political and social one, and firmly brings into play the question of building a common identity of all the continent's peoples.
- The next two texts (11-12) deal with Europe with respect to the Mediterranean and to the Arab world.
- In the last passage (13), Moro analyses the changed relations between rich and poor countries as well as the deep sense of cooperation between the northern and southern hemispheres of our planet (one should recall, here, that the first Italian law on international cooperation was emanated in 1971, when Moro was the Italian minister of foreign affairs).

1. A new view of international relations

Of course the world goes on and things move, despite everything, in a positive direction. And we are committed to sustaining this motion and indeed, as far as we can, to promoting it. Just think of the weight that world public opinion has today and to the growing influence of the moral conscience of peoples on the orientation of foreign policy. Just think of the way problems of disarmament and of the authority of the United Nations are debated today. Although progress in this regard is still limited, it is undeniable that a new vision of international relations is emerging and, within it, a hitherto unthinkable easiness and intensity of relations also between countries belonging to different political and military organisations. The overcoming of political blocs in a society founded on trust and guaranteed with means other than a mere balance of powers is thus not only a noble goal, but a policy that is practiced by promoting disarmament, valorising the UN, seeking in every way – and but not to the point of unilateral surrender – the détente and cooperation between peoples, even of a different social and political structure or that belong to different political and military systems, by putting forward proper and fair solutions to international problems.

This is the line we are following and which can be found in our every reaction as in our every initiative. We cannot thus give up the instruments of security which, amongst other things, offer us the chance for positive political influence. Neither do we intend to drop the prospects of, gradually, changing the way the world is, by shifting from a guarantee based on force to a guarantee based on trust, from tension to distension, to negotiation and cooperation.

Speech to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, 12 September 1969

2. The birth of a world public opinion

Yet, in an advanced phase of the world unification process, some breach has been opened up in this, let us admit, disappointing state of human relations. (...)

We know that there is much else to do, that we are only in the early stages of an evolution destined to acknowledge that the human condition of the world's citizens cannot be disciplined exclusively according to interpretative criteria and the interests of individual States. At least as regards the fundamental human rights, states are not sovereign and have

a superior to acknowledge also in the most jealous sphere of their own internal existence.

It is a long and difficult road. (...)

Well, it is unquestionable that a world public opinion – a human conscience with its own voice – is being formed and, indeed, in some way already exists today. It exists and carries some weight. (...) This is a new fact in international politics, but it is, above all, the start of a new civilisation. We must understand and prepare for it”.

Article in “Il Giorno”, 6 September 1972

3. New bonds of cooperation among peoples

The great problems facing the world are not solvable merely through the, even joint, efforts of the great powers. Each and everyone is called upon to cooperate in mankind’s struggle for survival, dignity, freedom and wellbeing. Nor can we any longer accept that there are peoples that make history and others that passively endure it: the world’s democratic conscience opposes this.

Our Organisation [the United Nations] must, therefore, remain the world forum in which all peoples can express their own needs and where they can work to trace the most suitable path for solving mankind’s great problems.

Only by starting to build that climate of trust and cooperation between neighbouring states can we hope to, gradually, establish a better order. The golden rule of foreign policy in days gone by used to be that the enemies of our neighbours were thus our friends. Today, this rule is increasingly being replaced by the principle of: our neighbours must be our friends. What we are increasingly witnessing all over the world is the creation of close bonds of cooperation and union between neighbouring peoples.

Speech at the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 6 October 1971

4. International life as relationships between men and not between powers

International life, which by now largely expresses problems, worries, tensions that are comprehensible and assessable not in terms of relations between powers, but of relationships between men who share the same problems over and beyond the boundaries of countries themselves –

international life itself, as I was saying, is guaranteed against the explosions of passions and of power, not just by mechanisms of security, albeit still necessary, but by the social debate opened up in the world by hope, by the prospects that even here democracy maintains alive. The hope and prospects that freedom may contribute to instilling justice among men and among peoples (...).

Speech to Christian Democrat leaders of the province of Bari, 31 January 1969

5. Providing new content to détente

What unites us, despite everything, is our history. We are united by a desire for peace safe from every threat to our security. We are united by the need and desire for cooperation. The awareness of these reasons for unity has opened up the road to détente. But Italy has always had the conviction that we must give the process – a gradual and not always smooth one – of détente a new and more substantial content, over and beyond achieving the still necessary understandings between governments, and namely, the exaltation of the ideals of freedom and justice, an increasingly more effective safeguarding of human rights, an enrichment of peoples through their better mutual knowledge, of freer contacts, an ever-vaster circulation of ideas and information.

Speech at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki, 30 July 1975

6. Europe in East-West relations

We all know in which areas and under what circumstances the presence of united Europe is irreplaceable. It is not merely the sum total of the influences exerted by its member states. It is, instead, something else. If it is absent, then there is lack of a point of reference. In some cases, despite everything, neither the USA nor the Soviet Union can fully make this up. In the new world balance there is room for us, and without us this balance would be less just and less stable.

Article in "Il Giorno", 15 October 1972

7. The rebalancing role played by Europe

Indeed, we consider that the deepening, strengthening and broadening of that original form of cooperation between Europe's peoples that we call the European Community, per se go to constitute elements favouring the establishment of more advanced conditions of human cohabitation and cooperation in the entire continent. The European Community, conscious of the responsibilities that will derive from its own political solidity and from its own economic function, cannot but play a rebalancing role on the world stage and this should be appreciated by all concerned.

Statements to the Senate in reply to questions on foreign policy, 12 March 1971

8. European awareness and responsibility

The new self-awareness that Europe must have, especially at the present time, is thus not the ground for separation, but for a bond, a free bond in which it is present. A European identity thus involves responsibilities towards the world and firstly and foremost towards the Third World, of which all of us should, especially since we are united, be held more accountable than in the past.

