



Department of Political Science

Chair of Political Philosophy

The pacifism of Igino Giordani

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INTRODUCTION

Igino Giordani (1894-1980) was an important figure of the ecclesiastical, cultural and political life of Italy in the 20th century. Antifascist, pioneer of Christian democracy first with father Sturzo and then with his friend De Gasperi, he was deputy at the Constituent from 1948 until 1953. Writer, journalist, politician, ecumenic and patrologist, co-founder of the Focolare Movement, he was a polyhedral personality who left deep traces and opened prophetic perspectives in the cultural, political and ecclesiastical sphere.

The commitment in favor of peace is at the hearth of the political activity of Giordani. Following a strictly chronological approach it is possible to track down along his life a sort of linear peace itinerary that is articulated in precise stages and dates: from the initial instinctive rebellion against war of 1915, to the maturation of his cultural reflection on peace of the '20s and the '30s, ending with his parliamentary initiatives in favor of peace of the '50s. Without wanting to ignore this effective, even if schematic, periodization, for the purpose of this composition I decided to follow the spiral evolution of Giordani's pacifist thought. My intention is to highlight how it expanded and became deeper starting from those ideas that there were inside him since he was very young.

"Se vuoi la pace, prepara la pace"¹, the political lesson of Giordani can be summed up in this famous aphorism. Peace is the result of a project: a project of fraternity between the people, of solidarity with the weakest and of mutual respect. This is how it is possible to build a just world, how war is set aside as a barbaric practice belonging to the dark stage of the history of mankind. Giordani knew the war very well: he took part in the WWI. But in his opinion is not just the horror of the blood and of the death that should lead men to refuse the war as a mean to solve international disputes. War can be seen as natural only by those miserable minds that postulate human beings as a power-hungry machine that is ready for anything in order to realize its power aspirations. However, there is nothing natural about get each other pain, misery and death because wars do not get winners, only losers. Consequently, reason is what suggests us to lay down the arms and prepare a pacific setting.

My interest in this personality arises in the first place from the fact that Igino is my great-grandfather and I want to pay homage to him with this dissertation the purpose of which is to demonstrate how, through the identification and the analysis of the philosophical sources of the pacifist thought of Giordani, at a time when the pacifist

¹ Giordani, *L'inutilità della guerra*.

culture was just taking shape, he set out moral and anthropological reasons to defend peace. Therefore, in his view peace was not strategy but a vocational choice.

The first chapter outlines the figure of Igino Giordani. After the biographical notes, it starts with a preliminary consideration that is necessary to understand the complexity of the thought of Giordani and the roots of his pacifism. Giordani is defined as an a-systematic thinker because in most of his books is not traceable a systematic political theory, but this should not let think that there is not. Indeed, the reinterpretation of the original evangelical message and the pursuit of its socio-political meaning are the foundation of his political philosophy. Successively, it highlights the importance given by I.G. to the relationship between politics and morality. According to him is the morality that substantializes politics because politics cannot be reduced to the power play between the political parties. Indeed, Giordani was firmly convinced that political activity should not be distinguished from religious and moral precepts.

The aim of the second chapter is to illustrate the characteristics that make the pacifism of Giordani a Christian pacifism. The first part of the chapter outlines the features of pacifism and especially the Catholics tendencies toward the subject of peace and war. It reviews the following topics: pacifism and the advent of Christianity, the just war theory through the thought of Saint. Augustin and Saint. Thomas, the absolute pacifism of the Protestants and of Erasmus of Rotterdam and also the historical peacekeeping role of the pontiffs. The second part of the chapter highlights, through the pages of Giordani's first masterpiece *Rivolta Cattolica* (1925), the Christian features of his pacifism that, as already mentioned, is rooted in the Gospel from where he learned the commandment "thou shalt not kill". In the end the chapter focuses on the moral pre-eminence attributed by Giordani to the figure of the Pope. This belief derived from his natural law vision of peace according to which peace is part of human nature, and any political action that foster an armed conflict is, in itself, anti-human and irrational. As a consequence, morality is entitled, even before international relations, to handle the peace issue. Therefore, pacifism needs to be personified by a symbolic figure that can sustain the moral reasons in favour of peace and in the view of Giordani this position can only be occupied by the Pope.

The third chapter evaluates the pattern in which the pacifism of Giordani developed and the intention is to underline how it expanded and became deeper in his lifetime. It addresses the following issues: the inadequacy of the just war theory; the refuse of the military service and the draft law on conscientious objection; the Europeism, Atlantism

and Christian universalism as the foundations of universal fraternity derived from the law of love announced in the New Testament; the parliamentary initiatives in favor of peace like the campaign for peace and the parliamentary agreement; the attempt to dialogue with the left-wings party to advance all together along the road to democracy and promote national peace despite the political division caused by the Cold War. Moreover, the objective of this chapter is to stress out how this political vision was not understood by his contemporaries who accused him of naivety and as a consequence he was not reelected in 1953. The conclusion sums up the path to peace of Giordani and wants to points out the modernity of his political thinking: the considerations of Giordani about the peace produced a series of intuitions that today, with the more and more urgent emergence of the big transnational issues (conflicts, migration flows, environmental issues, terrorism...) that forced the States to join forces to find common strategies , prove to be very current.



Rome, Montecitorio 1946. Official portrait of Igino Giordani

CHAPTER ONE

Igino Giordani

1.1 Biographical Notes

1.1.1 From his childhood up to the WWI

Igino Giordani was born 24 September 1894 in Tivoli, he came from a lowly and catholic family. I.G. was the oldest of six children and when he was a child he worked as bricklayer with his father to contribute to the sustenance of the family. But at the age of 13, thanks to a benefactor that payed the boarding costs, he had the chance to continue the studies: two years in seminary and the last three in the public high school of Tivoli. As he remembered, in the seminary he acquired those values that oriented him throughout his whole life. However, he realized that the ecclesiastical life was not right for him so he left it². After the diploma in 1914 he was hired at the Ministry of Justice, therefore every day he traveled by tram to Rome. In the capital there was an air of changing: unrest and strikes alternated interventionist demonstrations. Giordani, even before the outbreak of the conflict, had already harbored a sentiment of rejection of the war that he expressed through these words: “Vedevo l’assurdità, la stupidità, e sopra tutto il peccato della Guerra: peccato reso più acuto dai pretesti con cui la Guerra si cercava e dalla futilità con cui si decideva”³. On the wave of WWI, while was attending the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at La Sapienza, the university of Rome, Giordani was called up for the military service and was sent to the military academy in Modena. He was very critical of the teachings he received at the academy and he wrote, on one of his manual, highly polemic words that expressed all his abhorrence of war: “Qui si impara la scienza dell’imbecillità”⁴. Once he became Lieutenant, he was sent to the Isonzo river in the 111th Infantry Regiment. His forced enlistment was very suffered, because he has always believed in the supreme value of peace, that is why he refused to open fire against his enemies during the conflict⁵. Despite being an avowed pacifist, during an act of war which earned him the Silver medal, Igino was seriously injured and rushed to the hospital where he spent three years of his life and where he continued to study for the academic exams. In 1919, as a result of the tragic experience of the foxhole, he published the poem *I volti*

² Giordani, *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*.

³ Ibid., 17.

⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁵ Ibid.

dei morti, the first of more than a hundred volumes, through which he expressed a moral condemnation of the war⁶.

1.1.2 *Politics and anti-fascism*

In 1919 Giordani was one of the first to answer the call of Luigi Sturzo and from the beginning he worked next to him in the construction of the Italian People's Party. In 1924 he became the press office manager of the party. In the meantime, Giordani started to study and translate the works of the Church Fathers. At this point, the personality of Giordani was already outlined: a combination of apologetics, political vision and faithfulness to Christian principles⁷.

During the years of the fascist regime, Giordani defied the Duce by opposing the neo-pagan drifts of the fascist idolatry. Through his articles he denounced the violence and the atmosphere of political intimidation that fascism scattered throughout the Italian society. The symbol of this opposition to the regime is the volume *Rivolta Cattolica*, the title aimed to underline the anti-fascism of important fringes of the Italian Catholicism⁸. Moreover, in 1925, to be free to polemicize against fascism, Giordani and G. Cenci founded the magazine "Parte Guelfa". On "Parte Guelfa", Igino expressed the idea of establishing the United States of Europe, grounded on the values of the Christian civilisation. At the behest of Mussolini, the police started to persecute him and only after four publications, the magazine was confiscated. In 1926 Igino was subject to a trial for crime of press but, since fascism glorified war heroes, he was amnestied because he was a war wounded, therefore, ironically, he was protected by the same fascist rhetoric that accused him. However, he was banned by the register of journalist and was forced to renounce teaching at public school. In 1927, deprived of any job opportunities, I.G. went to the USA to attend a master in Librarianship and Bibliography. Later, Giordani was hired as librarian at the Vatican Library where he worked until 1944. A few months later the recruitment, he received a letter from Alcide de Gasperi, just got out of prison, and I.G. helped him to be employed at the Vatican Library as well⁹. In 1932 he became the director of "Fides", the monthly pontifical magazine and in 1934 he founded the Librarianship and Bibliography school of the Vatican Library. Those were years of fruitful journalistic and literary activity, indeed, Giordani published some books on the

⁶ Giordani, *I volti dei morti*.

⁷ D'Alessandro, *Igino Giordani e la pace*.

⁸ Giordani, *Rivolta Cattolica*.

⁹ Giordani, *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*.

Church Fathers and *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù*, a monumental work on the social implications of the Gospel.

The job at the Vatican Library gave him the opportunity to participate in several cultural meetings where Igino met lots of famous writers and well-known personalities in the Italian cultural circles of the time like C. Alvaro, A. Baldini, A. Moravia, F. Saponi, A. Soffici, M. Soldati, Trilussa and E. Pound. In the meantime, I.G. continued his underground activity, with the former exponents of the Italian People's Party, to organise the rehabilitation of a Christian-based political party and he collaborated with De Gasperi and Bonomi to prepare the renaissance of democracy in Italy.

1.1.3 From the democratic commitment to the Focolare Movement

In 1944, as soon as Rome was freed, because of his role as leading figure of democratic Catholicism, he was chosen by Monsignor G. Montini to run "Il Quotidiano", the new journal of Christian Action. In 1946 the new Christian Democratic Party asked Giordani to become a candidate and on 2 June 1946 he was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly. He was re-elected in 1948 and in 1950 he became member of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Furthermore, in 1946 he succeeded G. Gonella as head editor of "Il Popolo", the former journal of the Italian People's Party now of Christian Democracy, but he resigned the year after because of the interference of the party in his political choices. During that political season he had something to say, and he did it through the pages of the weekly publication "La Via", that allowed him to freely express his opinions from 1949 until 1953. In September 1948 at Montecitorio he met for the first time Chiara Lubich, the founder of the emerging Focolare Movement. He was deeply affected by the spirituality of the Focolarini, it was what he had tried to find his whole life: the Gospel lived on hearth¹⁰. For this reason, he joined the movement immediately and he contributed so intensively to its development, that Chiara herself named him co-founder. In 1949 it was memorable his parliamentary speech on the Italian subscription to the North Atlantic Treaty to make it an instrument of peace and not just of defensive strategy. In the same year, his research for harmony between the peoples led him, together with the Honourable U. Calosso, a socialist, to propose the first draft law on conscientious objection. In 1950 he proposed a philosophy of peace during a meeting at the Chamber of Deputies about the Giaveri's motion on the Korean war and he exhorted the government to be a moderator for the cessation of the war between the USA and the

¹⁰ Giordani, *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*.

