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# Legislature V of Italy and Andreotti I Cabinet

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## 1. Introduction;

As well as in Italy, in the whole world, the years from 1968 to 1972 are marked, on the one hand, by severe tensions in the civil society, and on the other hand, by a turning point for what concerns internal and international equilibriums. The relations between Moscow and Washington experience a process of détente that implies many effects in the international stability. This détente is reflected in Italy, being the two major national parties directly linked to these two realities. However, the elements of crisis are not lacking. In August 1968, the tanks of the Warsaw Pact invaded Czechoslovakia and brutally put to an end to the Prague Spring. The latter being a period of political liberalization and reforms of the communist regime attempted by the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Alexander Dubcek. This caused an increase in tensions in the Italian left parties.

The election of Richard Nixon, as President of the United States, in November 1968, opens up new scenarios for the diplomacy of the two blocks. While West Germany recognizes for the first time the Eastern part, the United States and the USSR reach an agreement for the limitation of nuclear arms: Salt I, signed in May 1972. Simultaneously, the ping-pong diplomacy develops between Washington and Beijing. The rapprochement between the two nations contributed to the admission of Beijing to the United Nations in October 1971 and to the visit of Richard Nixon in China in February 1972.

For what concerns Italy, this period was marked by tensions with Tripoli, after the Colonel Gaddafi came to power in 1969 with a coup d'état, and decided in 1970 to confiscate Italian properties and expel from Libya twenty thousand Italian citizens.

With regard to Europe, instead, alongside the French May of 1968, some undoubtedly important events characterized European history during the period of the fifth Italian Parliamentary Term.

Looking more in depth into European integration, on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1968, with eighteen months in advance, the last custom duties - on intra-Community trade in industrial products - were abolished and the common customs tariff was introduced.

In 1969, Willy Brandt became Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and announced the Ostpolitik. It was the policy of normalizing relations, aiming to ease tension with the German Democratic

Republic and with the other countries of the Eastern bloc. Precisely the continuation of a policy of attention to the political processes underway in Eastern Europe has facilitated the reunification of Germany, within the framework of unravelling the communist regimes. The first treaty signed during Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik was the Treaty of Moscow of 1970. Through this treaty, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, both recognize the boundaries ratified in 1945. This new policy had many relevant influences on Italian foreign politics.

Furthermore, in the same year, Pompidou was elected president in France. This is a particularly important event as it ended the Gaullist era and started a further European integration. Thanks to this change on the head of France, with the participation of Italy, on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1969, at the summit of the Hague, the heads of state and government decided to push the European integration process further ahead.

In 1970, Franco Maria Malfatti is appointed President of the European Commission, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April of the same year, the Treaty of Luxembourg was signed. The treaty established that the activities of the European Community would be financed with own resources and it extended the powers of the European Parliament, that is now able to reject the budget.

Concerning the European enlargement process, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1972, Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom signed in Brussels the treaties of accession to the European Communities. Also, in 1972, the Treaty between West and East Germany was ratified and the two were admitted to the United Nations in 1973.

Of 1972 was the first attempt of a European monetary cooperation, the "snake in the tunnel", it aimed at limiting the fluctuations between the various European currencies and the dollar, by pegging them to the European Currency Unit (ECU), namely a basket of European currencies. The treaty was ratified by the nations that were members of the European Economic Community (EEC), namely West Germany, France, Italy and Benelux countries and by the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway. The agreement was created to guarantee monetary stability and is the direct consequence of the end of the convertibility of the dollar into gold decided by President Richard Nixon, which puts an end to the Bretton Woods agreements. The snake in the tunnel precedes the establishment of the European Monetary System of 1978 and is considered the first step of the path that will lead to the monetary union and, finally, to the euro.

In Italy, during the second legislature, the Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana*, DC)

perceives the difficulties in forming a single-color government. In fact, the motion of confidence was not approved for the De Gasperi VIII Cabinet<sup>1</sup> (16<sup>th</sup> July 1953-2<sup>nd</sup> August 1953) and the Fanfani I Cabinet<sup>2</sup> (18<sup>th</sup> January 1954-8<sup>th</sup> February 1954). Given these obstacles, the DC decides to experiment the centrist approach. It is called 'centrist' even though, also, Saragat's Italian Democratic Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano*, PSDI) participates. In late May 1956<sup>3</sup>, after the provincial and municipal elections, Pietro Nenni, on the behalf of the Italian Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Italiano*, PSI), invites Matteo Matteotti, PSDI secretary from January, to a meeting between the two parties to discuss the formation of the juntas in the municipalities and the provinces. Hence, the PSI opens to a possible collaboration with the DC and the PSDI, and vice versa, Matteotti accepts the socialist invitation. On the other hand, the launch of the dialogue between the PSI and the PSDI provokes the reaction of the Italian Liberal Party (*Partito Liberale Italiano*, PLI). In fact, the secretary of the PLI, Giovanni Malagodi, considered the separation between the national and the local dimension not acceptable, and, for this reason, he threatened the withdraw of the liberals from the government<sup>4</sup>.

About a year later, in 1957, for internal disputes concerning the permanence of the PSDI in the government, Matteotti resigns and the Segni government too. At the same time, a document is being developed for the reunification of the PSDI with the PSI, but it was considered by the latter as unacceptable<sup>5</sup>.

The opening to the centre-left continues in 1958, when the DC considers the possibility of accepting external support from the socialists. However, requiring greater autonomy of the latter from the communists. This option causes a strongly negative reaction by Malagodi and the PLI<sup>6</sup>. It is at this point that the PSI discusses the possibility of giving external support to the DC, meanwhile rejecting the opportunity of reunification with the PSDI. Moreover, in this period, the PSI distances further itself from the Italian

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<sup>1</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, "Camera dei Deputati, 9° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 28<sup>th</sup> July 1953

<sup>2</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, "Camera dei Deputati, 83° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 30<sup>th</sup> January 1954

<sup>3</sup> As in «La Stampa», 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1956, [p.1], "Matteotti accetta l'invito del PSI e si incontrerà mercoledì con Nenni"

<sup>4</sup> Orsina Giovanni, "Alternativa Liberale. Malagodi e l'opposizione al centrosinistra", Marsilio, 2010. pag. 91

<sup>5</sup> As in «l'Unità», 18<sup>th</sup> April 1957, [p.1], "Tanassi segretario del PSDI. Matteotti messo in minoranza"

<sup>6</sup> Orsina Giovanni, "Alternativa Liberale. Malagodi e l'opposizione al centrosinistra", Marsilio, 2010. pag. 99



Communist Party (PCI)<sup>7</sup>.

The congress held by the DC in 1959 decided definitively the opening towards the PSI. Thus, the Fanfani government withdraw in favour of a wider parliamentary consensus. This task was carried out by the second Fanfani government (1<sup>st</sup> July 1958 - 15<sup>th</sup> February 1959), so in the third Legislature.

The DC sought an alliance with the Socialists because, the first wanted to approve some reforms, but a solid majority was required. Moreover, the DC wanted to divide the left wing, isolating the PSI from the PCI.

It was thanks to the secretary of the DC, Aldo Moro, that this sort of rapprochement took place. However, without forgetting the Hungarian revolution, another reason why the PSI approaches the DC, leaving the its old ally, the PCI with Togliatti, alone. The PCI declares itself in favour of the action taken by the Soviet Union against Hungary, which is why many intellectuals leave this party, that lost many votes in this period. The first experiences of a joint DC and PSI government took place between 1960-1961 in numerous central-left councils, first at local and regional level.

In 1960, when the opening to the left was increasingly took into consideration, a new Tambroni government was formed with the votes of the neo-fascists of the Italian Social Movement (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*, MSI)<sup>8</sup>. This provoked a wave of protests and violent clashes, which forced Tambroni to resign in July 1960<sup>9</sup> and allowed Fanfani<sup>10</sup>, in 1962-1963, to govern with the external support of the Socialists. Now the communist party was completely isolated.