Article in "Il Giorno", 15 October 1972

9. Europe in the global interdependencies

It is a long and difficult path to tread. But on this road we tread largely together within a renewed and reconfirmed belief of the need and urgency of economic and monetary union – the foundation of the defence of Europe's just interests and an indispensable instrument of real community integration. Europe's autonomy is thus evident; but it must be placed within the reality of the world's economic and political interdependence. No isolation is possible and desirable. Everyone must start from one's own positions to then acknowledge those of others, driven not by selfishness, but by justice.

Speech to the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee, 28 September 1971

10. The political significance of European unification

I consider it right and proper to add a few words on the union established between various peoples of western Europe, which has found its own institutional expression in the European Economic Community (...). It is a Community which, although bearing the adjective “economic” in its name, has taken on an increasingly more evident political significance.

This unifying action, both economic and political, of most of western Europe was born from a grand design: replacing with fertile cooperation those suspicions and rivalries between peoples of the region – factors which had led to two world wars. The Community, which has represented an important – dare I say, surprising – process, is and will remain open to all European peoples who are inspired by the same idea of political life and who wish to join. (...)

Such a work can give the peoples of Europe the chance to let themselves be heard more effectively. Can such rediscovered influence be harmful to anyone? The answer is: no. It is not directed – and will never be directed – against any people, but against war, against the burden of weaponry, hunger and underdevelopment, against iniquity, against all that which can hinder free and productive contacts among all men.

Speech at the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 6 October 1971

11. Europe and the Mediterranean

On this very theme [the Middle East crisis], also owing to assiduous Italian insistence, has attention been devoted in the past, almost as if, with increasing awareness, it is felt that Europe’s fate is linked to the fate of this region, and so no-one is called upon to choose between being in Europe and being in the Mediterranean, because the whole of Europe is in the Mediterranean.

Speech to the Senate, 6 December 1973

12. Dialogue with the Arab world

The intention is thus to use the natural complementariness and continuity of the European world and of the Arab world for broad and intricate cooperation within a long-term perspective. The dialogue will thus essentially be on economic issues. But its significance will be broader

than that. It, in fact, involves the acceptance of that Mediterranean logic we have always indicated for Europe.

Report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, 1 August 1974

13. The new picture of cooperation

Another more important and more lasting reason for crisis is coming to light. It is the intention of developing countries – which possess such a precious conditioning factor for the economy and, indeed, are generally rich in raw materials – to make more out of their peculiar contribution to the production of the goods the world increasingly needs, in order to achieve their own progress. Only in this light can we grasp the real scale of the phenomenon we are facing and that represents a considerably significant turning-point in the contrast between rich and poor countries and, to be realistic, in the contrast between rich but potentially poor countries and poor but potentially rich ones. We must therefore be conscious of our fragility (...). In view of these things, we must take on a position of realism and reasonableness. (...) It goes without saying that a higher level of international justice will be costlier for industrialised countries and will lead to slowing down their progress to enable the progress of others. But this is a price we must pay, by leaving the rhetorical phase to enter into a political phase of relations with developing countries (...).

Report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, 24 April 1974

Chapter Two

Building consensus in contemporary societies

Introduction

This chapter contains 13 passages by Moro (most of which are from the period 1968-1978, except one from 1959 and two from 1963) and are directly or indirectly connected to the question of building consensus in contemporary societies.

- The first three passages (1-3) allow us to grasp the certainly positive, but also problematic, view that Moro had developed on the deep change processes which, above all from the late 1960s, had affected contemporary societies.
- In the next four passages (4-7), the attention focuses on the role of politics and on the difficulties it faces in providing guidance and order to the deep social and cultural changes underway. Moro, in particular, anticipated a theme which would become the subject of broad debate only in more recent times, and namely the gradual decrease of the state's power in the face of the increased autonomy of societies and individuals with respect to the great cultural and "political centres" which had formed within modernity.
- Then there are three passages (8-10) which show Moro's sensibility with respect to demands for emancipation, liberation and acknowledgment of social pluralism which society ever more pressingly made to politics.
- Finally, the last three passages (11-13) show Moro's constant attention to elements of novelty found in society and which deeply influence the political sphere.

1. New times are upon us

New times are upon us and are advancing as never before. The vortical succession of claims, the feeling that distortions, injustices, shadowy areas, conditions of insufficient dignity and insufficient power are no longer bearable, the broadening of the frame of expectations and hopes of all mankind, the vision of the rights of others, even of the most distant, to be safeguarded not less than one's own, the fact that young people, feeling at a crucial stage in history, do not identify with the society they live in and which they call into question, are all signs of the great changes and of the painful labour in which a new mankind is born. There are certainly some disconcerting facts before which those who have decisive responsibilities cannot remain indifferent: violence sometimes, a confusion that is both disquieting and paralysing, even certain simplistic and poorly effective approaches, are thus a very real and worrying fact. But they are, however, a superficial fact, albeit a grave one. Deep down, it is a new mankind that wishes to develop, it is the irresistible motion of history. In contrast with disconcerting and, perhaps, transient experiences there is but one that is valid and which we must bow down to, a new way of being in the human condition. It is the affirmation of every person, in every social condition, from school to the workplace, in every place of our country, in every distant and unknown region of the world; it is the emergence of a law of solidarity, of equality, of respect that is far more serious and cogent than anything of its kind in history. And, along with all this, and indeed for this very fact, an idea is appearing in the world scene – an idea that, over and beyond opportunistic cynicism, indeed over and beyond prudence and realism themselves, a moral law, all whole, without compromises, will finally prevail and dominate politics so that it be not unjust and not even tepid or tardy, but intensely humane.

Speech to the National Council of the Christian Democrat Party, 21 November 1968

2. A new mankind is on the move

It is not merely a question of being more efficient, but also of being more profoundly capable of understanding, more really participative, more committed in grasping within us not only an action that is more ready, but a lifelong commitment, a new soul in unison with the soul of the changing world, to be better and more just.