Soviet bloc. His speeches in Parliament were about politics; the universality of the Christian message; about a radical condemnation of the war and of any kind of totalitarianism; the opportunity, for Italy, to bridge the gap between East and West; about finding real solutions for the problems of the South Italy. In 1951 he spoke against the armaments recommending a policy of love and a few days later, he promoted with other deputies, belonging to different parties, a parliamentary agreement for peace but was blamed by his own party. As a matter of fact, his initiatives were too cutting-edge and the bourgeois electorate distanced himself from him, so Giordani was not re-elected at the election of 1953. Around that time, he wrote a few books like *Disumanesimo*, *Storia della Dc*, *L'inutilità della guerra*, *Alcide De Gasperi*, *La carità principio sociale*, *Le due città* and many others. The electoral failure of 1953 gave him the possibility to dedicate himself entirely to the Focolare Movement. After the death of his wife Mya, married in 1920 and with whom he had four children, he moved to the Focolare Centre at Rocca di Papa and he contributed to the life of the Movement until 18 April 1980, the day he died. In 2004 started the beatification process of Giordani at the cathedral of Frascati.

1.2 Peculiar features of the political thought of Giordani

1.1.2 An a-systematic thinker

The complexity of the thought and of the work of Iginio Giordani requires some preliminary considerations, that are essential in order to better understand the roots of his pacifism. He wrote a hundred of books, political essays, studies on the social thought of the Church, hagiographies, biographies and novels.

For the purposes of our discussion, it is necessary a first reflection. Most of these books do not have a specifically political nature, or rather, in them is not traceable a systematic political theory. Thought, on the other side, books like *Disumanesimo* and *L'inutilità della Guerra*, although they do not deal with exactly political topics, they reveal not only a Christian interpretation of the issues addressed, but they also suggest solutions that can be carried out only in political terms. For example, in *L'inutilità della Guerra*, the argument is totally developed. Starting from philosophical and theological basis, Giordani did not renounce to analyze also the socio-political implications of the war itself. Precisely, considering the consequentiality between the theoretical discussion and the practical implications of the issue, he found a solution: “Quando l’umanità sarà progredita spiritualmente la Guerra verrà catalogata accanto ai riti cruenti, alle

superstizioni della stregoneria e ai fenomeni di barbarie”¹¹.

According to Giordani the war was not an inevitable event, actually believing this it is what facilitated its occurrence in history. Expressing these ideas, at a time when the Cold War was going to a particularly sensitive period, hindered him. On the other side, the Christianity it is the permanent feature both of his political experience and of his entire life. Giordani thought that the best of the possible politics was pursuing and promoting the spiritual progress of mankind, even beyond the traditional political frames. So, he wrote in the ‘50s: “ La politica è arte moralmente, anzi religiosamente altissima”¹².

The reinterpretation of the original evangelical message and the pursuit of its socio-political meaning are the foundation of the political philosophy of Giordani. Certain, we are dealing with a series of opinions, of political gestures, of intuitions more than organic statements, but this should not lead to think that a political theory cannot be tracked down¹³. In this respect, the distinction between the geometrical spirit and the spirit of finesse of Pascal¹⁵ can help, Pascal wrote:

Nel primo i principi sono tangibili, ma lontani dal comune modo di pensare, sicchè si fa fatica a volgere la mente verso di essi, per mancanza di abitudine; ma, per poco che la si volga ad essi, si scorgono pienamente; e solo una mente affatto guasta può ragionare male sopra i principi così tangibili che è quasi impossibile che sfuggano. Ragionare male sopra i principi così tangibili che è quasi impossibile che sfuggano”¹⁴.

In the political thinking, Hobbes and Montesquieu can be considered examples of geometrical spirits, thinkers who expressed their political theories in an organic structure.

Nello spirito di finezza – Pascal explained – i principi sono, invece nell’uso comune e dinanzi agli occhi di tutti. Non occorre volgere il capo o farsi violenza: basta avere buona vista, ma buona davvero, perché i principi sono così tenui e così numerosi che è quasi impossibile che non sfugga qualcuno¹⁵.

Observing the work of Giordani under this light, we can discover a lot of political intuitions even if they are not organized in a systematic way. Moreover, the difficulty to trace the organicity of his thought is due to, in addition to the abundance and variety of the issues covered, also to the uncommon relationship that the author established with

¹¹ Giordani, *L’inutilità della guerra*, 5.

¹² Giordani, *Disertare la Politica?*.

¹³ D.Alessandro, *Igino Giordani e la pace*.

¹⁴ Pascal, *Pensieri*, 5.

¹⁵ Pascal, *Pensieri*, 5.

the sources of his speculation. The basis of the cultural education of Giordani were the Church Fathers and the apologists, particularly Tertulliano, Giustino, Crisostomo, Agostino. He deeply studied authors like Montalembert and Lacordaire, forerunners of liberal and social Catholicism of the 19th century in France. Besides, he never abandoned the study of the Social Doctrine of the Church¹⁶. In this respect, I believe it is appropriate to say a few words about the masterpiece of Giordani *Il messaggio sociale del cristianesimo*. This volume consists of four books: *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù* (1935), *degli Apostoli* (1938), *dei primi Padri della Chiesa* (1939), *dei Grandi Padri della Chiesa* (1947). He published the full version in 1958. The aim of Giordani was not just to write a theoretical exposure of the doctrine but he analyzed the announcement of Jesus and of the Church and the following life as a civilization that, after it was born, confronted herself with the culture and social realities of the Jewish people and of the Greco-Roman world in the first five centuries of the Christian era. He went through the costumes and the institutions that Christianity met and interacted with: family, work, use of property, law and political institutions, religious institutions, education, social and health assistance, arts and leisure, social classes. He examined mankind as part of the society with its citizenship mentality and in taking part in the ecclesiastical community. Giordani debated over issues like the relationship between freedom and authority, between the Church and the State, between peace and war and universal solidarity.

The peculiarity of the relationship between Giordani and the sources of his thinking can be better understood citing a passage from his memories:

Avevo anche tradotto Tertulliano il suo capolavoro: l'*Apologetico* e ci avevo messo una prefazione: il padre Rosa, che era il direttore della *Civiltà cattolica*, parlandone nella *Civiltà cattolica* stessa, aveva detto che la prefazione sembrava fatta da Tertulliano e il resto del libro scritto da Giordani¹⁷.

Not without reason, Giordani said he developed his religious conviction studying patristics¹⁸. During his study of the Church Fathers an identification of Giordani with them took almost place, identification produced by the temporal parallelism that the author highlighted assimilating the situation of the Church at that time to the one of his days¹⁹. Thus, since he had to face the growing secularization present within the society

¹⁶ D'Alessandro, *Igino Giordani e la pace*.

¹⁷ Giordani, *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*, 147.

¹⁸ Giordani, *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*.

¹⁹ Sordi, *Giordani: i Padri come sfida*.

provoked by individualistic and materialistic political philosophies in which he saw a resurgent paganism, he inspired his behavior to the one of the Church Fathers.

In the light of these considerations it is possible, for example, to understand the attitude of Giordani toward the left-wing parties when he was a Christian Democrat deputy. It is always present in him a constant effort to update the social and political implications of the Christian principles he analyzed, to the contextual history in which he was writing.

Giordani: politics and morality

“La politica è l’arte di governare la società: arte che, riguardando l’uomo nei suoi rapporti coi simili, assume un valore umano e perciò morale²⁰”.

Therefore, according to Giordani politics is a social service done by a man in favor of his counterparts. It should be an act of charity, not a power tool. From this perspective he wrote: “Sottrarsi agli obblighi della politica, che è l’arte di servire o “conserve”, è un sottrarsi alla legge della carità: la quale, perché legge, costituisce una superiore giustizia”²¹. Therefore, in the opinion of Giordani morality actualizes politics, the latter cannot be reduced to a play between political parties that yearn for power, or even to the action of governments and parliaments in the exercise of their official powers. Man of his time, Giordani perceived that from the crisis of the liberal State was born a new State model that took part in the economic game. He judged useful, rather indispensable, that the State directly strived to safeguard the disadvantaged classes, without forgetting to give a soul to democracy. He exhorted to keep politics on the way of morality, otherwise it convert itself into a dictatorship²².

Giordani clearly gave an ultimatum to the political establishment that dedicated itself to vested or electoral interest too much. During the years of the Cold war, in prospect of another catastrophic conflict, he believed they had to choose between a humanized society and the barbarity. According to him, a new Manichaeism was reviving that divided men and ideas in two fronts: one of the good, the other of the evil, with a chasm in the middle. The contrast between communism and anti-communism led the logic of policy to the doorway of the civil war. How Fisichella underlines:

Sulla scia culturale combinata del cristianesimo e poi del costituzionalismo e del liberalismo, la democrazia dei moderni (...) si è prefissa il proposito di superare al

²⁰ Giordani, *Disertare la politica?*.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

suo interno l'anatomia amico/nemico, o almeno di ridurne e moderarne gli spazi, sostituendovi crescentemente la più pacifica dicotomia amico/avversario²³.

Therefore, the political naivety of which Giordani was often accused, supporter of a dialogue with the left-wing movements, it can be resolved in theory only in believing very strongly in the logic of democracy. To this logic he added a greater rationality, indeed he wrote: "Non vi temo perchè vi amo: ecco cosa bisogna arrivare a dire ai fratelli in veste d'avversari"²⁴.

In the opinion of Claudio Vasale, the political perspective of Giordani reflected his political spirituality, that as a consequence induced him to tackle the root causes of the problems of politics, even if this entailed give up immediate results²⁵.

Disputing with the Honourable Jacini on the political opportunity of anti-communism, Giordani expressed that his firmly conviction that political action and vision should not be separated from religious and moral principles. Replying to the Honourable Consiglio, who invited him to choose between being a missionary or a deputy, he wittily answered:

[Consiglio] Scopre che i comunisti sono atei e fanno una politica...loro; però non avverte o non ammette che quella politica è connessa con l'ateismo: e quindi se si elimina l'uno si modifica anche l'altra. L'onorevole Consiglio vuole che (...) Giordani combatta l'effetto ma trascuri la causa (...). E questo lo chiama realismo²⁶.