The agreement between the DC and the PSI proposed the nationalization of the energy companies, the strengthening of the right to study, with the increase of the mandatory school up to 14 years. Moreover, the formulation of a plan to enhance the countryside and the agriculture, also in the framework of the CAP

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<sup>7</sup> As in «l'Unità», 16<sup>th</sup> November 1958, [p.1 – p.8], “Fanfani osa chiedere al PSI di sostenere il suo regime”, but also in «La Stampa», 16<sup>th</sup> November 1958, [p.1], “Fanfani auspice nuove alleanze per rafforzare l'azione del governo”

<sup>8</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Camera dei Deputati, 222<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1960

<sup>9</sup> As in «l'Unità», 20<sup>th</sup> July 1960, [p.1 – p.2], “Tambroni cacciato”, but also in «La Stampa», 20<sup>th</sup> July 1960, [p.1], “Il governo Tambroni si è dimesso. Gronchi inizia oggi le consultazioni”

<sup>10</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Senato della Repubblica, 295<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1960

(European Common Agricultural Policy), and the establishment of the regions with special status, that have a series of privileges. Concerning these issues, the leftists granted their votes to the government from outside.

With the new President of the Republic, Antonio Segni, who's mandate lasted from 1962 to 1964, the task of forming a new government is entrusted to Aldo Moro (DC). In 1963 and 1964<sup>11</sup> we see the first government headed by Aldo Moro, then succeeded by another executive, presided by himself, from 1964 to 1966<sup>12</sup>. The composition of these two cabinets include the participation of the left, namely the PSI. These governments were followed by two more with Nenni, as Vice President of the Council of Ministers, that led to the election of Giuseppe Saragat as President of the Republic (1964-1971).

However, in this period, the PSI splits up again, and the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (*Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria*, PSIUP) is re-founded. These were the more left-wing socialists, who did not want to come to terms with the Catholics.

The period from 1968 to 1972, namely the fifth legislature, was characterized by unsolved situations of social unrest and an increasingly alarming economic crisis, reflected by the weak governmental stability. As a consequence, agitations, protests and trade union demands spread, all asking for a change in the current society. The universities and the schools witnessed the burst of a youth revolt claiming new reforms and the right to generalized education. This student movement interlaced with the "Hot Autumn" of the 1969-70, identified by large strikes done by workers, in factories and industrial centres. The intertwining of the two uprisings, has also conducted to a worsening of tensions, that lead to violence and blood. In fact, during the first two cabinets presided by Mariano Rumor, namely in April 1969, in Battipaglia, an upheaval brought to the death of two people and in November 1969 the Italian policeman Antonio Annarumma died during a manifestation.

In this social context, the first extra parliamentary groups are formed and the roots of terrorism are planted. Two examples may be the bombing of Piazza Fontana in Milan, in December 1969, during Rumor's

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<sup>11</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, "Camera dei Deputati, 82° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 17<sup>th</sup> December 1963, and in "Senato della Repubblica, 76° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 21<sup>st</sup> December 1963

<sup>12</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, "Senato della Repubblica, 165° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 1<sup>st</sup> August 1964, and in "Camera dei Deputati, 179° seduta, resoconto stenografico", 6<sup>th</sup> August 1964

second government, and the tragic murder of the Commissioner Luigi Calabresi. The latter was executed by left-wing militants, in May 1972, under Andreotti's first government. Further, during the same cabinet, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli's death occurred in March 1972, while he was preparing a terrorist attack in Segrate.

Meanwhile, Rumor III Cabinet had to face, in July 1970, the popular uprisings that inflamed the streets and squares of Reggio Calabria. These lasted for months, and were expression of a profound social dissatisfaction, that exploded through the political instrumentalization derived from the failure to appoint that city as the administrative centre of the Region.

The fifth legislature is also characterized by the discussion of the law concerning divorce. On 1<sup>st</sup> December 1970, under Colombo's government, divorce was finally introduced in the Italian legal system, despite the tensions and controversies that arose with its approval.

The current political system struggled to face the scenario of those years. The elections of 1968 highlight an overall change of position towards the left of the electorate. Going more in depth, the PCI and the PSIUP gain more consensus, instead the Unified Socialist Party (*Partito Socialista Unificato*, PSU) was harshly defeated. The results of the 1968 elections intensified the discords between the socialist and the social democratic factions in the PSU. In the socialist faction there was the intention to build a closer relationship with the PCI, in order to share political positions with a view to future agreements. Agreements were needed, especially at regional and local level, since in some regions the two parties together had more votes than the DC, but the latter was governing because of the divisions of the left-wing parties. The conflicts inside the PSU sharpen up to a breaking point that leads to the formation of two distinct parties - the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and the Italian Social-Democratic Party (PSDI). However, this period is also characterized by the fulfilment of important social and political reforms, as the Workers' Statute (*Statuto dei lavoratori*), the introduction of the National Health Service and the establishment of the Regions, from the standpoint of territorial administration.

The social turmoil impacted also the stability of the government. Mariano Rumor chaired three national executives inserted in a scenario of tense relationships inside the majority. A significant proof of this strain was given by the disagreements that arose during the election, in 1971, of the new President of the Republic, Giovanni Leone. In the same year, Emilio Colombo became Prime Minister and in 1972, Giulio Andreotti succeeded him and formed a minority government in view of the early elections in 1972.

The student protest movement, that developed between the 1960s and 1970s in the Italian and international society, had implications also for the DC. Especially Aldo Moro gave voice to the wind of change of those years. He was frequently protagonist of political initiatives aimed at evolving the centre-left, that claimed to be inadequate to confront with the transformed social situation. This centre-left was, indeed, not “clean” because it involved also the PSI<sup>13</sup>. In those years Aldo Moro detaches from the faction of the “*dorotei*”, moving closer to the more left-wing progressive faction of the party. Referring to the PCI, Aldo Moro claimed that a new strategy should be used, the strategy of attention (*strategia dell’attenzione*), with the intention to enable a dialogue for a new and qualified majority in Parliament. On the other hand, inside the Left, it is taken into consideration the possibility of backing some of the policies proposed by the government, especially the ones in support of the Constitution. All in all, inside the party, those who push for radical changes in the party’s alliances and direction are contrasted with strong traditional and reactionary components.

It is a challenging situation, the one that the new political secretary of the DC, Flaminio Piccoli, has to face from the beginning of his mandate. He was a representative of the “*dorotea*” faction, the main political trend in the party, and he was elected secretary in January 1969, succeeding Mariano Rumor. However, his election was characterized by the abstention of more than half of the National Council. Moreover, the Party Congress carried out in Rome in June 1969, during Rumor I Cabinet, failed to reconstruct the unity of the party, which fragmented in numerous groups.

These events are succeeded by a phase of internal transformation of the party. The “*dorotea*” faction crumbles in two groups, one is *Iniziativa Popolare*, which encompasses the majority and is represented by Mariano Rumor and Flaminio Piccoli; the other is *Impegno Democratico*, under the leadership of Emilio Colombo and Giulio Andreotti. Moreover, on one side, traditional supporting movements detach from the party, as it is the case of the Christian Associations of Italian Workers, and affirm the end of the reciprocal backing in the political and union field. On the other side, a new front of *quarantenni* (forty-year-olds people), reunited in September 1969 in the convention of San Ginesio and claimed the leadership of the party. In the convention of San Ginesio, the participants were Arnaldo Forlani, Ciriaco De Mita and Bartolo Ciccardini. In order to give a new impetus to the political initiative of the DC, it emerged as necessary a

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<sup>13</sup> Orsina Giovanni, “Alternativa Liberale. Malagodi e l’opposizione al centrosinistra”, Marsilio, 2010. pag. 149.

renewal in the direction and management of the party, together with the need of a turnover in the party ruling class, namely the *quarantenni*. The convention of San Ginesio has been remembered as the convention which established a generational pact for a new management of the party. The turnover will be obtained in the next November, under Rumor's second government, when Arnaldo Forlani will be elected national secretary at unanimity. Forlani had to manoeuvre through the various factions inside the party, which became particularly prominent in 1971 during the tormented election of Giovanni Leone as the new Head of State.

## 2. The Fifth Parliamentary Term;

### 2.1. *The elections and the composition of Parliament;*

Towards the end of May 1968, when the elections were carried out, the students and workers movements had already been triggered and characterized all the V legislature. The parties did not manage to understand that the transformations caused by the protests of 1968, would have consequences also on the political scenario. Even the PCI was accused of collusion with the capitalistic bourgeoisie and of lack of any revolutionary thrust.