Our duty today is thus extremely complex and difficult. Because we really are facing a turning point in history and we know that things have irreversibly changed, that they will no longer be the same. Does this mean we are about to be overwhelmed by events? Does this mean that there are no rails to be laid, no just laws to offer Italian society, no institutions that can guarantee the motion of history, channelling it so that it does not come to anarchy, to dispersion, to disappointment? Certainly not. We must govern and thus choose, grade, guarantee, order and commensurate action with the risks that still remain in internal and international life, but knowing that the world is changing in order to reach a higher level. Of course, we shall work within the real data of the situation, in order to defend freedom, order and peace against disorder. But we will have to do so – and this is the new and difficult fact of our condition – with the sentiment of those who, conscious of the political restrictions and reasons of realism and of prudence, deeply believe that a new mankind is on the move, who accept this prospect, intensely wish it, and who aim to make possible and to accelerate a new order in the world.

Speech to the National Council of the Christian Democrat Party, 21 November 1968

3. A positive view of the world

(...) can one say, even today, despite everything, that the reality is all and solely what comes out from the depressing, and sometimes terrifying, news coverage of a newspaper? Of course, that which is good does not make the headlines. That which is in its proper place, that which is true, that which favours harmony is a lot less prone to being noticed and noted than those things which, outside the norm, pose problems for man and society. But this technical reason, so to speak, this being a surprise, this arousing of the curiosity does not naturally rule out that, in actual fact, (...) there actually is good, good more than evil, harmony more than discord, the norm more than the exception.

I think to the great fabric of love uniting the world, to authentic religious experiences, the orderly families, the fits of generosity of youth, to forms of industrious solidarity with the outcast and the Third World, to social communities, to the moving attachment of labourers to their work. The examples abound. It is sufficient to look at where we all too often do not look and to concern ourselves with what all too often is of no interest. (...)

Good, even if it remains in the background, is more substantial than it appears, more concrete than evil that contradicts it. Life goes on since evil is actually marginal and leaves intact the extraordinary richness of the values of acceptance, tolerance, sense of duty, dedication, sympathy, solidarity and consensus that sustain the world, thereby victoriously balancing the destructive urges of unjust contestations. (...)

And, yet, there arises the doubt that not only is evil present, but that it actually dominates the world. A doubt that weakens those moral and political energies that confidently aim towards man's redemption – albeit with a difficult starting basis.

A more balanced view of reality, of true reality, is not only and not so much reassuring, but also stimulating to the fulfilment of those duties of internal renewal and of social involvement constituting our task in the world.

Article in "Il Giorno", 20 January 1977

4. The diminished power of the state

The power of the state has diminished. (...) But the state's task of unifying and guiding the nation's life has become more difficult, more troublesome and, so to speak, more subtle. The democratic system as a whole is showing some sign of weakness, also in view of the fact that some tracks on which to channel social life are no longer available. In order to deploy in all its wealth and fertility, the regime of liberty needs democratic authority and the effective instruments to achieve justice. It is right, therefore, to fear for the democratic state, to doubt that it will not manage to be an open, flexible tool that is also institutionally capable of giving freedom all its space. The balance between the growing freedoms of modern societies and the power necessary for collective order is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, problem of our times. (...) These new things do not, of course, emerge without any contrasts, not without difficulties, not without excesses and not without momentary imbalances. But this is the task of our times. The theme of rights is central in our political discussion. In view of this emergence, politics must be conscious of its own limit, ready to reach out to this new reality, which removes from it the rigidity of the reason of state in order to bestow it with the breath of the reason of man.

Speech at the 13th Congress of the Christian Democrat Party, Rome, 20 March 1976

5. The crisis of the political party model

Now the social ferment has deepened and widened, it has become more acutely critical and fleeting, to some extent it jeopardises the representative function of political parties and of trade unions themselves and even casts a shadow on the authenticity and effectiveness of the democratic and parliamentary system (...).

It is obvious how, at the present time, the accent is shifting from the political society to the civic society, in which there is largely debate, confrontation and even advanced preparation of decisions on the order and development of social life. This cannot, indeed, put into question the democratic-parliamentary system, even if subject to penetrating social control, and with it the political forces called upon to carry out an intelligent and responsible synthesis in the tumult of the interests and ideals of social life. We need to harmonise these two things.

The responsibility of those who exercise public powers is strongly conditioned by the initiative and reaction of those who can no longer be called subjects, or even the governed, but in a new and essential manner as free men. Indeed, a society that is ever-more present to itself transcends the structures of political parties and is ever-less easily made to fit, as was the case before, within a given framework, under the shield of a well-defined and exclusive ideology.

In short, the social ferment that first nurtured and drove political parties through precise channels is today broader, deeper and is also becoming influential for itself to some extent, and it is developing over and beyond political parties, with an undifferentiated drive, aiming more towards union than to division.

Speech at a Christian Democratic conference, Milan, 3 June 1969

6. Democracy as a daily achievement

Under the pressure of a society transformed in its depths, in continuous development and extremely demanding, we are involved in a great endeavour for the liberation of man and for justice. A difficult endeavour because the goals are pushed onwards making progress in this sometimes difficult. But the renovating content of this policy, according to a precise and indeclinable intention, is unquestionable. Meeting society's needs with more just orders, demonstrating that the institutions are capable of acknowledging and of channelling the people's aspirations, bridging the gap – in terms of common awareness and common responsibility –

between the apex and base of power, establishing constantly a political balance that is not static but dynamic, means assuring the stability of the democratic regime. (...)

Speech at a Christian Democratic conference, Milan, 3 June 1969

7. The politician's task

The politician does not only have the task of not spoiling what social life, in its positive development, is already building by itself. Between availability and reality, between basic wealth and harmonious composition within the social context there is a huge space (and full of problems of every kind), which must be taken up by an indispensable and farsighted political initiative. It is the latter's task to make an appropriate synthesis and to organise the consensus not around certain data, however important, but around an overall design that is, in its complexity, complete and stable.