On this point I agree with the opinion of Casella, that I would like to mention:

Che se di integralismo si tratti, esso debba essere riferito al piano soprannaturale, non a quello temporale. Pur tra oscillazioni di pensiero, Giordani, nel complesso, sembra parlare non in quanto cattolico, e quindi non a nome della cattolicità organizzata (...) ma da cattolico, da semplice Cristiano; e da Cristiano che si rivolge ad altri cristiani, per esortarli a vivere un "cristianesimo integrale" (...) ma non certo in vista di una ipotetica società civile, di una conquista e d'una gestione esclusivistica dello Stato²⁷.

After all, according to Giordani, Christianity itself, distinguishing between Cesare (politics) and God (religion), it created the State secularism. In this manner, the citizen subservient to the State in the political field was set free in the conscience. Before Jesus Christ, also the spirit was subservient to the State. Laicism came out of the political

²³ Fisichella, *Istituzioni e società*.

²⁴ Giordani, *Diario di fuoco*.

²⁵ Vasale, *Il pensiero sociale e politico di Giordani*.

²⁶ Giordani, *Missionario o deputato?*.

²⁷ Casella, *Il Quotidiano diretto da Igino Giordani*.

theory of Machiavelli that divided politics from religion and profit from ethics²⁸. The distinction between the political sphere and the religious-moral one became division. The political sphere without the limit of morality, in the view of Giordani, provoked the enlargement of the state action favoring centralizing and liberticidal trends. A democracy that is not based on moral principles is a democracy without a soul, and a soulless democracy does not have a future²⁹. As you would expect, the ideal importance of the message of Giordani was not fully understood, or otherwise its political significance was ignored. He had inside such an ideal tension that his speeches, connected to the contingent political events, most of the time broadened their meaning towards an universal openness. This vision, that condemned him to be isolated by his own party, show nowadays all its prophetic substance. After all, he always tried to persuade more than win. Speaking about the testimony of the Christians on the political ground, he wrote:

Testimonianza in Greco è “martirio”: e per gli uomini politici, che operano nel terreno preferito da Satana, il loro contributo può essere fatto di lacrime, se non proprio di sangue. Ma salvano i valori del Vangelo per il bene comune³⁰.

But, exactly the integral promotion of the mankind seen as a creature in the image and likeness of God, led him to the discovery of the universal dimension of politics. From here originated his struggle for peace, the project to turn Europe into a point of convergence also for the countries of Eastern, his trust in the international bodies, first of all the United Nations. He always refused politics intended as *Realpolitik* and he underlined the importance of virtue and honesty in the political activity with these words: “Alla fine la maggiore furberia risulta la virtù, il più sicuro affare diviene l’onestà, la manovra di più certo effetto resta l’amore”³¹. In this connection, it seems to me appropriate to conclude quoting Kant, reported by Abbagnano in *Dizionario di Filosofia*, under heading *Politica*: “Per quanto la massima: *L’Onestà è la migliore Politica*, implichi una teoria che la pratica purtroppo smentisce assai spesso, tuttavia la massima parimenti teoretica: *l’onestà è la migliore di ogni Politica*, è al di sopra di ogni obiezione, è anzi la condizione indispensabile della *Politica*”³².

²⁸ Giordani, *Le due città*.

²⁹ Giordani, *Teologia di questa crisi*.

³⁰ Giordani, *Testimonianza cristiana in politica*.

³¹ Giordani, *Morale e politica*.

³² Abbagnano, “Politica”, *Dizionario di Filosofia*.

CHAPTER TWO

The roots of Giordani's pacifist thought

2.1 A brief introduction to pacifism

Pacifism is the belief that war and violence are unjustifiable and that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means, this results in a commitment to peace and opposition to war. Pacifism in the West peeked out with Christianity. Possibly the most well-known use of the term pacifism is found in the Sermon on the Mount (*Matthew 5*), where Jesus asserts that the “peacemakers” are blessed³³. Pacifism that is absolutist and deontological is often grounded in religious belief. In Christian pacifism, it is God's commandments as articulated by Jesus that necessitate a commitment to pacifism, Christians should refuse to kill regardless of the consequences in the “real” world. Related to this is the faith that God will provide both the strength to tolerate suffering and a final reward for those who remain committed to principles of nonviolence. A further variety of religious pacifism is closely connected with the ideas of virtue ethics. In the Christian tradition this is understood as a project in which human beings learn to imitate Jesus in order to become closer to God. The Christian model of virtue is Jesus, and Jesus' practice of nonviolence culminated in his crucifixion. Christian martyrs have looked to this paradigm for millennia³⁴. The general rejection of war has a long history that parallels the just war tradition and its idea that wars should be fought for the sake of peace and justice. In the West, pacifism and the just war tradition have roots in both Christian and non-Christian sources. For Christian thinkers, one of the primary problems is trying to reconcile the pacific commandments of Jesus with the apparent moral necessity of using war to defend the innocent. This problem is acute for Christians since Jesus seems to advocate an ethic of nonviolence both in the Sermon on the Mount and in his submission to violence, while Augustine and others use both Biblical sources and natural law to argue in favor of the just war idea. In the Western tradition, pacifism is an ideal that develops alongside of and in contrast to the just war tradition, with adherents of pacifism including the Mennonites and Quakers, as well as Christian humanists such as Erasmus³⁵.

³³ Fiala, “Pacifism”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

³⁴ Ramsey and Hauerwas, *War and the Christian Conscience*.

³⁵ Teichman, *Pacifism and the Just war*.

2.2 Catholics tendencies towards the subject of peace and war

2.2.1 *The advent of Christianity and the emergence of the Just War doctrine*

Examining the history of people and nations it is clear that it develops through an incessant alternation between peace and war.

War and peace are ancient words, but still current. Over the centuries, several school of thoughts have expressed their opinions on these subjects.

The advent of Christianity marked a key moment concerning a new way of thinking about peace and judging war.

First of all, peace becomes personified in the figure of Jesus Christ: “For he himself is our peace”³⁶. In addition, the real peace materializes in the love of God and of the brothers, that is, through the commandment of charity which is the highest expression of the evangelical teaching, that extends to include the love for enemies. I would like to quote a passage from the Book of Matthew that is essential in this respect:

You have heard that it was said, ‘Love your neighbor and hate your enemy. But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be children of your Father in heaven. He causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous. If you love those who love you, what reward will you get? Are not even the tax collectors doing that? And if you greet only your own people, what are you doing more than others? Do not even pagans do that?’³⁷.

Furthermore, there is the Sermon on the Mount that fully expresses the teachings of Jesus, particularly when it comes to peace, forgiveness and kindness to persecutors:

Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God. Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven³⁸.

In his lifetime Jesus put in practice all of this, accepting the wrongs done to him by his torturers and forgiving them. In the first few centuries of Christianity, at the time of the

³⁶ *Ephesians* (2: 14).

³⁷ *Matthew* (5: 43-46).

³⁸ *Matthew* (5:3-12).

persecutions, Christians as much as pagans were obliged to accept the worship of Gods and to make sacrifices to the Emperor, but it was hard for them to accept the military service and to take part in wars. However, when the Edict of Milan freed the Church, also the attitudes of the Christians towards the army started to change, up to the point where the issues of war and peace became subjects of discussion between the Church Fathers³⁹. To understand the development of a specific doctrine of war and peace, I should like briefly to address the thought of Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas, who laid the foundations of what is known as just war doctrine.

2.2.2 *The thought of Saint Augustine (354-430) and Saint Thomas (1225-1274)*

The God's plan for humanity is to gather the human beings into a society built on love and peace. But war contrasts this plan and for this reason it represents the rejection of human nature. This theory is explained in the *De Civitate Dei*, a volume that deal with the city of God and the city of men: war is the result of the city of men, where the excessive desire for power provokes discord and violence.

Saint Augustine asserted that wars are always evil, because they always cause damages, but this assumption does not mean that there can be no just wars. Indeed, what makes just a war is the iniquity of the counterpart, therefor it is necessary a just cause. The will must aim at the good that cannot be reached through war, and so the will has to accept the loss that war entails. Saint Augustine wrote:

Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained. Therefore, even in waging war, cherish the spirit of a peacemaker, that, by conquering those whom you attack, you may lead them back to the advantages of peace⁴⁰.

To conclude, according to Saint Augustine there are four conditions for a morally acceptable war: the enemy breaches the law (just cause); the inevitable necessity to wage war; the will aims at the good and peace; the legitimate authority declare war⁴¹.

Saint Thomas took inspiration from Saint Augustin. He answered affirmatively to the question as to whether there might be a just war, he suggested the following three

³⁹ Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace*.

⁴⁰ Saint Augustine, *Letter*, (III, 189,6).

⁴¹ Augustine, *City of God*.

conditions: the war is declared by the prince; there is a guilt of the enemies (just cause); the intention of the war is to promote peace⁴².

It should be recalled that Christianity itself encouraged two types of “saint war”: the Crusades and the wars against the invasion of the Turkish, Muslims and Saracen (Battle of Lepanto). However, these just war doctrines did not impede the Church to evaluate war as an evil from which be released by God : “*A peste, fame et bello, libera nos Domine*”.

2.2.3 The Protestants and the emergence of pacifist leanings

Until the coming of the Protestant Reformation these doctrines where uncontested, gradually new tendencies emerged. They referred to the Gospel and the example of Christ and started to introduce arguments against any kind of war and in favor of non-violence and pacifism. Stood out especially Quakers and Anabaptists who professed an absolute pacifism: for the principle of “don’t kill” they are against all wars, they refuse the military service and they were the first to claim the conscientious objection.

Also the Catholic world is influenced by these pacifist movements. However, the just war theory remains valid but the conditions changed: a war should be waged only in extremis and in the absence of any alternative solution⁴³.

At the beginning of the 16th century the position of the Catholic intellectual Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) came to notice, in the light of the Evangelical teachings he viewed as unacceptable that Christians participate to war, even if were met the Augustinian or Thomistic conditions to justify a military intervention.

Despite this, he approved the possibility of a war against the Turkish and against the Barbarian invasions, even if he would have preferred to have a dialogue with them and convert them. The position of Erasmus was an isolated attitude and it received no response among the theologians of the time⁴⁴.

2.2.4 The attitude of the Popes towards the two World Wars and pacifist tendencies among Catholics

Over time the Roman Pontiffs increasingly started to make speeches in favor of peace and against war. They became stronger during the two World Wars. Pio X strived to prevent the outbreak of the First World War, Benedetto XV strived to support the return to peace. This last appealed to the heads of states of the warring countries and he made some proposals to stop the “inutile strage” and to promote a lasting peace.

⁴² Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II-II. Q40. A1.

⁴³ Mons. Marra, *Tendenze del mondo cattolico sul tema della pace e della Guerra*.

⁴⁴ Erasmus, “The Complaint of Peace”, in *The Essential Erasmus*, Dolan.