The most striking data of the 1968 elections<sup>14</sup> is the failure of the socialist unification. At the Chamber of Deputies, the PSU obtained 4.603.192 votes, or 14,5%, that translated into 91 seats; this meant a loss of more than 5% compared to the sum of the votes gathered in the 1963 election by the PSI and the PSDI. The PCI improved, increasing of 1,6%, receiving 8.551.37 votes, equal to 26,9%, 177 seats. The DC obtained 12.437.848 votes, equivalent to 39,1%, 266 seats, so a growth of 0,8%. Furthermore, the PLI received 1.850.650 votes, so 5,8%, namely 31 seats. These were the first political elections for the PSIUP, which achieved 1.414.697 votes, therefore 4,5% and 23 seats. The MSI decreased its consent, losing nearly one point, it received 1.414.036 votes, equivalent to 4,4%, so 24 seats. The Italian Republican Party (*Partito Repubblicano Italiano*, PRI) gathered 626.533 votes, 2%, so 9 seats.

At the Senate of the Republic, the list formed by the PCI, the PSIUP and the Independent Left achieved a notable result, with 30% and 101 seats. The DC got 10.972.114 votes, equivalent to 38,3%, 135 seats. The PSU received 4.354.906 votes, or 15,2%, 46 seats. Further, the PLI achieved 16 seats with 1.943.795, so 6,8%. Regarding the right, the MSI obtained 1.304.847 votes, equal to 4,6%, 11 seats. Lastly, the PRI was represented for the first time in the Senate with 601.500 votes, so 2,1%, receiving 2 seats.

Amintore Fanfani and Sandro Pertini were voted, on the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1968<sup>15</sup>, respectively as President of the

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<sup>14</sup> As in «l'Unità», 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1968, [p.1], “Il centro-sinistra perde il 4%”, but also in «La Stampa», 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1968, [p.1–p.2 – p.4–p.6 – p.18], “Il centro-sinistra ha confermato la maggioranza al Parlamento”

<sup>15</sup> Look at parliamentary documents “Senato della Repubblica, 1° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 5th June 1968, and in “Camera

Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate of the Republic<sup>16</sup>. The DC, the PSI and the PRI voted them, on the basis of an agreement reached the previous day. At the Senate, all the other parties voted with a blank ballot, and at the Chamber of Deputies, also the Liberals voted for Pertini. While the voting process was in progress, the news of the attack on Robert Kennedy is spread.

## ***2.2. Andreotti in the V Legislature***

The elections were carried out on the 19<sup>th</sup> May 1968 and during the V Legislature, six governments succeeded in holding office. The various cabinets were: Leone II (24<sup>th</sup> June 1968 – 12<sup>th</sup> December 1968); Rumor I (12<sup>th</sup> December 1968 – 8<sup>th</sup> August 1969); Rumor II (5<sup>th</sup> August 1969 – 27<sup>th</sup> March 1970); Rumor III (27<sup>th</sup> March 1970 – 6<sup>th</sup> August 1970); Colombo I (6<sup>th</sup> August 1970 – 18<sup>th</sup> February 1972) and Andreotti I (18<sup>th</sup> February 1972 – 26<sup>th</sup> June 1972). On the 24<sup>th</sup> December 1971, Giovanni Leone was elected President of the Italian Republic.

During Leone II Cabinet, namely from June to December 1968, Andreotti was heading the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Artisanry. However, when Mariano Rumor succeeds as President of the Council of Ministers, Andreotti leaves his position in the government and is elected President of the Cristian Democratic Group at the Chamber of Deputies with 168 votes on 264. He will keep this position until February 1972, being reconfirmed twice with 210 votes on 265 and with 223 on 264 votes.

July 1970, the third government guided by the Prime Minister Mariano Rumor enters into a political crisis. As a consequence, the President of the Republic Giuseppe Saragat entrusts Andreotti with the task of forming a new executive composed of DC, the PSI, the PSDI and the PRI<sup>17</sup>. Andreotti fails in coordinating the formation of a new executive, particularly for the hostility of the social democrats, who accused the incumbent president of having pro-socialist tendencies. Hence, Andreotti quits the task and Emilio Colombo

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dei Deputati, 1° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 5th June 1968

<sup>16</sup> As in «l'Unità», 6<sup>th</sup> June 1968, [p.2], “La discriminazione a sinistra impedisce una soluzione unitaria per l'elezione dei presidenti delle due Camere”, but also in «La Stampa», 6<sup>th</sup> June 1968, [p.5], “Senato e Camera hanno eletto presidenti Pertini e Fanfani”

<sup>17</sup> As in «l'Unità», 12<sup>th</sup> July 1970, [p.1], “Nuovi rapporti con le forze del lavoro condizione indispensabile per una soluzione democratica”

tries successfully. Concerning the government alliance, Andreotti openly criticizes the socialists' behaviour, since they claim to have leeway to do peripheral agreements with the PCI, despite the alliance with the DC at national level. On the other side, the socialists, however, denied the same freedom to the Christian Democrats. In this occasion, referring to the attitude of the DC to involve PSI or PCI in developing institutional assets, Andreotti launched the image of the “two ovens” (“*dei due forni*”), meaning that it is necessary “to buy the bread where it is more convenient” or form the most advantageous alliances.

As Parliamentary leader, Andreotti had to deal with a challenging matter for the Christian democratic parliamentarians, namely the approval of the law for the introduction of divorce. As well as for reasons of principle, Andreotti opposed the Fortuna-Baslini law proposal, judging it to be unconstitutional<sup>18</sup>. He was also particularly worried about the consequences that the referendum for the repeal of the law could have had. Even for this reason he intervened with an original mediation proposal, to which he added the publication of a book – “*I minibigami*” – dedicated to the theme of the dissolution of the religious marriage. His proposal wanted to limit the possibility of divorce to the marriages not celebrated in the church. However, the proposal did not succeed, and it was accused by the supporters of divorce of creating disparity and by the ones against divorce, of laxity.

Faced with a new government crisis in February 1972<sup>19</sup>, the Head of State Giovanni Leone entrusts again Andreotti with the task of forming an executive. The political framework did not seem to offer viable solutions, in fact, the appointed president's task was to verify the inevitability of early elections. Andreotti, the first Roman to take over the leadership of the country's government, presented himself to the Parliament with a single-color Christian Democratic government, that received the support of the liberals and the opposition of the other parties. Also, within the left-wing faction of the DC, the consensus to this new government was not unanimous. The absence at the oath of ministers of Carlo Donat-Cattin was surprising, he was seen at the barber at the time of the ceremony. However, Donat-Cattin took an oath as Minister of Labour and Social Security the following day. The Prime Minister Andreotti placed emphasis on the

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<sup>18</sup> As in «l'Unità», 30<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1 – p.10], “Di nuovo sconfitta la D.C. sul divorzio”, also in «La Stampa», 30<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1], “Il divorzio non è contrario ai principi della Costituzione”

<sup>19</sup> As in «l'Unità», 10<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1-p.12], “Vertice: nessun accordo tra i quattro partiti”. but also in «La Stampa», 10<sup>th</sup> February 1972 [p.1-p.2] “Accordo impossibile, si va verso le elezioni”.



proposal to coordinate the public affairs only for the strictly necessary time and issues, aiming to enable all the democratic political forces to get closer. Moreover, he claimed it was necessary to give a recognition of full democratic legitimacy to the liberals. However, the government did not obtain the parliamentary confidence<sup>20</sup>, it was defeated at the Senate with 158 votes against and 152 votes in favour<sup>21</sup>. The President of the Republic Leone dissolved Parliament and called elections on 7<sup>th</sup> of May. The Head of State also rejected the resignation of Andreotti, who remained in office to carry out ordinary administration. Andreotti, also held for a short period of time the post of Minister of State Enterprises, after the resignation of Piccoli, who was elected Parliamentary Leader of the Christian Democracy at the Chamber of Deputies.

## ***2.3. Leone II Cabinet***

### **2.3.1. The composition**

On the 10<sup>th</sup> June 1968<sup>22</sup>, the President of the Republic Giuseppe Saragat entrusts Mariano Rumor, the Secretary of the DC, to form a government. However, faced with the impossibility of forming a stable centre-left government after two days, Rumor renounced. Hence, after consulting the secretaries of the three centre-left parties and while waiting for the PSU to decide to enter in the government majority, the President of the Republic entrusts Giovanni Leone. The second government presided over by Giovanni Leone was a single-color DC executive, and it was supported by the abstention of the PSU, the PRI and the South Tyrolean group.