Achieving unity involves a great understanding of things, an overall view, the search for the right balances, a real effort of organisation. It is a way of proceeding, indeed an inevitable one, which makes political life complicated, difficult to decipher and sometimes irritating. Here lies the basis of that diffidence that questions politics of its function and its merit. Yet, and one must stress this, it is not a matter of alchemies, of artifices, of smoke screens, but of a pondered series of elements in play, of a search for compatibility, of a valorisation of unity within diversity.

Article in "Il Giorno", 3 March 1978

8. A more vibrant and demanding society

As a backdrop to these political prospects, there is the new Italian society: a society already greatly changed but still undergoing a rapid development process. It has solved some essential problems, but sees new ones emerging every day in relation to more complex needs; it has achieved significant social and political goals, but has also witnessed the breakdown of the old equilibrium and the acute emergence of the need for establishing a different one at a higher level. A tumult of claims and unsatisfied aspirations are shaking it deep down. This is, therefore, our difficult condition of today. We are facing a society that is more vibrant and demanding than anything we have seen in the last few years. Political

initiative must take this into account. The narrower the scope for politics, the more difficult its conductance; the more uncertain its results; and the greater the charge of intelligence and of detachment it must have so as not to fail when put to the test.

Report to the 11th Christian Democrat Congress, Rome, 29 June 1969

9. Great liberation processes

We must convince ourselves that everything lying below the level of power and of the political order is extremely important for politics. (...)

Great liberation processes are at stake, expressed in the strong drive (...) towards the expansion of the area of the dignity of men and of peoples. We may overlook details, but not the overall picture, that is indeed very clear, so very evident to conservatives that they quickly go about putting up robust defences. One cannot deny that this is the characteristic feature of our times, that formidable blows have already been given to the great many crystallisations of power, to unsustainable social inequalities, to subordinate conditions that had previously been accepted as a fatality and against which a devouring blaze has been lit. And so many other things will be erased with some perturbation and risk, but with underlying reasons, the lack of acknowledgement and support of which would not merely be a matter of injustice, but also of outright folly. A responsible political party must also take account of the dangers accompanying the difficult processes of man's liberation and of innovation of the social order. (...)

The liberation underway in modern society (even the Church, albeit it in its own manner, is not extraneous to this) is expressed in the strong critical and innovating charge born by youth, by women, by workers, by an age that is in itself both future and hope, by the condition of women that bring into society the explosive strength of the discovery of themselves, by the working world, with a host of problems that are increasingly more complex and, so to speak, of a civil nature. There is no doubt that we shall be guided on the basis of our capacity to interpret these phenomena and to take an appropriate stance on them. What is at stake is not only the proper arrangement of our society, but its actual wealth and quality of life. This is because life is not the same, but better, if youth can be youth, if women can be women in the fullness – not a deformed and constricted one – of their nature, and if workers can be citizens at the highest level of dignity.

These discoveries sometimes come forward in a contorted, disordered and even violent manner. But even aberrations and contortions are signs of what is happening, of what is going to come. And prudence and truth spur us to go beyond the signs. (...) However perturbed we may be, we must look to the essential core of truth, to the way of being of our society, which heralds, above all, a new person that is richer of life and more conscious of his own rights. Governing means doing many important and necessary things, but deep down it means promoting a new human condition.

Report at the 12th Christian Democrat Congress, Rome, 9 June 1973

10. Social pluralism and democracy

The first expression of our democratic vision (...) is social pluralism as a consequence of the insufficiency of the state to reflect and contain in full the complex of social relations within its own framework. Relationships and their associated forms, driven by interests of various kinds, enacted in view of different goals, with different dimensions, with the most varied meanings, interweave all these experiences into significant relations; they are the substance of social life, the expression of the free expansion of man's varied and rich unitary vocation. They limpidly emerge within a social structure that is not unilateral and closed, and powerfully contribute to express human meaning.

Speech in Milan, 3 October 1959

11. Attentive innovators

Bound as we are to traditions, for what they have of essential and of human, we do not want to be men of the past, but of the future. Tomorrow does not belong to conservatives or to tyrants; it belongs to attentive and serious innovators, without rhetoric. And that tomorrow in civil society belongs, also for this, largely to the revolutionary and redeeming force of Christianity. Let us therefore leave the dead to bury the dead. We are different, we want to be different from the few tired supporters of a world that is passing.

Speech at the Supercinema of Rome, 24 March 1963

12. Standing for the things that are born

If we still wish to be present, then we must stand for the things that are born, even if they may have uncertain features, and not for the things that die, even if they may be conspicuous and only apparently very useful.

Speech at the 11th Christian Democratic Congress, Rome, 29 June 1969

13. We are here for the future

Well, here we are coming from a long and useful democratic experience (...), we are here still today, not to do little things, not to prop up worn down conditions, not to provide for the administration of the past, but – in safeguarding the permanent and essential values of our tradition and of our civilisation – to work with all our strength for a new, more just and more human arrangement of our society. In short, we are here for the future.

Speech at the National Christian Democratic Council, 29 July 1963

Chapter Three
Religions and democracy

Introduction

The chapter contains 14 passages from the period 1942 to 1977 and concerning the relations between religion and democracy.

- The first five passages (1-5) focus the attention on Moro's views on the relations between the religious sphere and the political one, as they are seen at different levels and according to different perspectives (at the personal level, for example, as the relationship between faith and politics or, at the public level, as the interaction between a religious view and a lay one of reality).
- The next four passages (6-9) give an account of the orientation – strongly found in Moro – of acknowledging the moral value of demands produced within society. It is a perspective which, in many respects, goes beyond every form of opposition between religion and secularism, and highlights, rather, a relationship of reciprocity between these two spheres. Not only does the world need not close itself off to the perspectives of religion, but so must the Church and the other faiths keep themselves open to the demands of a continuously changing world in order for them to grow and to develop.
- There are then three passages (10-12) which dwell on the close link that Moro found between political commitment and the human sphere, in its deepest and most penetrating meanings.
- The last two passages (13-14) show Moro's tension in giving meaning – even a “meta-historical” one – to political action, seen as directly connected to the deepest expectations of freedom of human beings, without this implying any non-recognition of the full autonomy of politics with respect to the religious sphere.