With equal intensity Pio XI and Pio XII committed themselves to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War, always insisting on the supreme value of peace and on the irreparable harm caused by the conflicts to humanity.

After The WWII the debate over war and peace got heated because of the contrast between the westerns and the soviet bloc and the consequent risk of an atomic war.

In the West, in addition to the pacifists of protestant origin, left-wing and Communist-inspired pacifist movements prevailed, oriented by anti-Western feelings.

The most active pacifist group by the Catholic Church was the Pax Christi Movement founded in 1944, that brought pacifism to Catholic associationism and, as regards Italy, particularly to Christian Action⁴⁵.

The speeches of the Popes, as mentioned before, were all situated on the same theological, pastoral and humanitarian level: prevent war and recall all to the universal and supreme value of peace. Nowadays, the Catholics world, albeit with different shades, tend to acknowledge the position over war and peace proposed by the second Vatican Council (1962-1965): the Church as keystone for universal peace.

2.3 The Features of the Christian pacifism of Igino Giordani

2.3.1 Igino Giordani: a convinced Christian pacifist

The culture of peace must place the figure of Igino Giordani among the most active witnesses of the twentieth century. His activity and his thought took place in difficult and impossible times for pacifism, such as those of the First World War. In that climate the most pacifist position was that of “neutrality”, dictated by the consideration that the choice of not entering the war would be more advantageous. But Giordani did not reason in this way: he was a convinced pacifist, his position had matured even before taking up his place in the trenches. His pacifism drew directly from the Gospel: killing another man would have meant assassinating that being who was made in the image and likeness of God. The tenets of faith are not negotiable, and Giordani was not willing to accept any kind of arguments, even from the Church, which could justify a military intervention of Italy. In the coming years, his intolerance towards those Christians that put before the reasons of State to the radical ideals of the Christian faith were the background of many of his works and speeches⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Mons. Marra, *Tendenze del mondo cattolico sul tema della pace e della Guerra*.

⁴⁶ Lo Presti, *La Grande Guerra e la questione della pace: la lineare coerenza di Igino Giordani*.

2.3.2 *Rivolta Cattolica: pacifistic, anti-militarist and democratic vision*

His first commitment as intellectual and writer was about the affirmation of the absolute coherence that Christians should have towards the system of values and ideals derived from their adhesion to the Christian revelation. With this in mind it is easier to understand his research about Giustino and the Christian apologetics in order to approach to the first work that brought him to people's attention: *Rivolta Cattolica* (1925).

Basically, Giordani made a connection between the first Christian centuries and the Fascist age he was living in. As Christianity had to established itself in the dramatic confrontation with Roman paganism of the first centuries, in the same way the author felt it was necessary to oppose a resolute Christian revolt against the flood of heathendom. But, the Catholics of the time of *Rivolta Cattolica* risked, in the eyes of Giordani, to frustrate the universal mission of the Church. Indeed, in his view they were cautious until pusillanimity. It was a wrong way of being Catholics, because instead of fight the enemy they tried to bribe him. This corrupt Catholicism always chose the position of the majority, it never went against the current, convinced that the stronger has God on its side. And what is worse, this cowardice sprang only against the Christians who made coherent choices. The result of these crumbling premises were what Giordani defined a new plague: the pro-Catholicism, namely the pseudo-cultural drift that conducted many ignorant of moral and religious Catholics references to be involved in theology, and to think about God, as it was just an aspect of the rational investigation. This pro-Catholic paganism, that exploited the Church, fought its dogmas, persecuted and killed the priests, was clapped by many Catholics, who, because of self-interest, cowardice and ignorance, remained defenceless in the face of the press of Fascism and the spread of paganism⁴⁷.

2.3.3 *Cesaropapism as the result of neo-paganism*

Moreover, according to Giordani the disasters of war produced a new cesaropapism, resulting directly from the neo-paganism of the futuristic, nationalistic and anticlerical season. This cesaropapism kept from neo-paganism the corrupted lifestyle, to give expression to a faked and specious religiousness. A religiousness maybe conceive as temporary, randomly looking for a moral future, after the disillusionment caused by the First World War. Therefore, in these neo-religious forms theosophy and palmistry, Spiritism e spiritualism, religion and pornography, seemed to coexist without problems⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Lo Presti, *La Grande Guerra e la questione della pace: la lineare coerenza di Igino Giordani*.

⁴⁸ Giordani, *Rivolta Cattolica*.

It was a Christian-pagan synthesis that Giordani read especially into the figure of Gentile, who fostered the cult of the nation in order to come to envision the new fascist creed, that was neo-idealist and nationalist.

The default in public life of the Christian conscience left space to other voices, that although they defended a certain vision of peace and a proper way to conceive civilized relationship, since they were not based on resolute and immutable Christian principles, they had brief luck and were defeated by the fascist rhetoric. For this reason the pacifism of Giordani must be labelled as Christian pacifism, because did not used any of the category in fashion in those time. For example, so it was the pacifism of Ernesto Teodoro Moneta. We should image the young Giordani grew up in the clamor raised by the award of 1917 Nobel Peace Prize to Moneta, the only Italian honored with this recognition so far. Nevertheless, Moneta was not against the war in Libia (1911-12) or the involvement of Italy in the WWI⁴⁹. Other humanitarianisms aimed to contrast the warlike mentality. In particular, Giordani remembered Henri Barbusse⁵⁰ and Romain Rollan⁵¹. They were both French authors and pacifist in so far as joined communism, for this reason Giordani observed in *Rivolta Cattolica*, that they were promoters of an extemporaneous pacifism, that was fruitless and destined to disappear, because rooted in the same inconsistent ideology of war . For these reasons Giordani wrote:

La pace è possibile con Cristo, solamente. E la pace è scienza, è civiltà, è luce: come la guerra è ignoranza, è istinto, è buio. Aspettarsi, come s'è fatto, dalla carneficina una civiltà migliore (...) è lo stesso che pretendere dalla ghigliottina il miglioramento pedagogico delle teste che recide⁵².

In *Rivolta Cattolica* Giordani contradicted both the political and the anthropological pessimistic reasoning, according to which war is a vice in which humanity will fall forever. War is not inevitable, is not part of the human nature. Rather, is embedded in the

⁴⁹ Combi, *Ernesto Teodoro Moneta. Premio Nobel per la pace 1907*. In one of the first work of Giordani, Luigi Sturzo in the preface negatively judge those Christians that were fascinated by the inconclusive pacifism of Moneta (Giordani, *La politica estera del Partito Popolare Italiano*, 4).

⁵⁰ Henri Barbusse (1873-1935) had a great success with *Le feu: journal d'une escouade* (1916), an antimilitarist and pacifist volume. He founded the group "Clarté" of communist sympathies, then, one he moved to Russia, together with other intellectuals he dedicated himself to propaganda, writing, inter alia, the biography of Stalin.

⁵¹ Romain Rollan (1866-1944) was a committed pacifist and at the outbreak of the WWI sought refuge in Switzerland from where appealed to the belligerents so that they could reach peace in the name of the common values of civilization (*Audessus de la mêlée*, 1915). In 1915 Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to him. He was close to the communist party (in 1935 during a trip in the Soviet Union he met Stalin, from which he distanced himself after the signature of the Ribbentrop- Molotov pact), at the advent of Hitler he participated to many anti-fascist demonstrations, calling for the release of Gramsci and founding an international committee to help the Italian anti-fascist prisoners and deportees.

⁵² Giordani, *Rivolta Cattolica*, 29.

logic of the banking and militaristic oligarchies, which were amplified by the nationalistic ideologies of the time, like Futurism, irredentism, the philosophy of Gentile and the successively historical materialism. Besides, in the same way he took distance from the neo-idealist vision proposed by Gentile and equally contested the materialistic theories. An anthropological vision based on the materialistic conception of subsistence, as much as, a religion reduced to epiphenomenon of individual consciousness, fostered the philosophical decadence of the western world. In this respect, the limits of the intellect are not the limits of the existence: Giordani was clear about this. Dealing with the current theories and trends, the Christian man needed to be aware that the future had universal and immutable values, because the existence was conceived in the sight of God. And if materialism and positivism, with the anthropological self-satisfaction they used to produce (Epicureism, bourgeois way of thinking, revolutionary ideology), managed to provide contingent solutions to the deluded men of that time, Giordani could not understand how it was possible that so many Christians supported the aforementioned philosophies, shutting themselves in vicious circles, while they were meant for higher things. Since such philosophies, nourished by Gnosticism and Arianism, by neo-idealism and neo-kantianism, replaced God with the ego, the inevitable consequence, sarcastically observed Giordani, was that Italians venerated a new Messiah, the Duce. The consequence of this clouding was an indistinct eclectic syncretism, that was proud of use and allude to the main religiousness in order to deprive them of any objective moral connection, and so, from time to time, allowed to choose the programs that suited better its whims.

2.3.4 Spiritualism as opposition to positive aberrations

At this point, Giordani highlighted how the Great War crushed all the attempts done towards a contemporary spiritualism flanked by the dogma. The spiritualism that developed at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century took shape as the opposition against the positivist aberrations. It did not expected to ground the effectiveness of its assertions starting from alleged indisputable and indestructible but unverifiable truths, quite the opposite, it strived for to find out those truths from the introspective analysis of the human beings. For this reason, the new spiritualism emerged as an analysis of the conscience itself. Therefore, the elements of the conscience, according to the spiritualists, should have had the same testimonial value of facts, that positivists assumed to be the basis of scientific knowledge. As a consequence, for

example, it was possible to save the transcendence of God as an indisputable element of the inner demand for infinity and absolute perfection of the mankind; or the human freedom as a definite element that each individual could perceive inside him and that then he could philosophically theorise⁵³. Between the German spiritualists, Giordani criticizes, or better pitied, through the clever prose of *Rivolta Cattolica*, Rudolf Eucken (1846-1926), who brought to the limit the themes of German spiritualism to such an extent that his works have more the tone of religious literature than philosophical speculation. The conclusions of Eucken were far away from the religious views of Giordani: the man, as materialist living creature, is insignificant; he is relevant only as spiritual living being, that means, when he conscientiously build a relationship with the universal Spirit. Only in this dimension the man has the chance to develop. So, the Church, both in its human and divine dimension, is the only one that could muster all people, through its universal message and open the way to worldwide fraternity. In this respect, the pacifism of Giordani put at the centre of the political action the figure of the Pope. Obviously, he did not refer to the temporal power of the Pope. On the contrary, Giordani had in mind the role played by the Holy See before, after and throughout the Great War, and he referred to this experience when he suggested the moral position of the Pope as the keystone to establish a pacific international order.