The motion of confidence was approved at the Chamber of Deputies on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1968, with 263 votes in favour and 252 against. 88 parliamentarians abstained, they were coming from the republican and the socialist/social democratic group. At the Senate, the confidence is approved on the 17<sup>th</sup> July 1968, with

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<sup>20</sup> As in «l'Unità», 27<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.17], “Battuto il governo Andreotti al Senato. Il Paese chiamato a condannare la DC”, also in «La Stampa», 27<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.2], “Andreotti battuto. Elezioni a maggio”

<sup>21</sup> Look at parliamentary documents “Senato della Repubblica, 596° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972

<sup>22</sup> As in «l'Unità», 11<sup>th</sup> June 1968, [p.1 – p.2], “Si tenta con Rumor”, and in «La Stampa», 11<sup>th</sup> June 1968, [p.1], “Rumor incaricato da Saragat di formare il nuovo governo”

138 votes in favour and 129 against<sup>23</sup>.

Other than the President of the Council of Ministers Giovanni Leone, the composition of the government was the following: the Vice President of the Council of Ministers was Luigi Michele Galli, the Ministers without Portfolio were Italo Giulio Caiati, Minister for extraordinary interventions in the South and the depressed areas of Central and Northern Italy, Crescenzo Mazza, Minister for Parliamentary Relations and Tiziano Tessitori, Minister for the Administrative Reform. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was headed by Giuseppe Medici, the Ministry of the Interior by Franco Restivo and the Ministry of Grace and Justice by Guido Gonella. Mario Ferrari Aggradi was the Minister of Finance, Emilio Colombo was the Minister of Treasury and Minister of the Budget and Economic Planning ad interim and Luigi Gui was the Minister of Defence. Moreover, the Ministry of Public Instruction was guided by Giovanni Battista Scaglia, the Ministry of Public Works by Lorenzo Natali, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests by Giacomo Sedati, the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation by Oscar Luigi Scalfaro and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce by Giulio Andreotti. Ennio Zelioli-Lanzini was the Minister of Health, Carlo Russo was the Minister of Foreign Trade, Giovanni Spagnoli was the Minister of Merchant Navy, Giorgio Bo was the Minister of State Enterprises, Giacinto Bosco was the Minister of Employment and Social Security and Domenico Magrì was the Minister for Tourism and Events.

### **2.3.2. The main measures**

The first government of the V Legislature had to face the students and workers protests of the 1968. 1968 was characterized by a series of general strikes that often resulted in acts of violence. For instance, on the 25<sup>th</sup> June 1968<sup>24</sup>, the trade unions called for a strike in various cities, in some of them, as Trieste, the police had to intervene. In those years, labour disputes and social struggles were on the rise in the country.

The 1<sup>st</sup> August 1968<sup>25</sup>, ten thousand people stroke in the Montedison firm, in Maghera (Venice) for higher salaries. The students participated, too, in the road blocks that paralyzed the traffic between Mestre

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<sup>23</sup> Look at parliamentary documents “Camera dei Deputati, 9° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1968, and in “Senato della Repubblica, 7° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1968

<sup>24</sup> As in «l'Unità», 26<sup>th</sup> June 1968, [p.1], “Tutta Trieste si è fermata il governo risponde con la polizia”

<sup>25</sup> As in «l'Unità», 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1968, [p.2], “Diecimila in corteo rispondono alla provocazione del monopolio”

and Maghera. The following day<sup>26</sup> the strike continued, and the entire chemical sector of Venice protested in solidarity with the Montedison workers' struggle. An agreement was, finally, reached on the 4<sup>th</sup> August<sup>27</sup>, however, only a minimal part of the workers' requests was accepted.

Regarding the foreign policy, at the end of August, the Soviet tanks invaded Czechoslovakia and ended the Prague Spring, concerning this issue the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs referred that the Italian Parliament strongly condemned the Soviet military intervention<sup>28</sup>.

In dealing with student protests and general strikes, the Leone's Cabinet is involved in a complaint made by the newspaper *l'Unità*. The 8<sup>th</sup> September<sup>29</sup> the newspaper denounced that in a secret meeting, between the rector of the University of Rome and the police chiefs, a plan of repression against every student mobilization was discussed. In following days<sup>30</sup>, the responsibility was also attributed to the Prime Minister Giovanni Leone. Moreover, in order to face the problem of the general strikes, of the protests and of the clashes with the police that arose from these, the 26<sup>th</sup> September 1968, Leone and other representatives of the government met with the representatives of the major trade unions.

Meanwhile, in October, at the Senate, a debate on the possibility of approving an amnesty on political crimes was in progress. It is communicated that from October 1966 to June 1968, about ten thousand trials were brought against workers and students. For this reason, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1968, the Senate definitely approved the amnesty proposal for political crimes, that was put forward by the Socialist Tristano Codignola. As a consequence, hundreds of proceedings lapsed. These had started in the last few months against the students involved in university occupations, in the struggles in high schools and in the various student demonstrations.

However, even after the amnesty, the occupations and strikes did not stop. In fact, the main universities,

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<sup>26</sup> As in *«l'Unità»*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1968, [p.2], "Unità contro la Montedison"

<sup>27</sup> Look at *«l'Unità»*, 5<sup>th</sup> August 1968, [p.2], "Accordo raggiunto alla Montedison. Aperte nuove prospettive di lotta"

<sup>28</sup> Look at parliamentary documents "Camera dei Deputati, 20<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico", 29<sup>th</sup> August 1968, and in "Camera dei Deputati, 21<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico", 30<sup>th</sup> August 1968

<sup>29</sup> As in *«l'Unità»*, 8<sup>th</sup> September 1968, [p.1- p.2], "Scatta l'operazione PRMS (prevenzione e repressione moti studenteschi)"

<sup>30</sup> As in *«l'Unità»*, 11<sup>th</sup> September 1968, [p.1], "Grave provocazione contro gli studenti"

and numerous schools of Italy continued to be occupied; a general strike was called on the 14<sup>th</sup> November 1968<sup>31</sup> against the pensions reform, and on the 18<sup>th</sup> November<sup>32</sup> for the public employees. Likewise, the clashes between workers and police did not diminish, in Turin the workers struck in front of FIAT, which resulted in a collision with the police. Following the occupations of universities and high schools throughout Italy, there was a succession of terrorist attacks in various high schools in Rome, these were awarded to National Vanguard (*Avanguardia Nazionale*), the neo-fascist and neo-Nazi group.

### **2.3.3. The reasons for the end of government**

The 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1968, Leone II Cabinet ends on the basis of the readiness expressed by the PRI, the PSI, and the DC to create a wider majority. Consequently, Saragat first gives an explorative mandate to Pertini, and then to Rumor.

## **2.4. Rumor I Cabinet**

### **2.4.1. The composition**

The composition of the Cabinet was the majority formed by DC, PSI and PRI. The government obtained the confidence with 181 votes in favour and 119 against at the Senate and 351 votes in favour and 247 against at the Chamber of Deputies<sup>33</sup>. In March, the Minister of Public Instruction, Fiorentino Sullo resigned. Hence, the leadership of the Ministry was given to Mario Ferrari Aggradi, part of the DC, former Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, in turn replaced in this position by Crescenzo Mazza, always from the DC. Sullo's resignation originated from internal clashes with the DC on the conduct to follow with regard to the occupation of the University of Rome.

Going more in depth into the Cabinet's composition, the President of the Council of Ministers, 16 Ministers and 32 Secretaries were part of the DC; the Vice President of the Council of Ministers, 8 Ministers

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<sup>31</sup> As in «La Stampa», 15<sup>th</sup> November 1968, [p.1], “Larga partecipazione dei lavoratori allo sciopero generale per le pensioni”

<sup>32</sup> As in «l'Unità», 19<sup>th</sup> November 1968, [p.1], “Sciopero. Treni fermi in tutta Italia. Scuole, poste e uffici chiusi”

<sup>33</sup> Look at parliamentary documents “Senato della Repubblica, 52<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1968, and in “Camera dei Deputati, 61<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1968

and 22 Secretaries were of the PSI, and the PRI had one Minister and 2 Secretaries.