1. Faith and political commitment

(...) our faith is not a clear vision with real and defined contours, but a deep tension of the spirit that knows how to see with a gaze other than the human one. An authentic faith opens up new and deep roads, gives life to a history that is not comparable with what goes on every day, has resources of confidence and of hope which do not run out for a failure, and surpass by far any concrete product of the ever-deficient action of man.

Editorial in the review "Studium", 1946, no. 10

2. The political plan and that of spirituality

The call to the two different plans on which the Christian operates – the one of contingent politics and the other of Christian spirituality, has by now become almost habitual. And equally frequent and imperative is the call to the duty of being present in both these orders according to each one's character, but with those bonds, those interferences, those co-ordinations that correspond to the essentially unitary need of human personality. But it is one thing to theoretically enunciate a truth, quite another to put it into practice; quite another to outline a difficult balance, quite another to have the measure, tact and sense of responsibility that are indispensable for reproducing it every time it is necessary. And so, each time, depending on the historical moments, under the pressure of different needs, one or other aspect end up prevailing and either the political Christian – to the detriment of every other resource – demands for himself all the tasks and all the powers, or, so to speak, the integral Christian suffocates every political demand within a mystical rarefaction disowning the concrete forces operating in social life.

Editorial in the review "Studium", 1948, no. 12

3. Religious values and political action

More specifically, the moral and religious values inspiring the Christian Democratic Party (DC) and which the latter wishes to implement as much as possible within the social and political reality are destined to take hold in the country's democratic life, which the DC lies within and to which it takes them. It is thus an affirmation not on the basis of the absoluteness of these values, but in the struggle, debate, gradualness and uncertainties

pertaining to democratic life. This demonstrates the qualitative leap that the data of our moral and religious conscience are forced to make when they go to express themselves on the terrain of the contingent (...). And this holds, naturally, to an even greater extent for those that are the actual applications and specifications of those values – the concrete choices of a political nature that no Christian would evidently consider extraneous to the supreme values of moral and religious life, but which, however, obey the law of opportunity, of relativity, of prudence characterising political life, and they especially feel the need for confrontation, they become affirmed only as far as they manage to gather a greater amount of consensus, to share a common ground with other ideologies, a ground that cannot be that of Christian idealities. (...)

Also, therefore, because the commitment is so great, also because there are such drawbacks and reservations, and also so as not to commit the spiritual authority of the Church in such an extremely difficult and risky matter, there is the autonomy of the Catholics involved in public life who are called to experience that free confrontation of democratic life in a contact without discriminations. Autonomy is our taking on of responsibilities, it is running our own risks alone, it is our own personal way of rendering a service and of giving, if possible, a testimony of the Christian values in social life.

Report at the 8th Christian Democrat Congress, Naples, 27 January 1962

4. Christian experience and the change in politics

But there certainly is no pretension – in the Christian characterisation of the Party – of using an inadmissible confessional discipline, of building a sort of barrier preventing some from entering and others from leaving. It is not a matter of this. There is, instead, only a reference to values that enliven political experience and which offer a reason for going in, with one's own spiritual and cultural patrimony, among all the forces of change, among the forces of the people. (...) On the whole, in its various modulations, Christian experience is felt as a principle of non-satisfaction and of change of the existing in its spiritual meaning and in its social structure. And like a liberating force, alongside others, different in their motivations and ways of being, must we consider our own to be (...).

Speech at the 12th Christian Democrat Congress, Rome, 9 June 1973

5. Religious sensibility and civil sensibility

This society, which we have to righteously administer, with firmness and also with discretion and respect, is changing under our very eyes, and goes forward – despite the lacerations, compromises, involutions, cynical forms of indifference – moved by a high and noble moral inspiration. It is man who here, as in every continent, even the remotest and most different, is worth more and more, does not accept poverty, ignorance, oppression. And in this irresistible aspiration, and in this impelling duty for all men of goodwill, there is the natural meeting of a religious sensibility – of which we see a more extended and attentive presence every day in this positively evolving world – and of a civil sensibility in the awareness of an equal task and common responsibility in given historical conditions.

Speech for the formation of the government, Chamber of Deputies, 3 March 1966

6. Human values and political convictions

Our free choice, our merely political choice rests anchored to Christian ideals, interpreted by us, under our exclusive responsibility, in view of the socially useful application we can make of them and of the righteous solutions that can be drawn from them for problems, and especially for the great fundamental problems, of our national community. (...)

I would not wish that, in order to quickly get out of patterns considered restrictive, we give up the ideals that are ours and the valid criteria of interpretation and of development of social life. It is not just a matter of solving problems with perfect technique and with a view to efficiency. This must also be done, certainly, but it is not all. One cannot live without great human values and without deep political convictions. A democracy is the free confrontation of such values and principles. Success is entrusted to consensus. A democratic person can promote it with all his strength, but must never demand it.

Speech at the 11th Christian Democrat Congress, Rome, 29 June 1969

7. Diversity and human progress

We can all together, we must all together, hope, attempt, suffer and create to make real, as much as possible – at a personal level and at a social one: two levels that are interconnected and which deeply influence one another – an irrenounceable destiny that marks our deliverance from

paltriness and selfishness. In this moving together towards a higher life, there is naturally room for diversity, contrast, even tension. And yet, even though we may sometimes be deeply divided, also opposing one another, if necessary, as adversaries, we know we have in common, each for his own road, the possibility and duty to go farther and higher. The diversity that exists between us does not stop us from feeling part of a great human achievement. It is not important for us to think the same things, to imagine and hope for the same identical destiny; it is, instead, extraordinarily important that, aside from the faith each one has in his own original contribution for the salvation of man and of the world, all of us have their own free breath, everyone their own intangible space in which to live their own experience of renewal and truth, all connected with one another within a common acceptance of essential reasons of freedom, respect and dialogue.