2.4 The moral pre-eminence of the Pope

2.4.1 Peace in the light of natural law considerations

The Christian pacifism of Giordani, as shown in the preceding paragraph, cannot have a contractual origin. It means, it cannot just be the result of a research aimed to find a political and juridical equilibrium that avoid conflicts arising. In the opinion of Giordani, to use a language appropriate to political philosophy, the question of peace must be primarily led to the vision of the doctrine of natural law. That is, peace is part of human nature, and any political action that foster an armed conflict is, in itself, anti-human and irrational. As a consequence, morality is entitled, even before international relations, to handle the peace issue. Therefore, pacifism needs to be personified by a symbolic figure that can sustain the moral reasons in favour of peace and in the view of Giordani this position can only be occupied by the Pope⁵⁴.

⁵³ Giordani, *Rivolta Cattolica*.

⁵⁴ Lo Presti, *La Grande Guerra e la questione della pace: la lineare coerenza di Igino Giordani*.

2.4.2 *The peacekeeping role of the Pope*

As already mentioned, Pope Benedetto XV was one of the absolute protagonist of the Great War, not only from a religious perspective, but also because of his solicitations to the belligerent powers to put an end to the “*inutile strage*”.

Giordani held Benedetto XV in very high esteem. In the time of *Rivolta Cattolica*, in the eyes of Giordani Benedetto XV appeared to be a great reformer, the man of bold decisions, who was not inclined to renege on his role as spiritual and religious leader and who believed that from this could be found a solution to the serious evils of mankind. It is likely that Giordani saw in Benedetto XV the Pope of the liberal democrat turning point of the Catholic Church, since the Pope ended the *non expedit* and blessed the new-born Italian People's Party, with which, as I indicated earlier, Giordani began his career as politician and journalist. But mostly Giordani admired the pastoral commitment of Benedetto XV to encourage peace⁵⁵.

Nowadays, we know what were in 1917 the variables and the conditions that led the military powers involved in the war to ignore the *Nota ai capi dei popoli belligeranti* of Benedetto XV⁵⁶. The pope, who had years of refined diplomatic experience behind, did not limit himself to morally encourage the end of the conflict, he also suggested possible solutions to get out of it. These solutions were not weak or impracticable, indeed the year after Thomas W. Wilson referred to the contents of the *Nota* of Benedetto XV to present his peace plan at the USA Congress. However, Giordani not only observed how the ideas of the Popes laid down the foundations for the realization of peace, he also asserted that the League of Nations itself was generated by the Catholics prospect of universal peace. Indeed, in the imperial Rome Caracalla allowed each free man in the civil world to be considered as a Roman citizen. But, this aspiration was fulfilled only with the coming of Christianity:

Tendente per sua natura a effondersi oltre tutte le barriere, ad affratellare le razze sotto tutti i climi (...). Solo il cristianesimo congloba – e organicamente nel cattolicesimo – in una famiglia grandiose anche gli schiavi, anche i barbari⁵⁷.

Therefore, Catholicism has the function of supreme moderator, it can be shown just by looking at the anticipatory function it had regarding the peace and right of people issue in

⁵⁵ Thirty years later, Giordani defined Benedetto XV the “pontefice della pace” together with Pio XII: Giordani, *Le encicliche sociali dei papi. Da pio IX a Pio XII (1864-1956)*.

⁵⁶ Rumi, *Benedetto XV e la pace*.

⁵⁷ Giordani, *La politica estera del Partito Popolare Italiano*, 62.

modernity: in the 18th century father Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio, debating about the right of people, hoped for a juridical solution of the conflicts between nations, through an international court. Giordani underlined that fifty years later was established the Hague Tribunal. Moreover, Giordani mentioned the encyclical *Pacem Dei munus pulcherrimum* of 23 May 1920, in which Benedetto XV expressed again the auspice that:

Tutti gli stati, rimossi i vicendevoli sospetti, si riunissero in una sola società o meglio famiglia di popoli, sia per garantire la propria indipendenza, sia per tutelare l'ordine del civile consorzio⁵⁸.

When the Church made itself available for the newly founded League of Nations did nothing more than obeying to its dogma commented Giordani. For this reason, illustrating the foreign policy of the Italian People's Party, Giordani was upset about the exclusion of the Pope from the peace conference (expulsion wanted by Sonnino for what concerned Italy) and from the League of Nation. The obvious consequences of the contradictions originated from the Treaty of Versailles, must be sought in the blindness that led the super powers to believe that was possible to achieve peace without the mediation of Benedetto XV.

2.4.3 The mediation of the Holy See in international disputes

The moral pre-eminence of the Pope in international disputes had behind a few relevant historical episodes. The most important one, repeatedly mentioned by Giordani, it was the Caroline Islands issue of 1885. It was a political crisis between Spain and Germany for the possession of the Caroline islands in the Pacific Ocean. The aforementioned islands nominally belonged to Spain for ages, even if Spain did not take care of them. But, Germany got territorial over these islands (actually with no real motivations, apart from the presence of a German trading on the territory). Bismark, probably in the effort of recovering his reputation in the eyes of the Catholics, against which he fostered the *Kulturkampf*, had the idea to give to the Pope the task of finding a solution, and the Catholic Spain had nothing to say. The mediating role of the Pope got a chance to happen again in 1991, when Leone XIII named a commission of bishops to solve a dispute between Belgium and Portugal regarding the territorial boundaries of Murta Yama in Congo. Another time in 1895, the Pope offered to help finding a solution to the controversy between France and Germany about Alsace-Lorraine, even if it all came to

⁵⁸ Benedetto XV, encyclical, *Pacem Dei munus pulcherrimum*, 10.

nothing in the end. In other words, the conviction of Giordani that the Holy see could have played a crucial role in the issue of international peace was not unfounded. As it was not weak the argument that the Treaty of Versailles failed because lacked the moral dimension that the Pope could have gave to it⁵⁹. But, because of the glowing spirit, the opinions about this topic became polarized, causing fears and cynicism able to stifle the aspirations of faith. A letter from Luigi Sturzo to Giordani reveals the worries about the international position of the Pope. Part of this letter is shown below:

A proposito di “Parte Guelfa”, nel programma si dice che volete “gli Stati Uniti Europei con moderatore il papa”. C’è da riflettere: se il papa dovrà interessarsi della politica europea, sarà costretto, assai più che non ora, a rispettare e aiutare i governi di fatto e quindi le tendenze conservatrici e nazionalistiche, che oggi predominano (...). E poi, non avvertite che manca l’unità spirituale dell’Europa, e nel campo religioso (protestanti e ortodossi) e in quello politico (nazionalisti-liberali-socialisti) e in quello economico (paesi vincitori, vinti e così così). (...) Io penso che la Chiesa sarà cercata dai popoli; se posta, come sono oggi gli Stati, sul terreno della libertà, evita tanto i compromessi con la reazione, quanto le debolezze verso le democrazie; e se si mantiene ferma nell’ambito spirituale, e quindi nel sostegno di quanto spiritualmente ferve oggi nella vita internazionale: pacifismo, disarmo, arbitrato fra i popoli, internazionalismo sano, libertà bene intesa, moralità assoluta⁶⁰.

It was not necessary to curb the young Giordani and Cenci, indeed in the year before that letter, Giordani, author of *La politica estera del Partito Popolare Italiano* (that included the preface of Sturzo himself), had already presented his positions, not as his own beliefs, but – providing evidences – as the political lines of the party:

le linee maestre della nostra politica si individuano alla luce del nostro sentimento tanto di cristiani – per cui vogliamo e tendiamo alla pace con tutto lo slancio e l’opera – quanto d’italiani, per cui tale pace, collimando con necessità nazionali ovvie, concretiamo a vantaggio della Patria (...). E qui preghiamo scettici e avversari a non ghignare all’utopia. Finché non è un’utopia il cristianesimo, sinché la pace è della nostra religione essenza e corpo, finché la morale non debba limitarsi ai rapporti degli individui, ma anche delle società e degli Stati, noi abbiamo il dovere di adoperarci e trasferirne anche nelle relazioni internazionali i principii⁶¹.

The fascinating debate with Sturzo was published in July 1925 on “Parte Guelfa”, the magazine started by Giordani, Cenci and others⁶². In September of the same year, on the

⁵⁹ Giordani as author of *La politica estera del Partito Popolare Italiano*, harshly criticized Sydney Sonnino, who made such diplomatic efforts to keep the Holy See outside the conferences of peace and outside the project of the League of Nation.

⁶⁰ Giordani and Sturzo, *Un ponte tra due generazioni. Carteggio 1924-1958*, 45-46.

⁶¹ Giordani, *La politica estera del Partito Popolare Italiano*, 11-12.

⁶² Sorgi, *Igino Giordani. Politica e morale*, 187-206.

last of the four issues that was published, the same subject was resumed and enriched with a consideration that was very important to Giordani and the Catholics of that time.

In the Twenties, Giordani already suggested the way and revealed the obstacles to realise a unified Europe. First of all, he addressed nationalism as the main problem related to the research of unity, while he suggested democracy as the leading propeller:

gli Stati Uniti d'Europa non saranno sino a quando l'Europa rimarrà solcata da nazionalismi. Stati Uniti europei e nazionalismo sono due termini che si escludono reciprocamente. Gli Stati Uniti saranno se saranno le democrazie⁶³.

To conclude, seems that the events of the last centuries have confirmed the recommendations of Giordani about the role that the Holy See can play in international disputes. For this reason, to date, the Catholic Church is the only religious confession that has access to diplomatic relations.

⁶³ Giordani , *Gli Stati Uniti d'Europa ed il papato*.

CHAPTER THREE

Igino Giordani and peace

3.1 A lifelong peace-building project

3.1.1 The spiral evolution of Giordani's pacifist thought

The commitment in favor of peace is at the hearth of the political activity of Giordani. Following a strictly chronological approach it is possible to track down a sort of linear peace itinerary along the path of Giordani that is articulated in precise stages and dates: from the initial instinctive rebellion against war of 1915, to the maturation of his cultural reflection on peace of the '20s and the '30s, ending with his parliamentary initiatives in favor of peace of the '50s. Without wanting to ignore this effective, even if schematic, periodization, for the purpose of this composition I decided to follow the spiral evolution of Giordani's pacifist thought. My intention is to highlight how it expands and becomes deeper starting from those ideas that there were inside him since he was very young.

3.1.2 The inappropriateness of the concept of iustum bellum

As already mentioned, the first expression of the pacifism of Giordani date back to 1915: while in Italy the Irredentist propaganda was in full swing, he protested against a war that he considered absurd. At that time his aversion to war derived from rational more than ethical considerations, the same that in 1949 led him to write in an article titled *La via della ragione* that hate is stupid⁶⁴.

After the experience in the army in 1919 he wrote *I volti dei morti* through which he morally condemn the war⁶⁵. This work already include the refuse of the war that was the focal point of his speech as deputy in 1949 when he said that killing in a war is not only homicide, because you kill another man, but it is also deicide because men was created in the image and likeness of God and furthermore is suicide because through wars the social body of humanity is destroyed⁶⁶.

These statements reveal the necessity to redefine and update with new reflections the already mentioned concept of just war, that is the legitimisation of the war if fought for a good cause, that was theorized by the Church Fathers (Saint. Augustine and Saint. Thomas) and was assumed by the Christian doctrine of the time.