Apart from Mariano Rumor (DC) as President of the Council of Ministers, the Vice President of the Council of Ministers was Francesco de Martino (PSI) and the Ministers without Portfolio were Paolo Emilio Taviani (DC), as Minister for extraordinary interventions in the South and the depressed areas of Central and Northern Italy; Crescenzo Mazza (DC), Minister for Parliamentary Relations until the 24<sup>th</sup> March 1969, then succeeded by Carlo Russo (DC); Salvatore Lauricella (PSI), as Minister of University and Research; Eugenio Gatto (DC), as Minister for the Administrative Reform and Giacinto Bosco (DC), as Minister without Portfolio with particular political tasks and of coordination, with special regard to the Presidency of the Italian delegation of the UN. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was Pietro Nenni (PSI), the Minister of the Interior was Franco Restivo (DC) and the Minister of Grace and Justice was Silvio Gava (DC). Moreover, the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning was headed by Luigi Preti (PSI), the Ministry of Finance by Oronzo Reale (PRI), the Ministry of Treasury by Emilio Colombo (DC) and the Ministry of Defence by Luigi Gui (DC). As mentioned before, Fiorentino Sullo (DC) was the Minister of Public Instruction until the 24<sup>th</sup> March 1969, then succeeded by Mario Ferrari Aggradi (DC). Aggradi was the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications and was in turn replaced by Crescenzo Mazza (DC). The Minister for Public Works was Giacomo Mancini (PSI), the Minister of Agriculture and Forests was Athos Valsecchi (DC), the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation was Luigi Mariotti (PSI) and the Minister of Industry and Commerce was Mario Tanassi (PSI). In addition, the DC controlled the Ministry of Health with Camillo Ripamonti, the Ministry of Foreign Trade with Vittorino Colombo, the Ministry of State Enterprises with Arnaldo Forlani and the Ministry of Tourism and Events with Lorenzo Natali. On the other hand, the Ministry of Merchant Navy was led by Giuseppe Lupis and the Ministry of Employment and Social Security by Giacomo Brodolini, both from the PSI.

#### **2.4.2. The main measures**

The demand for changes and reforms is still high even during Rumor's government. In fact, on the occasion of the inauguration of the judicial year, 8<sup>th</sup> January 1969<sup>34</sup>, in the main cities, judges, lawyers, judicial staff, mayors and students organize protests to ask for the reform of the penal code dating back to

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<sup>34</sup> As in «l'Unità», 9<sup>th</sup> January 1969, [p.1 – p.10], “Clamorosa protesta di magistrati e avvocati”

fascism.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> January 1969 Italy signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In March, the Chamber of Deputies approves the bill on the Revision of the pension systems and on the rules on social security (*Revisione degli ordinamenti pensionistici e norme in materia di sicurezza sociale*). The provision will be approved by the Senate on the 30<sup>th</sup> April 1969 (1. 30<sup>th</sup> April 1969, n. 153). In the session of the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1969, the Chamber of Deputies, discussed and approved the conversion into law of the Decree-Law 15 February 1969, n.9, already approved by the Senate in the session of the 28<sup>th</sup> of March. The Decree-Law 15 February 1969, n.9 contained the Reorganization of the graduation exam, of the qualifying examination and of the license of the middle school (*Riordinamento degli esami di maturità, di abilitazione e di licenza della scuola media*) (1. 5<sup>th</sup> April 1969, n.119).

For what concerns the social turmoil of those years, a climax was reached in Battipaglia, in April 1969<sup>35</sup>, where a demonstration was done against the closure of a tobacco factory. The population was manifesting against the economically degrading condition in which Southern Italy was. However, during the protest, the police shot at the demonstrators, causing the death of a typographer and a teacher, who were not involved in the protest. Other protests followed throughout the country, in Milan these brought to clashes with the police and a bomb exploded at the Stock Exchange.

Going back to the Parliament, after no agreement was reached at the meeting of the group leaders, the 28<sup>th</sup> May 1969<sup>36</sup>, the Assembly of the Chamber of Deputies voted to start the discussion on the legislative proposal concerning divorce. The draft law on divorce was in a unified text that enjoyed of the agreement of the PSI, PCI, PSIUP, PRI and PLI. Conversely, the DC, the MSI and the monarchists voted against the beginning of the debate, all the other groups voted in favour, including the PSI and PRI. The latter agreed to examine the project of the DC, concerning divorce, but did not accept the request to postpone the vote to October. The 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1969<sup>37</sup>, the Chamber of Deputies rejected the proposal of unconstitutionality, and therefore, of not starting the discussion, that was put forward by the DC and supported by the monarchists

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<sup>35</sup> As in «l'Unità», 10<sup>th</sup> April 1969, [p.1], “La polizia uccide ancora. Una professoressa e un giovane assassinati”

<sup>36</sup> As in «l'Unità», 29<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1], “Da oggi la Camera discute il divorzio”, but also in «La Stampa», 29<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1 – p.9], “La Camera anticipa ad oggi la discussione sul divorzio”

<sup>37</sup> Look in parliamentary documents, “Camera dei Deputati, 138° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 29<sup>th</sup> May 1969

and the fascists<sup>38</sup>.

### **2.4.3. The reasons for the end of government**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1969, at the Central Committee of the PSI, the document presented by Pietro Nenni, to guarantee the unity of the party, is rejected with 67 votes against and 52 in favour. The defeat in approving the document, coincided with the failure in the unification of the PSI and PSDI. 29 MPs and 12 Senators resigned from the PSI and joined the PSU, which in 1971 returned to the previous denomination of PSDI. Moreover, Mauro Ferri is elected Secretary of the PSU. As a result of the secession, the socialist ministers resigned from the government. On July 5<sup>th</sup>, in the light of these internal changes to the PSI, Rumor resigned. Sandro Pertini, too, resigned from the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, but the resignation was rejected by the group leaders.

## **2.5. Rumor II Cabinet**

### **2.5.1. The composition**

On the 12<sup>th</sup> July 1969, the President of the Republic Giuseppe Saragat, entrusts Mariano Rumor to form a new government. The incumbent president manages to form a single-color DC government. Aldo Moro takes over the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Carlo Donat-Cattin of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. In the executive, all the factions of the DC are represented, with the exception of Sullo's "*Nuova Sinistra*". This was a transitional government, in view of a possible revival of the centre-left, however, in the meantime it could count on the favourable vote of the PSI and the PSU, while the PRI abstains<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> As in «l'Unità», 30<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1 – p.10], “Di nuovo sconfitta la D.C. sul divorzio”, but also in «La Stampa», 30<sup>th</sup> May 1969, [p.1], “Il divorzio non è contrario ai principi della Costituzione”

<sup>39</sup> As in «l'Unità», 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1 – p.10], “Pronto il governo d’attesa per un paese che non può attendere”; in «La Stampa», 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1], “Stamane giurano i 25 ministri. Venerdì Rumor va alla Camera”; in «Corriere della sera», 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1 – p.2], “Varato il monocolore Rumor”; in «Il Popolo», [p.1 - p.3-p.4 - p.5], 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, “Rumor ha costituito il nuovo Governo. Venerdì la presentazione alle Camere”; and in «Avanti!», 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1-p.8], “I ministri del nuovo governo”

At the Chamber of Deputies, the motion of confidence is approved with 346 votes in favour, 245 against and 6 abstained. At the Senate, instead, the motion is approved with 179 votes in favour and 175 against, therefore with a majority of 4 votes<sup>40</sup>.

For what concerns the Cabinet, together with Mariano Rumor as President of the Council of Ministers and Paolo Emilio Taviani as Vice President of the Council of Ministers, the Ministers without Portfolio were Carlo Russo as Minister for Parliamentary Relations, Eugenio Gatto as Minister for the Administrative Reform and Arnaldo Forlani as Minister for the Universities and Research, then on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 1969<sup>41</sup> substituted by Giorgio Bo. Arnaldo Forlani then led the Presidency of the Italian Delegation at the UN. As mentioned previously, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was Aldo Moro and the Minister of Labour and Social Security was Carlo Donat-Cattin; Franco Restivo was the Minister of the Interior, Silvio Gava was the Minister of Grace and Justice and Giuseppe Caron as Minister of Budget and Economic Planning. The Ministry of Finance was headed by Giacinto Bosco, the Ministry of Treasury by Emilio Colombo, the Ministry of Defence by Luigi Gui and the Ministry of Public Instruction by Mario Ferrari Aggradi. Moreover, Lorenzo Natal led the Ministry of Public Works, Giacomo Sedati, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests and Remo Gaspari, the Ministry of Transports and Civil Aviation. Athos Valsecchi directed the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Domenico Magì had the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Camillo Ripamonti directed the Ministry of Health and Riccardo Misasi, the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Lastly, the Minister of Merchant Navy was Vittorino Colombo, the Minister of State Enterprises was Franco Maria Malfatti and the Minister of Tourism and Events was Giovanni Battista Scaglia.