Civil peace precisely corresponds to this great endeavour of free human progress and, in this peace, respect and recognition emerge spontaneously, while we work, each in his own way, to exclude mediocre things, to make room for great things.

Article in "Il Giorno", 10 April 1977

8. Governance and values of society

The Government will try to be present in every sector, a careful and respectful observer of every movement running through the nation and of every sentiment it experiences in its incessant evolution. It will be a vigil but not passive interpreter of this reality. It will grasp the positive values that will become manifest in it; it will temper, within an overall view, the variety of aspirations emerging in Italian society; it will respect the autonomies, all the autonomies, in which a democracy lives, it will push it to unity in order, in solidarity and in justice; it will stop, conscious of its own limits of public powers, in the face of inviolable rights of human conscience, culture and personality.

Speech to the Chamber of Deputies, 3 March 1966

9. The moral conscience of citizens

New rights and new duties, which are strictly connected, are brought by the political events that have reached their conclusion in these very days. The national community has seen the reappearance and consolidation – in a clear affirmation of the people's will – of the rights of

the human person and of the prerogatives pertaining to him, with no privileged limitation in the economic, social, political and spiritual field. Of this broadening of prerogatives pertaining to man, of his positions and social responsibilities, we Christians will not regret. It brings about, as much as possible, the ideal of a fully human mankind, present to itself and master of its own destiny. (...) This is the hour of liberation. At this very moment we have offered to us a unique opportunity to make civilisation take a step forward, showing an irreducible Christian soul. (...)

The democracy that is implemented today in its full and logical expression in Italy is, in social and political life, the long and hesitantly matured fruit of the evangelical annunciation of human dignity and of spontaneous and constructive sociality. The responsibilities it involves, so that liberty does not turn into arbitrariness, are great, but not above our possibilities. Fundamental and unbreakable is our duty of active presence which, although always existing, now becomes more decisive because it looms over us not as subjects, but as citizens of a community that is completely entrusted to the resources of those who freely and responsibly take part in it.

A community with no masters, with no servitude other than that to the liberating law of the moral conscience of all citizens.

Editorial in the review "Studium", 1946, no. 8

10. The need to be men

The spirit of peace is the spirit of struggle and achievement. The evangelical annunciation, aimed as it is to reassuring, balancing and pacifying, may, however, be a declaration of war for the extraordinary need, in the human condition, to achieve the good in which to rest with uninterrupted effort. Peace, which is at one with truth, an industrious truth and creator of understandings, is not an external thing that we can comfortably adhere to. There can be no parasites of peace because it is a perpetual anxious labour and withholds itself to those who do not have the courage to look into themselves and into others, to find – within the complete presence in the world – the pacifying sense of faithfulness to life. This is what being in peace means: being faithful to life, whatever the cost, saying yes, with conscious serenity, to the incoercible but equivocal impulse of being.

Peace means renouncing renunciation, accepting the uncomfortable state of being men (and not just for one minute, but for ever), fulfilment of the delicate duties of liveliness and of intelligence. (...)

We cannot speak of peace as long as men remain so estranged, so cold, so different beside one another, while closeness is a fastidious burden that we wish to free ourselves of or that we vainly try to dissolve with the artificial technique of the art of social contacts.

There is no peace as long as the rights and duties of intelligence are not recognised and this, having become equal to its possibilities, has not shed light all around, bravely opening up horizons to so much truth, as much as is necessary to live.

Finally, there is no peace where there is no commitment and no joy of living, where we are not prompted by the need to be men, nor are we attracted by the difficult path – for returns and uncertainties – of a renewed conquest, of a consoling faith, of an ineffable hope.

For lack of intelligence and vivacity, despite our desire, we are so far away from peace. And today, as Christians, we run the risk of missing a last opportunity of making a final renunciation if, by realising the extreme danger, we do not arouse within ourselves the spirit of peace, which makes life courageous, industrious, weary, but not fatigued, for an infinite achievement to fulfil.

Editorial in the review "Studium", 1945, no. 12

11. Man's commitment

Man is what he is, and he is not good just for one day or instant in obedience to any one convention. Of course, the monstrous mechanism of evil, does not stop for Christmas. But we, all of us, to the extent that we do evil, more or less consciously, can indeed stop a moment to reflect. Even an instant of puzzlement, even a slight and fleeting doubt on one's own presence in the world, even though it may appear artificial, due not to one's disquiet, but to an exterior convention, may be significant and may tilt the balance, albeit slightly, towards truth, dignity, freedom and justice. It may be, although it is far from certain, that this is preparing an inverse trend.

Should we give up this hope? Must we not perhaps instead feel that a moment of goodness, a commitment of man, of internal man, in the face of the struggle between good and evil, serves to make life go on?

A personal commitment that does not rule out, obviously, the necessary and urgent deployment of social and political initiatives, but allows moral energies to play their part, deep down. I believe we can say, with no mythical returns to the past or easy illusions for the future, that the world's evil is before us, always, not to stop us in a sort of inadmissible

acquiescence and resignation, not to enter into the aristocratic habit of historical truth, but for an effort of the spirit which involves us completely, to resolutely take our place on the other side, because there really is another side, of the barricade.

Article in "Il Giorno", 20 January 1977

12. Doing something great and good

It seems to me that to do something great and good, and therefore lasting, in life, we need to know how to pay personally, by becoming actors and real participants of the drama. The forms of this participation can certainly change, since fate is not the same for everyone; but as long as such a participation does not exist, as long as we remain cold spectators with no adventure and no pain, it is like not living. Because history is made without and against those who do not know the wound that bleeds and do not know the gift of love.

Letter to Agostino Saviano, Bari, 29/9/1942 (published in "Viaggio nella memoria", Ed. Arte Stampa, Montecatini, 2008)

13. An integral democracy

This is the time for an integral democracy, which has two aspects.