⁶⁴ Giordani, *La via della ragione*.

⁶⁵ Giordani, *I volti dei morti*.

⁶⁶ Giordani, *A proposito del patto Atlantico*.

Already in the volume *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù* (1935) Giordani seemed to recognise theoretically the concept of *iustum bellum* only in the case of defense war, but even in this circumstance he could not solve the crisis of conscience that it provoked in the spirit of a Christian men because any conflicts is a violation of the commandment of charity⁶⁷. Actually, he already perceived the inappropriateness of this concept compared to the weapons of modern wars, this feeling was confirmed in 1951 during a speech in Parliament where Giordani asserted the uselessness of the modern war through these words:

La terza Guerra – dell’atomica – sarebbe la vittoria del cannibalismo. Se ci sarà (secondo un bello spirito) una quarta Guerra dopo, essa si combatterà con le fionde e con le frecce...La Guerra – insegna un teologo del vaticano- va assolutamente vietata. Ogni distinzione tra guerra giusta e ingiusta è ormai un concetto superato dalla realtà⁶⁸.

Thus, Giordani brought forward by twenty years the position taken by the Church during the second Vatican Council on the concept of just war.

Another implication of the pacifism of Giordani concern the refuse of the military service: it is significant that Giordani in the book *Il messaggio sociale* dwelled on the thought of Origene, according to whom the military service is homicide and so Christians should stay off it, being intimately loyal to their homeland⁶⁹. This idea is the basis of the already mention draft law on conscientious objection of 1949 that he promoted in Italy (it became part of the Italian legislation in 1972) , a proposal that links the pacifism of Giordani to the one of Quakers and Anabaptists who, as stated in the second chapter, were the first to claim the conscientious objection. This initiative was obstructed by several sides, even from the Catholic world, specifically by the Jesuits of “Civiltà Cattolica”. Father Messineo reaffirmed the validity of the just war theory through an article against the draft law where he counter-posed to the recall made by Giordani to the doctrine of the Church Fathers the right to self-defence of the States, valid in his opinion despite the commandment “thou shalt not kill”⁷⁰.

3.1.3 Christian universalism, Europeism and Atlanticism as keys to peace

⁶⁷ Giordani, *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù*.

⁶⁸ Giordani, *Parliamentary Acts*, 10 October 1951.

⁶⁹ Giordani, *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù*.

⁷⁰ Messineo, *L’obiezione di coscienza*.

Since 1919 Giordani highlighted the necessity of love and peace between the people as the foundation of universal fraternity expressed by the principle of Christian universalism, that is derived from the law of love announced in the Gospel that make human beings equal brothers beyond geographical boundaries⁷¹.

Politically, in the view of Giordani this universalism translated into a specific vision of international relations, that means the refuse of any form of nationalism and imperialism and the support to the League of Nations⁷². In the same way in 1946 Giordani, deputy and member of the International Treaties Commission, asserted through an article on “Il Popolo” titled *L’alternativa* the necessity of getting out Italy from the WWII and make it a free country able to promote a policy of peace among the States to foster solidarity and cooperation⁷³. In this context should be analyzed the Europeanism proposed by Giordani: since the time of “Parte Guelfa” (1925) his ideal of peace has resulted in a project of unity of Europe. As outlined in the second chapter, he proposed the promotion of the United States of Europe as the result of Christian universalism and the economic interdependence among the States. Concretely, he proposed a federative solution for Europe with the Society of Nation as cornerstone and the Pope as moderator⁷⁴. This idea had not much political fortune in the context of Fascist Italy, since opposed the nationalistic component of the regime. It was sustained only by few intellectuals like Vito Galati and F. Valenziani. However, Giordani did never abandon this project and in 1949 at the Chamber of Deputies he re-asserted: “O l’Europa si unisce o l’Europa perisce”⁷⁵. On the same line it is keeping the Atlanticism of Giordani, who in the well-known speech at the Chamber of Deputies of 16 March 1949 took a side in favor of the Italian adhesion to the North Atlantic Treaty suggested by the government headed by De Gasperi. The text of the treaty had given rise to the opposition of those on the left, specifically through the words of the honorable Basso and Togliatti who saw it as an anti-communist war instrument of the capitalist countries and who accused the Christian Democracy to renege its electoral promises of peace. Giordani made an original contribution to the debate: by detaching himself from the neutralist solutions that optimistically trusted the diplomatic action of the United Nations, he supported the adhesion to the North Atlantic Treaty, not only on the basis of his defensive function

⁷¹ Giordani, *Il messaggio sociale del cristianesimo*.

⁷² Sorgi, *Igino Giordani politica e morale*.

⁷³ Giordani, *L’alternativa*.

⁷⁴ Giordani, *Il Papato romano e gli Stati Uniti d’Europa*.

⁷⁵ Giordani, *Parliamentary Acts*, 19 March 1949.

but also on his pro-European value and as a peace facility for a policy of appeasement towards the East to which Italy had to committed herself in order to go beyond the politics of the blocs. It is possible to understand the position of Giordani regarding the Cold War through the words he said at the Chamber of Deputies :

[...] Noi siamo vittime di una politica che non si esprime che facendo la guerra; quindi, politica pazza e criminale. Ho detto che l'assassinio in guerra è un omicidio. Ma noi sappiamo che è qualcosa di più, è un deicidio perché nell'uomo si uccide l'immagine di Dio. Ed è anche un suicidio perché, attraverso qualunque guerra, è il corpo sociale, il corpo di tutta l'umanità, che si svena. Che la guerra si combatta in Indonesia o in Cina, che si combatta in Italia o in Germania è sempre l'unico organismo sociale che si dissangua stupidamente. E' come quando si ferisce una parte del corpo: non è solamente quella parte che si dissangua, ma è tutto l'organismo. Soprattutto oggi che si realizza una unità spirituale ed economica in tutto il mondo, per cui dipendiamo gli uni dagli altri. E voi tenete molto all'unità. E' la più bella aspirazione. E' l'aspirazione della religione. Orbene, appunto perché c'è una unità non bisogna in nessuna parte produrre in essa una frattura come fa la guerra. In passato, amici miei, si parlava di guerre giuste. Era guerra giusta quella in cui chi pigliava l'iniziativa pretendeva di riparare un danno, un torto. Ed in effetti certe volte era così. Ma oggi, oggi che la guerra è uno sterminio pazzesco di valori e di persone, oggi nessuna guerra è giusta. Oggi, tutte le guerre, scatenate da chicchesia, per qualsiasi ragione, sono guerre ingiuste, perché per riportare a un danno di cinque, producono un danno di mille, di un milione. Le nequizie che esse operano sono tali che nessuna argomentazione le giustifica. E' proprio la grandezza della guerra che condanna la guerra⁷⁶.

3.1.4 The campaign for peace and the parliamentary agreement

Meanwhile, in 1949 he founded the weekly publication "La Via" through which he promoted the campaign for peace. For example, he exposed the proposal that the CD should have supported the creation of a movement composed by all the European democrats from different parties to create a united front for peace⁷⁷.

This series of articles translated into the proposal for a Parliamentary agreement for the defence of peace. This agreement was developed by Giordani together with deputies from other parties like the MPs Ambrico, Calamandrei, Donati, Giavi, Terranova and Zanfagnini. All the signatories agreed on the seven points of the agreement ⁷⁸and responded positively to the call to strive for the pacification of the spirits, for the realization of social justice, for the coexistence of peoples and for the limitation of defensive weapons.

⁷⁶ Giordani, *A proposito del Patto Atlantico*.

⁷⁷ Sorgi, *Igino Giordani politica e morale*.

⁷⁸ The full text can be found in Giordani, *L'intesa parlamentare*.

3.1.5 National peace as precondition for international peace

According to Giordani international peace requires national peace, he was worried that the political division of the Cold War could have endangered the unity of the country. To the prospect of the civil war, Giordani proposed as an alternative the path of the dialogue. He tried to engage a constructive debate with the socialists and the communists, like Pertini, Silone, Calosso, Donini, Bruni, Lajolo and Mazzali, in order to advance all together along the road to democracy, he did it enough to be accused of naivety by the other members of the Christian Democracy. In this regard, appears to be very important his speech in support of the motion of the communist Giovanni Giavi about the Korean War during the sitting of the 21 December 1950⁷⁹. Even if he was contrary to any attempt to conciliate Christianity with atheist and materialist Marxism, Giordani had always recognized the necessity to make the social issue the focal point of the political program of Catholics. Thus he criticized the fact that the CD dealt with the social challenge thrown down by the Communists in terms of prejudicial anti-communism. On the contrary he was a supporter of the possibility of an encounter between Christianity and socialism freed from Marxism⁸⁰. Another meaningful attempt at dialogue between Christians and Communists were the peace talks between Giordani and Davide Lajolo, between November 1950 and January 1951. Lajolo was the head editor of "L'Unità" and Giordani of "La Via", they tried to build a bridge between their political parties, through a debate that developed in seven letters, published on both newspapers⁸¹. From that moment started the search for contact points on the theme of peace. The first one was pinpointed in the social issue: the Christian matrix of Giordani as much as the Marxist one of Lajolo determined in both the conviction that a necessary condition for peace was the fulfilment of social justice within the country and between the people. A second point of contact was the aspiration to unity: but the unity that Giordani meant was not the product of force, but rather the fruit of love for each other as taught by the evangelical message. In addition, they agreed on the armament issue, on the condemnation of the atomic bomb, on being against the military expenditure, on being in favor to rely on diplomacy to resolve international conflicts. Eventually, there was the national peace issue, the reconciliation of the political parties, condition for an action of the Government aimed at preventing the

⁷⁹ Sorgi, *Igino Giordani politica e morale*.

⁸⁰ Giordani, *Cristiani e socialisti*.

⁸¹ Giordani and Lajolo, *Colloquio sulla pace*.

armament. In the last letter Giordani suggested to Lajolo five concrete proposals about: the development of a cross-party committee to promote a conference on regulated and global disarmament; an exchange of informers to ensure a mutual control on the armaments; joint action by the political parties at the Geneva conference, during the meeting of USSR, USA, UK and France; encourage the Italian government to bridge the gap between east and west; the abandon of the language of hatred and of the fear on the press. The final letter of Lajolo took with him the aforementioned proposals, he turned them into a common appeal to the Italian political authorities and he drew the conclusions of the dialogue, hoping that it extended to the entire party system of the country⁸². The peace talks between Giordani and Lajolo did not produce significant political results in the life of Italy, with the exception of the already mentioned Giavi's motion, which was inspired by that exchange of letters and that was passed by the Parliament with the approval of the majority of the population. This political vision of a national, European and universal unity, with the prospect of peace between the States and the peoples, supported by a deep worldwide political consciousness, it turned out to be clearly against the current of the fiery Cold War age. Consequently, Giordani was not reelected in 1953, as he remembered in his *Memorie*: "Alle successive elezioni, la mia campagna per la pace fu strumentalizzata come pericolo alla nazione, concorse al ripudio elettorale del mio nome da parte di molti del ceto medio"⁸³.