### **2.5.2. The main measures**

On the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1969<sup>42</sup>, eleven thousand workers strike at the Pirelli firm, asking for an increase in the bonus of production. This event was signalled by various newspapers as the beginning of the Hot Autumn (*autunno caldo*). As a matter of fact, the government had to face entire months of strikes, which

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<sup>40</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Camera dei Deputati, 160° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1969, and in “Senato della Repubblica, 165° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 12<sup>th</sup> August 1969

<sup>41</sup> As in «l’Unità», 12<sup>th</sup> November 1969, [p.2], “Forlani e Rumor preparano una «verifica» del governo”

<sup>42</sup> As in «l’Unità», 21<sup>st</sup> August 1969, [p.1 – p.12], “Un possente sciopero ha bloccato la Pirelli”



involved also thousands of workers and caused turmoil with the police. The workers of the Pirelli firm strike, with highs and lows, for an entire month. In fact, only the 25<sup>th</sup> September<sup>43</sup>, after a long negotiation conducted in the Prefecture by the trade unions and by Secretary Toros, sent by the Ministry of Labor, Pirelli reopens the plants. The employees began working again at 6 am on September 26<sup>th</sup>. According to the trade unions, however, unrest will continue until a final agreement will be reached.

Despite that the Rumor II Cabinet was a single-colour DC government, it had the favourable vote of the PSI and PSU, but its majority was not so strong. At the end of August, the Secretary of the DC, Flaminio Piccoli, invited the allies of the centre-left to return to the consolidated majority of the quadripartite (DC, PRI, PSI, PSDI)<sup>44</sup>. He also replied negatively to Giorgio Amendola's articles, in which, the communist exponent advocated the need for the PCI to enter in the "government area".

In the month of September 1969<sup>45</sup>, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Willy Brandt, met, in an official visit, with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aldo Moro.

Looking at the PSI, in October, Francesco De Martino, the then Secretary of the PSI, in his introductory report affirmed the necessity to overcome the old centre-left and highlighted the perspective of a government formed by the PSI and DC, or a three-party coalition, including the PRI but without the PSU. Moreover, he did not exclude the possibility of a parliamentary convergence with the PCI. On the contrary, the former president of the PSI, Pietro Nenni, contradicted with De Martino's approach, and deemed the split from the PSU an error. He also underlined the urgency to return to the centre-left quadripartite, otherwise this would lead to "chaos" in the country. To these statements, Riccardo Lombardi and Giacomo Mancini, two leading figures of the PSI, reacted negatively, since they both strongly opposed a return to the old political formula. De Martino, in the conclusions to the report, introduced the possibility of a DC-PSI government, however, less vigorously and not definitely rejecting the hypothesis of the quadripartite. The final document mandated the Management to take "the consequent initiatives". De Martino's report was approved with the votes of the

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<sup>43</sup> As in «Corriere della sera», 26<sup>th</sup> September 1969, [Corriere milanese p.8], "La Pirelli ha riaperto gli stabilimenti"

<sup>44</sup> As in «l'Unità», 31<sup>st</sup> August 1969, [p.2], "Rilancio (doroteo) del centro-sinistra"; in «La Stampa», 31<sup>st</sup> August 1969, [p.1], "La risposta di Piccoli ad Amendola. «Per elementare sicurezza no ad un governo con il pci»"; and in «Il Popolo», 31<sup>st</sup> August 1969, [p.1], "Esercizio di responsabilità"

<sup>45</sup> As in «Avanti!», 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1969, [p.1 – p.8], "Positivi per l'Europa i colloqui Moro-Brandt"

left from Lombardy, instead Nenni did not participate in the vote and his followers (*nenniani*) abstained from it. The PCI, commenting on the results of the Central Committee, appreciated the efforts made in the debate to envisage a connection between the «political» and the «social» dimension, a fundamental issue for a party based on a working-class base<sup>46</sup>.

Regarding the various strikes, on the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1969<sup>47</sup>, after two months of struggle and ten days of strikes, the new contract for 900,000 building contractors was signed, it was the first of the "Hot Autumn". The main points of the agreement were an average wage increase of 20%, a reduction of three hours of work per week and the introduction of the short week, meaning no working on Saturdays, from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1972. Moreover, the workers won the right of assembly in construction sites.

Always in the 1969, by the end of November, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aldo Moro, and the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kurt Waldheim, finally reached an agreement concerning the South Tyrol (*Pacchetto per l'Alto Adige*). The provision concerned the question of the political and linguistic autonomy of the South Tyrol.

For what concerns the making of Europe, at the Hague Summit on the 1<sup>st</sup> December, the Heads of State and of Government of the member countries of the European Community confirm the desire to proceed towards the realization of a Monetary Economic Union and to harmonize the social policies of the various countries. Furthermore, they agree to enlarge the Community.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> December, during the series of protests that characterized the Italian Hot Autumn of the 1969-1970, the Italian Parliament began the discussion concerning the Workers' Statute, which will be approved by the Senate on December 11<sup>th</sup> 1969. The strain provoked by the protests, raised even further with the terrorist attacks that marked the beginning of the Years of Lead (*Anni di piombo*). The following day of the approval in the Senate of the Workers' Statute, in Milan, a terrorist attack occurred in Piazza Fontana. A bomb exploded at the headquarters of the National Agrarian Bank (*Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura*), the

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<sup>46</sup> As in «l'Unità», 8<sup>th</sup> October 1969, [p.1-p.12], "De Martino occorre superare il centro-sinistra"; and in «Corriere della Sera», 8<sup>th</sup> October 1969, [p.1-p.2], "De Martino negativo sul rilancio del quadripartito"

<sup>47</sup> As in «l'Unità», 9<sup>th</sup> November 1969, [p.1-p.4-p.18], "Gli edili hanno vinto. Appello di CGIL, CISL e UIL: sciopero generale per la casa"; in «La Stampa», 9<sup>th</sup> November 1969, [p.1], "Risolta la vertenza degli edili dopo dieci giornate di sciopero"; and in «Corriere della sera», 9<sup>th</sup> November 1969, [p.1-p.2], "Accordo per gli edili"

explosion killed 14 people and wounded 88. The 12<sup>th</sup> December 1969, five terrorist attacks happened, these were all concentrated in a span of just 53 minutes, and simultaneously hit Rome and Milan, the two largest cities in Italy. In Rome there were three attacks, that caused 16 wounded, one at the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro in Via San Basilio, one in Piazza Venezia and another at the Altare della Patria, a second bomb was found unexploded in Piazza della Scala in Milan<sup>48</sup>.

Another important reform approved during this Cabinet regarded the local administration. On the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1970, the Chamber of Deputies approved the bill on “Financial measures for the implementation of the Regions with ordinary statute” (*Provvedimenti finanziari per l’attuazione delle regioni a statuto ordinario*). Likewise, the Senate approved the provision on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May (1. 16<sup>th</sup> May 1970, n.281, “*legge finanziaria regionale*”).

### **2.5.3. The reasons for the end of government**

On January 20<sup>th</sup> 1970<sup>49</sup>, the four parties of the centre-left (DC-PSI-PSU –PRI) reach a broad agreement on the formation of a new government. For this reason, the 7<sup>th</sup> February<sup>50</sup>, the President of the Council of Ministers, Mariano Rumor resigns. The conflicts that lead to the resignation were generated from the divergences, concerning the law on divorce, between the forces that support the government.