The first is dialogue, contact with others, respect for the freedom of others, the thinking of others, and the will of others. (...)

It is a dialogue that puts us into contact with everyone, with no exclusions, in the noblest and, indeed, traditional sense of our democratic battle. (...)

But the sense of integral democracy also lies in the fact that there is a society which wishes to be completely freed, freed of every conditioning. Of course, it must not be liberated of its dignity, of its duty, of the bond of solidarity that must always characterise it. But, beyond this, this democratic society we are in wishes to be freed of everything: of need, ignorance and humiliation.

Speech at a Christian Democrat Congress, Lucca, 28 April 1967

14. Human salvation and hope

Easter evokes man's redemption, which is, in the end, the goal of every moral effort and of every political commitment. If redemption is the affirmation of an unquestionable value and is thus, in itself, perfect and complete, many individual and social life designs are instead developing hesitantly and meet with serious and sometimes insurmountable difficulties. But the principle remains – enlightening and stimulating. The meaning of this day lies in noting that, in a wonderful and mysterious way, there are today, there are now, all the conditions for man to be saved, saved for all the extension of human experience. It is a day of joy, because salvation is within our reach. But it is also a day of worry, of criticism and rethinking in comparing the enormous possibilities offered and the delay, limitation and precariousness of every human achievement; between the good of harmony and peace that marks the fullness of life, and the reality of divisions separating man from man and which lacerate the world.

History would be extremely disappointing and discouraging if it were not redeemed by the, ever present, annunciation of salvation and hope. And I am not speaking only of religious salvation and hope, naturally. I am speaking, more in general, of human salvation and hope that are open to all those of goodwill.

Article in "Il Giorno", 10 April 1977

Chapter Four

Constituent processes and the achieving of democracy

Introduction

The chapter contains 9 passages taken from Moro's writings and speeches relating to the whole period of his political commitment, and revolve around the theme of constituent processes and, in particular, the issue of the "common foundations" of civil cohabitation.

- The first two passages enable us to grasp some of the elements characterising Moro's interpretation of the Resistance and of its links, which he grasped as deep and full of meaning, with the building of the democratic state and the decision for an antifascist constitution.
- The next four passages (3-6) dwell on Moro's views on constituent processes, which he saw as primarily geared to bringing out a common interpretation of man and of civil coexistence, that can enable the inclusion of all social subjects and all cultures in the democratic game.
- The last three passages (7-9) instead deal with the constitution of a united Europe, which Moro regarded, from a "substantialist" perspective, not as a mere institutional project, but as the political sphere taking on the guidance of a complex process already underway of social, political and economic convergence affecting the whole continent.

1. The long march to democracy

Gradually, over the last thirty years, an ever-greater number of citizens and social groups – through the mediation of political parties and of the large mass organisations stimulating our society's life – have accepted the state born from the Italian Resistance. Sections of the population sometimes tempted by authoritarian stances and class-based closures have reconciled with democracy. But, above all, some sections of the population have now fully taken their rightful place in the life of the state after being long excluded. Large masses of the population guided by political parties, trade unions and by a myriad of social organisations today guarantee for themselves that state which they used to view with hostility as an irreducible oppressor. (...)

Of course, the acquiring of democracy is not something immobile and stable that can be considered achieved once and for all. We need to guarantee and defend it, by more deeply going into those values of freedom and justice that are the great popular aspiration consecrated by the Resistance. (...)

Thirty years ago, men of different ages – some quite young, with different ideological, cultural, political and social backgrounds, often coming from exile, prison or isolation, each one bearing the patrimony of his own experience – fought to restore national independence and freedom to Italy.

This was our own great exodus from the desert of Fascism; this was our own long march to democracy.

Speech in Bari, 21 December 1975 (in occasion of 30th anniversary of the war of liberation)

2. An antifascist Constitution

As the Hon. Lucifero (...) would say, it was his wish that the new Italian Constitution were not an antifascist Constitution but an afascist one.

As I have already said in the Commission (...), I have some reservations on this point and I wish to reaffirm it here because it seems to me that this elementary ideological substratum in which all of us men of democracy can agree, is connected to our common opposition in the face of that which was the long fascist oppression of the values of human personality and of social solidarity. We cannot create an afascist Constitution in this sense, that is, we cannot prescind from what has, in our country, been a historical

movement of vast importance, which in its negativity overwhelmed consciences and institutions for years. We cannot forget what has been, because this Constitution today emerges from that Resistance, from that struggle, from that negation, for which we found ourselves together on the front of the resistance and of the revolutionary war, and now we find ourselves for this commitment of affirmation of the supreme values of human dignity and of social life.

Speech to the Constituent Assembly, 13 March 1947*

3. A formula of coexistence to build the new state

Divided – as we are – by different political intuitions, by different ideological orientations, we are nevertheless members of a community, the community of our state, and we remain united in it on the basis of a simple, elementary idea of man that we share and which determines our mutual respect. By building the new state, we determine a formula of coexistence, we are not just organising the state, not just defining some rights we wish to sanction for our future security; we are determining a formula of cohabitation which can become the necessary and sufficient basis for building the new state.

Speech at the Constituent Assembly, 13 March 1947

4. Inclusion of the masses in the state

No person at the fringes, no person to be excluded from the vitality and value of social life. No grey area within a gradual, harmonious and universal step upwards. Nothing that is dead, nothing that is condemned, nothing that lies outside the vital lymph of society. This is the huge problem of fully including the masses in the life of the state – all present in the exercising of power, all present in the richness of social life. The conciliation of the masses with the state, the overcoming of opposition between the top and the base: not a state of the few, but the state of all; not the fortune of a few, but social solidarity, made possible by the maturing of the democratic conscience, and nurtured by the awareness of the value of man and the pre-eminent reasons of justice.