3.2 Conclusion

Also outside the Parliament, Giordani carried on his commitment to peace: he followed with interest the disarmament initiatives of the worldwide movement for peace of Velio Spano and of the Italian association for the conscientious objection; in 1956 was appointed by the Foreign Ministry to represent Italy at the fifth international Congress on peace and the Christian civilization at Florence, between 21 and 27 June. In the report that Giordani wrote, titled *Storia e Profezia*, he hoped that the human history could retrieve its prophetic dimension of peace through a triple way: social justice, compassion and the unity of the peoples"⁸⁴.

Moreover, Giordani continued to work in favor of peace within the Focolare Movement,

⁸² Giordani and Lajolo, *Colloquioi sulla pace*.

⁸³ Giordani I., *Memorie di un cristiano ingenuo*, p. 125.

⁸⁴ Fifth Congress for peace and Christian civilization, *Storia e Profezia*.

for example in 1960 he organized an international meeting of politicians at Freiburg, that resulted in the demanding project of love for foreign countries.

To conclude, I think that it was effectively proved, as it was assumed at the beginning, that the question of peace had a central role in the political thinking of Igino Giordani.

This is the reason why the culture of peace should place his figure among the most active witness of the 20th century. His activity and his thought took place in difficult and impossible times for pacifism, such as those of the two World Wars and the Cold War. In that climate the most pacifist position was that of neutrality, but Giordani was a convinced pacifist, his position had matured even before the experience in the 111th regiment. His pacifism drew directly from the Gospel: killing another man would have meant assassinating that being who was made in the image and likeness of God.

In the space of forty years he fought continuously and tirelessly the only battle that he considered legitimate, his war against war, proving to be a real peace operator.

Similarly, in the light of the facts analyzed, his modernity appears even clearer: the considerations of Giordani about the peace produced a series of intuitions that, if on the one hand they got him the well-known accusation of ingenuity by his contemporaries, on the other, today, with the more and more urgent emergence of the big transnational issues (conflicts, migration flows, environmental issues, terrorism...) that forced the States to join forces to find common strategies, prove to be very current.

This it was well understood by Giorgio La Pira, when he said:

... noi, insieme, siamo stati alla Costituente e poi alla prima Legislatura. E in quelle circostanze, Giordani che aveva una responsabilità politica davanti al Paese, ha sempre affermato con decisione, nonostante le critiche degli “pseudo-Machiavelli”, numerosi nel mondo politico, che l’unico obiettivo fondamentale da raggiungere con tutti gli sforzi possibili e immaginabili, della preghiera e dell’azione, della politica e dell’economia, era quello della pace. E lo chiamavano “il pacifista”, quasi per significare: “Lui è un buon uomo: un idealista”, come suol dirsi. No: perché la politica costruttiva, realistica, quella che raggiunge risultati veri nel mondo è quella che Giordani ha sempre seguito, cioè una politica di pace, che poi è la politica della Chiesa e dei popoli intelligenti⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ La Pira, *Atti del V Convegno per la pace e la civiltà cristiana*, 240-241.

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RIASSUNTO

Igino Giordani (1894-1980) è stato una grande figura della vita ecclesiale, culturale e politica dell'Italia del secolo XX. Antifascista, pioniere della Democrazia cristiana prima con Don Sturzo, poi con il suo amico De Gasperi, fu deputato alla Costituente nella legislatura dal 1948 al 1953. Scrittore, giornalista, politico, ecumenico e patrologo, co-fondatore del Movimento dei Focolarini, è stato una personalità poliedrica che ha lasciato tracce profonde e che ha aperto prospettive profetiche a livello culturale, politico ed ecclesiale. L'impegno per la grande questione della pace è il cuore della vicenda politica di Igino Giordani. Secondo un approccio strettamente cronologico, si potrebbe senz'altro rintracciare un itinerario lineare della pace percorso da Giordani: dalla iniziale istintiva ribellione alla guerra del 1915, alla maturazione della riflessione culturale sulla pace degli anni '20 e '30, sino infine all'impegno parlamentare in favore della pace degli anni '50. Pur senza voler trascurare questa effettiva periodizzazione, qui ho scelto di seguire piuttosto l'andamento a spirale in cui il pensiero di Giordani sulla pace si sviluppa, nel tentativo di evidenziare come esso vada svolgendosi con sempre maggiore ampiezza e profondità da quelle idee che in lui sono presenti sin da giovane.

“Se vuoi la pace, prepara la pace”, l'insegnamento politico di Giordani si può riassumere in questo celebre aforisma. La pace è il risultato di un progetto: un progetto di fraternità fra i popoli, di solidarietà con i più deboli, di rispetto reciproco. Così si costruisce un mondo giusto, così si accantona la guerra come pratica barbara appartenente alla fase oscura della storia del genere umano. E Giordani la guerra la conosceva bene: vi aveva partecipato nel primo conflitto mondiale. Ma non è solo l'orrore per il sangue e per la morte che deve indurre l'uomo a rifiutare la guerra come strumento per risolvere i problemi di ordine internazionale. La guerra può essere pensata come naturale da quelle povere menti che postulano l'uomo come una macchina assetata di potere e pronta a scagliarsi contro un qualsiasi nemico per realizzare i propri sogni di potenza. Ma non c'è niente di naturale nel procurarsi a vicenda sofferenza, miseria, morte. Le guerre non producono vincitori, solo sconfitti. E' quindi la ragione che ci suggerisce di deporre le armi e i sentimenti bellicosi e a preparare un ordine pacifico. Il mio interesse nei confronti di questo personaggio deriva in primo luogo da legami personali, Igino infatti era il mio bisnonno ed io ho voluto rendergli omaggio con questo lavoro il cui obiettivo è, attraverso l'individuazione e l'analisi delle fonti filosofiche alla base del suo pensiero pacifista, dimostrare come in un periodo in cui la cultura pacifista è appena delineata e molto incerta, I.G. presenta ragioni etiche e antropologiche per difendere le ragioni della pace e che dunque, la pace per lui non è strategia ma scelta vocazionale. Infatti, mentre tutti si convertono alle ragioni della pace dopo l'orrore della guerra, Giordani è un pacifista da subito, perché attinge al cristianesimo le ragioni di tale scelta.

Il primo capitolo, dopo le note biografiche, si apre con una riflessione necessaria per comprendere il complesso pensiero di Giordani e le origini del suo pacifismo. Giordani viene definito un pensatore asistematico perché in gran parte dei suoi libri non è rintracciabile un'organica teoria politica, ma questo non deve far pensare che non ci sia. Infatti la reinterpretazione dell'originario messaggio evangelico e la ricerca del suo significato politico-sociale sono il fondamento della sua filosofia politica. Alla base della sua formazione culturale sono i Padri della Chiesa e gli Apologeti, in particolare Tertulliano, Giustino, Crisostomo, Agostino. Egli approfondisce anche lo studio di autori quali Montalambert e Lacordaire, alfieri del cattolicesimo liberale e sociale. Inoltre, non abbandonerà mai lo studio della dottrina sociale della chiesa. Successivamente viene messa in evidenza l'importanza attribuita da Giordani al rapporto fra politica e morale. Egli infatti sosteneva che è la morale che sostanzia la politica che non può essere ridotta al solo gioco dei vari partiti politici che ambiscono a raggiungere il potere. Giordani era fermamente convinto che non si dovesse separare la propria attività e visione politica dai propri principi religiosi e morali. Del resto, in sua opinione, proprio il Cristianesimo, ponendo la distinzione tra Cesare (politica) e Dio (religione), aveva creato la laicità dello Stato. Così, il cittadino sottomesso allo Stato nell'ambito della politica fu reso indipendente nella sfera della coscienza. Con la teoria politica di Machiavelli che separò la politica dalla religione, l'utile dall'etica, nacque il laicismo. La distinzione tra l'ambito politico e quello religioso-morale diventava separazione. La sfera politica senza il limite della morale, per Giordani, portava come logica conseguenza la dilatazione dell'agire statale favorendone le tendenze accentratrici e liberticide. Una democrazia non poggiata sui principi della morale è una democrazia senza anima, e una democrazia senza anima è una democrazia senza futuro.

Il secondo capitolo ha come obiettivo quello di rintracciare e analizzare le caratteristiche che rendono il pacifismo di Giordani un pacifismo Cristiano. La prima parte del capitolo è dedicata ad una introduzione su cosa sia il pacifismo e soprattutto sulle tendenze cattoliche riguardo la pace e la guerra. Vengono passati in rassegna temi quali: il pacifismo e l'avvento del cristianesimo, la teoria della guerra giusta attraverso il pensiero di S. Agostino e S. Tommaso, il pacifismo assoluto dei protestanti e di Erasmo da Rotterdam, nonché il ruolo svolto dai Pontefici a favore della pace nel corso della storia. Il pacifismo di Giordani, come già detto, affonda le proprie ragioni nelle certezze evangeliche della sua formazione cristiana. I principi della fede non sono negoziabili, e Giordani non è disponibile ad aderire ad alcun tipo di discorso, anche da parte della Chiesa, che potesse giustificare l'intervento dell'Italia nella Prima Guerra Mondiale. Dal Vangelo infatti egli apprende che uccidere un uomo significa uccidere quell'essere fatto a immagine e somiglianza di Dio, ossia significa commettere un deicidio. L'affermazione dell'assoluta coerenza dovuta dal cristiano al sistema di valori e d'ideali ricavati dall'adesione alla rivelazione cristiana costituiscono la chiave di lettura per