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<sup>48</sup> As in «l’Unità», 13<sup>th</sup> December 1969, [p.1-p.4], “Orrendo attentato a Milano. Tredici morti e 90 feriti”, in «La Stampa», 13<sup>th</sup> December 1969, [p.1-p.5], “Strage a Milano: 13 morti e 90 feriti. Tre bombe anche a Roma: 16 feriti”; and in «Il Popolo», 13<sup>th</sup> December 1969, [p.1-p.3-p.6], “Il paese reagirà con fermezza contro chi attenta alla democrazia”

<sup>49</sup> As in «La Stampa», 21<sup>st</sup> January 1970, [p.1], “Una prima intesa per il nuovo governo raggiunta nell’incontro dei 4 segretari”

<sup>50</sup> As in «l’Unità», 8<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.14], “Aperta la crisi per imporre il quadripartito”; in «La Stampa», 8<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1], “Domani le consultazioni di Saragat”; also in «Il Popolo», 8<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.7], “La D.C. soddisfatta per l’avvio delle trattative quadripartite”

## 2.6. Rumor III Cabinet

### 2.6.1. The composition

After the resignation of Mariano Rumor, the 12<sup>th</sup> February 1970<sup>51</sup>, the President of the Republic Saragat assigns the task of forming the government again to Rumor who will give up his post on February 28<sup>th</sup><sup>52</sup>. The main issues under discussion by the four centre-left parties, that had to form the Government, were the problems concerning the local councils, the amnesty for the crimes committed in the protests, the economic issues and the divorce.

When Rumor renounced, the President of the Republic Saragat, entrusted Aldo Moro to form the government<sup>53</sup>. Hence, the incumbent president, Aldo Moro, met the party delegations, yet many were the obstacles to overcome. On the one hand, the DC aims at re-proposing the quadripartite (DC – PSI – PSU – PRI), on the other hand, the PRI confirms that it will decide its participation in the new executive only after a possible DC – PSI – PSU agreement. The discords between PSI and PSU are still present, and for the PLI the crossroad is either its entry into the government or the early elections. Moreover, the PCI declares its clear opposition to the quadripartite and calls for a government “more left-oriented”. Moro, concluded the consultations with all the parties on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1970 and the following day, he proceeded with various meetings with only the centre-left parties, in which the economic and the divorce issues were mainly discussed<sup>54</sup>. However, on March 11<sup>th</sup>, Moro renounced to the mandate<sup>55</sup> and Saragat conferred it to Fanfani,

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<sup>51</sup> As in «l'Unità», 13<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.2-p.12], “Incarico rigido a Rumor”; in «La Stampa», 13<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1], “L’incarico a Rumor”; and in «Il Popolo», 13<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.9], “Conferito a Rumor l’incarico per il Governo quadripartito”

<sup>52</sup> As in «l'Unità», 1<sup>st</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.12], “Rumor ha fallito e rinuncia”; in «La Stampa», 1<sup>st</sup> March 1970, [p.1], “Rinuncia di Rumor all’incarico. Domani nuove consultazioni”; and in «Il Popolo», 1<sup>st</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.9], “Rumor rinuncia all’incarico. Domani nuove consultazioni”

<sup>53</sup> As in «l'Unità», 4<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.12], “Pre-incarico a Moro”; in «La Stampa», 4<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1], “Tentativo di Moro”; and in «Il Popolo», 4<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.7], “Affidato all’on. Moro l’incarico di prendere contatti per il Governo”

<sup>54</sup> As in «l'Unità», 5<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.12], “Il PCI riconferma netta opposizione ad ogni tentativo per il quadripartito”; in «La Stampa», 6<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1], “Moro tra oggi e domani accerterà se è possibile il governo a quattro”; and in «Il Popolo», 6<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.7], “Si è conclusa la prima fase delle consultazioni di Moro”

the President of the Senate<sup>56</sup>. Again, Fanfani renounced and eventually the mandate was given to Rumor, who will lead his third government.

Rumor presented his third government to the President of the Republic on the 27<sup>th</sup> March<sup>57</sup>, the executive was formed by the coalition DC – PSI – PSU – PRI. Hence, with this cabinet, the formula of the centre-left was restored. As a matter of fact, the cabinet was composed of seventeen Christian Democrats, six Socialists, three Social Democrats and one Republican. Francesco De Martino, took on the Vice Presidency of the Council of Ministers and, therefore, resigned as Secretary of the PSI. Hence, Giacomo Mancini succeeded to Francesco De Martino in the role of Secretary of the PSI.

Finally, on the 28<sup>th</sup> March 1970, the Ministers of 25<sup>th</sup> Government of the Republic of Italy, took the oath. Hence, with the formation of the new government, the crisis opened on the 7<sup>th</sup> February has been resolved. The motion of confidence to Rumor's third government was approved, at the Senate, with 167 votes in favour and 117 against, and at the Chamber of Deputies with 348 votes in favour and 239 against<sup>58</sup>.

Going more in depth in the composition of the cabinet we have: Mariano Rumor (DC) as President of the Council of Ministers, Francesco De Martino (PSI) as Vice President of the Council of Ministers; as Ministers without Portfolio we have, Paolo Emilio Taviani (DC) as Minister for extraordinary interventions in the South, Eugenio Gatto (DC) as Minister for the Problems related to the implementation of the Regions, Mario Ferrari Aggradi (DC) as Minister for Parliamentary Relations, Camillo Ripamonti (DC) as Minister for Universities and Research and Remo Gaspari (DC) as Minister for the Administrative Reform. Lastly, the Presidency of the Italian Delegation at the UN was led by Giacinto Bosco (DC), until the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1970, after

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<sup>55</sup> As in «l'Unità», 12<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.12], “Negata ogni proroga a Moro”, but also in «La Stampa», 12<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1], “Moro ha rinunciato”

<sup>56</sup> As in «l'Unità», 13<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.2], “Gravi sviluppi della situazione politica. Fanfani accetta “l'appello” di Saragat”, but also in «La Stampa», 13<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.2], “Fanfani tenterà di fare un nuovo governo. Si possono evitare nuove elezioni?”

<sup>57</sup> As in «l'Unità», 28<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.2], “Varato il Governo. Solo fra 10 giorni alle Camere”, but also in «La Stampa», 28<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1], “Rumor ha formato il Governo. Il 7 aprile va al Parlamento”

<sup>58</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Senato della Repubblica, 265° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1970, and in “Camera dei Deputati, 265° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1970

that date, Carlo Russo (DC) succeeded him. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was led by Aldo Moro (DC), the Ministry of the Interior by Franco Restivo (DC), the Ministry of Grace and Justice by Oronzo Reale (PRI) and the Ministry of Public Instruction by Riccardo Misasi (DC). The Ministries headed by the Socialists were the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning with Antonio Giolitti, the Ministry of Public Works with Salvatore Lauricella, the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation with Italo Viglianesi, the Ministry of Health with Luigi Mariotti and the Ministry of Foreign Trade with Mario Zagari. On the other hand, the Social Democrats in the cabinet were Luigi Preti as Minister of Finance, Mario Tanassi as Minister of Defence and Giuseppe Lupis as Minister of Tourism and Events. The remaining Ministries were headed by the DC, and these were the Ministry of Treasury with Emilio Colombo, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests with Lorenzo Natali, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce with Silvio Gava, the Ministry of Merchant Navy with Salvatore Mannironi, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security by Carlo Donat-Cattin and the Ministry of State Enterprises by Flaminio Piccoli. Lastly, for what concerns the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Franco Maria Malfatti was initially the Minister, but he was succeeded by Giacinto Bosco on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1970.

### **2.6.2. The main measures**

Given the events of the ‘Hot Autumn’, the 30<sup>th</sup> April 1970<sup>59</sup>, the Council of Ministers decided to present to Parliament a bill which delegates the President of the Republic to grant amnesty for common crimes and for those connected with the struggles of the ‘Hot Autumn’, which were committed by 31<sup>st</sup> December 1969. The Ministers decided to present the bill following the proposal of the Minister of Grace and Justice, Oronzo Reale and after a meeting lasted five hours. The bill concerned crimes with a penalty not exceeding three years, for common crimes, and five years for the other crimes. Furthermore, in the same day<sup>60</sup> the Government announced that on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May there will be a meeting with the Trade Union Confederations to discuss the most urgent issues highlighted by the workers. The themes examined will concern housing, schools, taxes, transport and a plan for social reforms will be considered. However, the meeting government-unions was cancelled<sup>61</sup>, after the Prime Minister Rumor, with a letter sent to the three Confederations,

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<sup>59</sup> As in «La Stampa», 1<sup>st</sup> May 1970 [p.1], “Aministia per i reati comuni e quelli dell’autunno caldo”

<sup>60</sup> As in «La Stampa», 1<sup>st</sup> May 1970 [p.1], “Il 13 maggio l’incontro fra governo e sindacati”

<sup>61</sup> As in «La Stampa», 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1970 [p.1], “No dei sindacati a Rumor. Martedì sciopero generale”

conditioned the execution of the meeting to the suspension of the general strike planned for the 7<sup>th</sup> July. The unions did not accept the request, conversely, they confirmed the strike and the government annulled the meeting.