Report at the 7th National Congress of the Christian Democratic Party, 24 October 1959

5. Italian society on the move

Italian society is on the move and is counting on its own strengths as never before. It is grasping and critically analysing its problems. It is claiming its autonomy and, within it, the capacity to find guidance within itself, as much as possible. It identifies with its own centres of proposal and of decision-making. It defers its decisions to political power less and, when it does choose to delegate them to representative bodies, it subjects the authority to a more rigorous and continuous control. It demands to participate, not once in a while, but from start to finish, in every deliberation, which it prepares and conditions with autonomous attitudes. It invokes the coherent application of a moral law not contorted or distorted by compromise, but such to really exalt freedom and dignity and to make possible, and indeed inevitable, a historic turning-point towards a society of equals, a genuine and universal democracy. And political power is thus transfigured into an authentic democracy that restores to society many of its prerogatives and comes to terms with it within a daily and demanding confrontation. Power becomes really legitimised and only because of the continuous contact with its human root and is posed with an insurmountable limit, the social forces that count for themselves, the growth of decision-making centres, the pluralism that the irreducible myriad of free forms of community life express. (...)

The state must thus always be present, careful of the dual risk that institutions run of being jeopardised by anarchy, which would presumably degenerate to authoritarianism, and also of being emptied or shrivelled up by a lack of continuous contact with a moving social reality and with the people's aspirations. It would be a serious mistake, a fatal error, to remain on the surface and not to go deeper; thinking in terms of contingency instead of historical development. It is up to the political forces and to the state to intelligently and respectfully create channels through which social demands and even protests can have positive vent, can arrive at a renewed society, at a higher social and political equilibrium.

Speech at the 11th Christian Democrat Congress, Rome, 29 June 1969

6. Building the democratic state

But what does building the democratic state mean? It means, firstly, defining general political orientations such as schemes destined to be turned into laws and giving shape, order and goals to the activities expressed in social life.

Creating the democratic state means establishing the conditions of opinions, of convictions, of consensus, so that democratic political aims, that is, of social development, can take hold and turn into laws making them operational (...).

Secondly, the democratic state, meant as a society in democratic development that is regulated and made possible by the exercising of democratic power, is the concrete expression of freedom and equality, the concrete fecundity of the victorious will in the test of political debate, turned into laws, that becomes both criterion and support of democratic development.

And it is in this experience, always full of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, sufficiency and insufficiency, balance and imbalances between freedom and sociality, that the confrontation is once more taken up in order to adapt aims and laws to the democratic ideal. (...)

Such is the idea moving forward in our society of the actual equality of the rights and possibilities of men in social life. We want a society with no marginal sectors, grey areas to which, almost due to a congenital and insurmountable diversity, is reserved a less fortunate fate, a less intense participation in the value of social life, a substantial inequality of position, an unbridgeable gap in every respect. Democracy is, instead, the commitment of all society, and thus of all its people, to provide for themselves, in full autonomy, for their own order and development, as the greatest guarantee that society reserves to itself that its own fate be the result of the participation of everyone. A collective equality of rights that bestows to every man his rightful place in society, in relation to his particular possibility. (...)

The democratic state, the state of human value, the state founded on the prestige of every man, which guarantees the prestige of every man, is a state in which every action is removed from arbitrariness and arrogance, in which every sphere of interest and power obeys a rigid delimitation of justice, an objective criterion that is by nature liberating; it is a state in which public power itself has the form, measure and limit of law, and law, as a general disposition, is an act of clarity, is a taking on of responsibility, is a general and equal commitment. In laws, therefore, there is always somehow a principle of acknowledgment of general needs, and in them of the rights of man and of his place in social life. But in the law of a democratic state there is also the process of freedom that generated it, owing to the debate it springs from, the meditated and conquered prevalence of opinions characterising it, the responsiveness to human goals, the respectful adherence to the progressive and inexorable cause of man's liberation. It has within itself, in supreme degree, the right of everyone,

the value of everyone, an objective principle, a liberating and assuring function. (...)

The democratic state is an expansive phenomenon, not a closed world. The exclusivism of boundaries, in the rigid sense of old doctrines on sovereignty, would deny its nature, would contrast its deep human meaning and universal inspiration that is the reason of being and the drive of achieved liberation which is realised in it and for it. The democratic construction of the state is thus not a point of arrival, but only a starting point.

Speech made in Milan, 3 October 1959

7. A political constituent process for Europe

The times are perhaps ripe for a sort of a political constituent process for Europe. This is certainly a noble and pressing aim. A United Europe is inevitable; it is both a need and a duty. It will give the world a new voice that is listened to; it will make us leading actors of a development of balance and of peace; it will, above all, offer the guarantee that the great distensive negotiation, which we never stop hoping for, is not finalised without us and thus against us.

Speech at the 11th National Congress of the Christian Democratic Party, Rome, 29 June 1969

8. Inclusion and European citizenship

I have no doubt that Italy, on the basis of her experience, will fight and not just for her own advantage, so that the outlying and neglected regions, within the whole enlarged Community, can finally escape the iniquitous law of the restricted concentration of wellbeing. And so, along with expecting the more depressed classes to be uplifted, the social parties to be seen in their dignity, culture to be spread, youth to be valorised within free movement and contact, over and beyond the old borders, one must also expect a European citizenship, even if only gradually implemented and recognised; and it should firstly be bestowed on those brave Italians working in the other associate countries. It is only natural for this, and other things, to be demanded by Italy, whose voice should not go unheeded.

Article in "Il Giorno", 15 October 1972

9. Giving the word to the European people

There may evidently be many forms of institutional innovation in a Community sense. But why has our public opinion, and European public opinion in general, focused in recent years on the request to elect the European Parliament directly, as a fundamental institutional fact? It is a sign that our public opinion and the European one have grasped the emblematic value of this choice, that is, of giving the word – as will now be possible – to the European people (...). I would say that this is the fundamental fact (...). I would even say that this is more important than the issue of the powers of the elected parliament. It is evidently not more important from a juridical standpoint, but it is more important from a moral and political point of view.

Article in "Il Popolo", 25 March 1977

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