accostarsi al suo primo grande libro: *Rivolta cattolica* (1925). In pratica, Giordani realizza un'associazione fra i primi secoli del cristianesimo e i tempi da lui vissuti. Come il cristianesimo si dovette affermare nel confronto drammatico con il paganesimo romano dei primi secoli, così il nostro autore sente che bisogna opporre una ferma rivolta cristiana al dilagare della paganità fascista. Eppure agli occhi di Giordani i cristiani del tempo, spesso prudenti fino alla pusillanimità, rischiavano di vanificare la missione universale della chiesa. Questo corrotto cattolicesimo sceglie sempre la posizione della maggioranza, non va mai controcorrente, convinto com'è che il più forte ha Dio dalla propria parte. Il risultato di queste premesse è quella che Giordani definisce la nuova piaga del filo-cattolicesimo: ovvero quella deriva pseudo culturale che porta molti estranei dai riferimenti religiosi e morali cattolici ad occuparsi di Dio come fosse un semplice aspetto dell'indagine razionale. Non solo, il disastro della guerra, secondo Giordani, ha prodotto un nuovo cesaropapismo, direttamente scaturito dal neopaganesimo della stagione futurista, nazionalista e anticlericale. Questo venir meno della coscienza cristiana nella vita pubblica ha lasciato spazio ad altre voci, come quella del premio Nobel per la pace del Ernesto Teodoro Moneta, che pur difendendo una certa visione della pace, non essendo incardinate nei saldi e immutabili principi cristiani, hanno avuto breve fortuna e sono state sconfitte dalla retorica fascista. La guerra non è inevitabile, non è nella natura umana. Qui Giordani smentisce le interpretazioni pessimistiche, politiche e antropologiche, che fanno della guerra un vizio nel quale per propria natura l'uomo cade e cadrà sempre. Non è nella natura umana, piuttosto è nella logica delle oligarchie siderurgiche, bancarie, militaristiche, le quali trovano amplificazione nelle ideologie nazionalistiche di turno, nelle mode culturali come il futurismo e l'irredentismo per la Grande Guerra o la filosofia gentiliana e il materialismo storico successivamente. Tanto la visione antropologica basata sulle condizioni materiali di sussistenza quanto una religione riportata ad epifenomeno della coscienza individuale sono alla base del declino filosofico del mondo occidentale. I limiti della ragione, in tal senso, non sono i limiti dell'essere: su questo punto Giordani è esplicito. Di fronte alle teorie e alle correnti di moda, il cristiano dovrebbe avere consapevolezza che l'orizzonte al quale volgere il proprio sguardo possiede significati immutabili e valori universali, perché l'essere si concepisce al cospetto di Dio. E se il materialismo e il positivismo, con l'autocompiacimento antropologico che spesso producono (epicureismo, pensiero borghese, ideologia rivoluzionaria), riescono a volte a dare soluzioni contingenti agli uomini illusi del suo tempo, Giordani non riesce proprio a comprendere come sia possibile che molti cristiani aderiscano a tali filosofie, rinchiudendosi in circoli viziosi, mentre sarebbero chiamati a cose più grandi. Perché questi progetti filosofici, alimentati dallo gnosticismo e dall'arianesimo, dal neoidealismo e dal neokantismo, hanno rimosso Dio per sostituirvi l'Io. Le conseguenze di questo annebbiamento delle coscienze sono un indistinto sincretismo eclettico, che si compiace di citare e usare vari pezzi delle religioni, al fine di svuotare

ogni riferimento morale oggettivo, e consentire di scegliere, di volta in volta, i programmi più adescabili dai propri capricci. In questo frangente, Giordani osserva come la Grande Guerra abbia di fatto polverizzato tutti i tentativi compiuti in direzione di uno spiritualismo contemporaneo affrancato dal dogma. Lo spiritualismo che si sviluppò tra la fine dell'Ottocento e la prima metà del Novecento prese forma e indirizzo specifico proprio come opposizione alle aberrazioni positivistiche. Esso non pretese di fondare la validità delle proprie affermazioni a partire da presunte verità fondamentali incrollabili ed incontestabili, ma inverificabili, bensì aspirò a ricavare quelle verità dall'analisi interiore, introspettiva, dell'uomo. Il nuovo spiritualismo, quindi, si configurava come analisi che la coscienza fa di se stessa. Sicché i dati di coscienza, per gli spiritualisti, avrebbero dovuto avere lo stesso valore testimoniale e probatorio dei fatti, che i positivisti assumevano come fondanti la conoscenza scientifica. Così, ad esempio, era possibile recuperare la trascendenza di Dio in quanto dato incontestabile dell'esigenza interiore di infinità e di perfezione assoluta propria dell'uomo; oppure la libertà umana come dato certo che il singolo può cogliere immediatamente in sé e può teorizzare poi filosoficamente. Secondo Giordani l'uomo, come esistenza materiale, come ricerca di beni, valori e rapporti materiali ed esteriori, è insignificante; ha un significato solo come esistenza spirituale, cioè quando instaura, con il pensiero consapevole, i rapporti con lo Spirito universale. Solo in questa seconda dimensione l'uomo ha la possibilità di svilupparsi; e solo nella vita religiosa porta a compimento tutte le possibilità inerenti alla sua vita spirituale. La Chiesa, quindi, nell'apice della sua manifestazione umana e divina, è l'unica che davvero può chiamare tutti a raccolta, con il suo messaggio universale in grado di raggiungere il cuore di ogni uomo. Come risulta dai caratteri esaminati precedentemente, il pacifismo cristiano di Giordani non può avere origine contrattualista. Vale a dire che esso non può essere semplicemente il risultato della ricerca di un equilibrio giuridico o politico che escluda l'insorgere di conflitti. In Giordani, per usare un linguaggio consono alla filosofia politica, la questione della pace deve primariamente essere condotta a una visione giusnaturalistica. La pace, cioè, è inscritta nella natura umana, e qualsiasi azione politica che promuova la guerra è, di per sé, antiumana e irrazionale. In tale ambito, allora, spetta al campo della morale, prima ancora delle relazioni politiche internazionali, occuparsi del problema della pace. Di conseguenza, il pacifismo deve potersi incardinare in una figura simbolicamente protesa all'affermazione morale delle ragioni della pace, e in Giordani questa figura non può che essere il papa. Nel terzo capitolo, per concludere, si segue l'andamento con cui il pensiero di Giordani sulla pace si sviluppa, con l'intenzione di mettere in luce come esso si svolga sempre con maggiore profondità ed ampiezza nel corso della sua vita. Le prime manifestazioni del pacifismo di Giordani risalgono già al 1915: mentre nel paese impazzava la propaganda interventista, egli protestava, contro una guerra che riteneva semplicemente assurda. Nel 1919 pubblicò *I volti dei morti*, una raccolta di

versi che ha già lo spessore della condanna morale della guerra. Insomma in Giordani giovane soldato è già presente quel rifiuto della guerra che costituirà il punto focale dell'intervento in Parlamento da deputato del 1949 in cui afferma che ogni guerra è un fallimento dei cristiani. Affermazione che, tra l'altro, rivela la necessità di ridefinire ed aggiornare con nuove considerazioni il concetto di "guerra giusta", ovvero la legittimità della guerra combattuta per una giusta causa, così come essa veniva teorizzata nel pensiero dei Padri della Chiesa e assunta dalla dottrina cristiana dell'epoca. Giordani, già nel *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù*, redatto negli anni '30, sembrava accettare il concetto di *iustum in bellum* più che altro in via teorica, circoscrivendolo rigorosamente al caso esclusivo della guerra di difesa; e anche così non riusciva a risolvere completamente la crisi di coscienza che comunque qualsiasi guerra genera nell'animo del cristiano in quanto violazione di carità. In realtà egli già avvertiva l'inadeguatezza di un simile concetto rispetto alle proporzioni e ai mezzi delle guerre moderne. Giordani, precorreva, così, la posizione che a tale riguardo la Chiesa assumerà ufficialmente solo nel Concilio vaticano II. Un altro risvolto della condanna della guerra riguarda la questione del servizio militare: è significativo che Giordani, sempre ne *Il messaggio sociale di Gesù*, si soffermasse particolarmente sul pensiero di Origene in proposito, secondo il quale il servizio militare è omicida e i cristiani se ne dovrebbero astenere, limitandosi ad una partecipazione solo interiore al destino della propria patria. Questa valutazione del servizio di leva già esprimeva velatamente le motivazioni che per Giordani saranno alla base della sua posizione rispetto all'obiezione di coscienza di cui promuoverà l'introduzione in Italia. L'iniziativa fu contrastata da più parti anche all'interno del mondo cattolico, per esempio nettamente contrario era l'atteggiamento sostenuto dai gesuiti de "La Civiltà Cattolica". Un articolo di p. Messineo intervenne direttamente contro la proposta di legge di Giordani sostenendo il diritto di legittima difesa dello Stato e la validità della guerra giusta.

Fin dal 1919 Giordani esprimeva il bisogno di fratellanza universale che troverà piena risposta nel principio dell'universalismo cristiano, il quale deriva dalla legge dell'amore annunciata dal vangelo. Sul piano politico questo universalismo si traduce, per Giordani, in una visione ben precisa delle relazioni internazionali: il rifiuto di ogni forma di nazionalismo e d'imperialismo. In questo senso va compreso anche l'uropeismo di Giordani: l'ideale della pace si era concretizzato nel progetto dell'unità europea. Sulla stessa linea si inserisce l'atlantismo di Giordani, il quale nel noto intervento parlamentare del 16 marzo 1949, prese posizione in favore dell'adesione dell'Italia alla NATO voluta dal governo De Gasperi, in virtù non soltanto della sua funzione puramente difensiva e garantista bensì della sua valenza europeista e come strumento di pace per una politica di pacificazione verso il blocco sovietico. Intanto nel 1949 Giordani fondava "La Via", il settimanale indipendente di critica dalle cui colonne promuove la così detta campagna per la pace che si tradusse sul piano parlamentare nell'intesa parlamentare per la difesa della pace, promossa da Giordani ed elaborata insieme a

deputati liberali, repubblicani, socialdemocratici, indipendenti e democristiani. Per Giordani la pace internazionale presuppone necessariamente la pace interna alla nazione perciò, alla prospettiva di una guerra civile causata dalle divisioni politiche della Guerra Fredda, Giordani contrappone l'alternativa di un dialogo costruttivo con socialisti e comunisti per ragionare insieme sulla via della democrazia,. Nonostante la sua intransigenza nell'avversare ogni tentativo di conciliare il cristianesimo con il marxismo ateo e materialista, aveva però sempre riconosciuto la necessità di fare della questione sociale il punto centrale del programma politico dei cattolici e perciò sosteneva la possibilità di un incontro tra il cristianesimo e un socialismo sradicato dal marxismo. Inutile dire che una tale visione politica volta alla ricostituzione dell'unità nazionale, europea e mondiale, nella prospettiva di una pace tra gli stati e i popoli risultava nettamente controcorrente in quelle fasi roventi di guerra fredda venne accusato di ingenuità da altri esponenti del suo stesso partito, tant'è che alle elezioni del 1953 non venne rieletto.

A conclusione di questo tentativo di sintesi, mi sembra che si possa costatare, come si annunciava al principio, quella centralità che la pace occupa nel pensiero politico di Giordani: nell'arco di quarant'anni, egli combatte ininterrottamente, infaticabilmente, l'unica battaglia che considera veramente legittima, la sua guerra alla guerra, dimostrandosi un vero operatore di pace. Allo stesso modo, alla luce di quanto analizzato, appare ancora più evidente la sua modernità: intorno alla riflessione di Giordani sulla pace ruotano infatti, una serie di intuizioni che, se gli procurano la nota accusa di ingenuità da parte dei suoi contemporanei, oggi, con l'emergere sempre più urgente delle grandi questioni transnazionali (ambiente, flussi migratori, terrorismo..) che costringono gli Stati a collegamenti e strategie comuni, risultano di una attualità sorprendente, che ce lo fa scoprire un vero uomo dell'avvenire.