Moreover, during Rumor III Cabinet, on the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> June 1970<sup>62</sup>, the first regional council elections were held in ordinary statute regions. On the same days, the citizens voted also for the renewal of provincial and municipal councils. Analysing the various party results, we see that, the PSI, despite the split, stands at 10.4% while the Social Democratic Party gets 7%. The two unified parties had obtained 14.5% at the general elections of 1968. The PSIUP suffered a setback from 4.4% in 1968 to 3.2% in 1970. Also, the DC had a slight decline and the PCI increased partially its consent, to the detriment of the PSIUP. The MSI increased by almost 1%, instead the PLI and monarchists lost. Only in Emilia Romagna, the PCI-PSIUP, alone, have the majority. In Tuscany and Umbria, the centre-left and the left have equal seats, in the other regions instead we see centre-left majorities. For this reason, the decisions that will be made by the PSI will be decisive. In fact, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1970<sup>63</sup>, at the National Assembly of Federation Secretaries of the PSI, the secretary Giacomo Mancini and the Vice President of the Council of Ministers, Francesco De Martino, confirm the line followed after the split from the PSDI and restate the autonomy of the party. Moreover, they affirm the willingness to open up to possible agreements with the PCI and the PSIUP in the formation of the regional councils, such as Tuscany and Umbria.

### **2.6.3. The reasons for the end of the government**

This cabinet has seen a rising tension with the trade unions, that led, on the 6<sup>th</sup> July 1970<sup>64</sup>, to the resignation of the government. Rumor affirmed that the controversies with the centre-left parties prevented the government from intervening, therefore, the lack of cohesion in the majority paralyzed the executive. Nonetheless, the decision to resign was not approved by all the parties forming the government, indeed the socialists and the left faction of the DC condemned the choice. Instead, the PRI, the PSU and the rest of the

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<sup>62</sup> As in «l'Unità», 9<sup>th</sup> June 1970 [p.1- p.2], “Ancora vittoria comunista”, and in «La Stampa», 9<sup>th</sup> June 1970 [p.1- p.2], “Più voti al centro-sinistra”

<sup>63</sup> As in «l'Unità», 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1970, [p.1 – p.8], “Tensione nel quadripartito per le spinte a destra d.c.”, and in «La Stampa», 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1970, [p.1], “Forlani sollecita un vertice dei partiti di maggioranza”

<sup>64</sup> As in «La Stampa», 7<sup>th</sup> July 1970, [p.1 – p.2], “Il governo Rumor si è dimesso. Revocato lo sciopero generale”

DC supported the decision.

## **2.7. Colombo Cabinet**

### **2.7.1. The composition**

After Rumor's resignation, the President of the Republic Saragat entrusts Andreotti with the task of forming a new centre-left government.<sup>65</sup> Andreotti has to withdraw from the task on the 25<sup>th</sup> July and Colombo is entrusted. Therefore, on the 6<sup>th</sup> August Colombo forms a centre-left government with the DC, the PSI, the PSU and the PRI. The motion of confidence is approved at the Chamber of Deputies with 348 votes for and 231 against, at the Senate instead, it is approved with 174 for and 113 against<sup>66</sup>.

The government majority is again composed by the quadripartite (DC – PSI – PSU – PRI) and the Ministries were shared in the following way: the President of the Council of Ministers, Emilio Colombo, and other fifteen ministries were of the DC, five ministries and the Vice President of the Council of Ministries, Francesco De Martino, were of the PSI, the PSDI had four ministries and the PRI headed one ministry until it withdrew its representatives from the government on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1971.

The Ministries without Portfolio of this cabinet were Giuseppe Lupis (PSDI), who led the Presidency of the Italian Delegation at the UN, Paolo Emilio Taviani (DC), as Minister for extraordinary interventions in the South, Eugenio Gatto (DC), as Minister for the problems related to the implementation of the Regions, Carlo Russo (DC) as Minister for Parliamentary Relations, Camillo Ripamonti (DC) as Minister for Universities and Research and Remo Gaspari (DC) as Minister for the Administrative Reform. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was headed by Aldo Moro (DC), the Ministry of the Interior by Franco Restivo (DC) and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce by Silvio Gava (DC). The Ministry of Grace and Justice was led by Oronzo Reale (PRI), until the 1<sup>st</sup> March 1971, when the PRI withdraws its delegation from the Colombo Cabinet, so Reale was succeeded *ad interim* by Emilio Colombo (DC). The Minister of Public Instruction

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<sup>65</sup> As in «l'Unità», 12<sup>th</sup> July 1970, [p.1], “Nuovi rapporti con le forze del lavoro condizione indispensabile per una soluzione democratica”

<sup>66</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Camera dei Deputati, 320° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 12<sup>th</sup> August 1970, and in “Senato della Repubblica, 314° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1970



was Riccardo Misasi (DC), the Minister of Treasury was Mario Ferrari Aggradi (DC), the Minister of Agriculture and Forests was Lorenzo Natali (DC) and the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications was Giacinto Bosco (DC). The ministries which were controlled by the PSDI were the Ministry of Finance with Luigi Preti, the Ministry of Defence with Mario Tanassi and the Ministry of Tourism and Events with Gianmatteo Matteotti. On the other hand, the ministries led by the socialists were the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning, headed by Antonio Giolitti, the Ministry of Public Works by Salvatore Lauricella, the Ministry of Transports and Civil Aviation by Italo Viglianesi, the Ministry of Health by Luigi Mariotti and the Ministry of Foreign Trade by Mario Zagari. The three remaining ministers were of the DC, and these were, Flaminio Piccoli as Minister of State Enterprises, Carlo Donat-Cattin as Minister of Labour and Social Security and the Minister of Merchant Navy was first Salvatore Mannironi, who was succeeded, after his death on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1971, by Gioacchino Attaguile.

### **2.7.2. The main measures**

Concerning foreign policy, during this cabinet, Italy resumes diplomatic relations with China. The latter is admitted in the UN on the 25<sup>th</sup> October 1971, and Italy voted in favour.

From the standpoint of internal politics, between November 24<sup>th</sup> and December 1<sup>st</sup> 1970, the Chamber of Deputies approves the bill, already approved by the Senate on October 9<sup>th</sup>, governing the cases of dissolution of the marriage. The bill passed with 319 votes in favour and 286 against. Moreover, in the same session, the government placed the vote of confidence on the conversion into law of the anti-cyclical measures, the result was 341 votes for and 237 against. In those days, on the 25<sup>th</sup> November 1970, the President of the Republic Saragat appoints Pietro Nenni, the historical leader of the PSI, as senator for life.

The following year, on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1971, the composition of the cabinet changes, in fact, the PRI withdraws its representatives from the government, but it confirmed its external support to the majority.

In December, at the end of Saragat's mandate, the Parliament in joint session meets to elect the new head of state. At the first ballot, Francesco De Martino, the candidate of the left, gets 397 votes and Amintore Fanfani, DC candidate, receives 384 votes. In the following ballots, various *francs-tireurs* of the DC withdraw support from Fanfani. From the 7<sup>th</sup> ballot the DC abstains, however, it votes again for Fanfani at the 11<sup>th</sup> ballot, asking the support of the PSDI, the PRI and the PLI, but they deny it. Nonetheless, the Fanfani candidacy never exceeded 393 votes. So, the DC nominated Giovanni Leone, who is elected

President of the Republic at the 23<sup>rd</sup> ballot with 503 votes; while Nenni, the candidate of the left, gets 408 votes. Before the last ballot, Enrico Berlinguer met Aldo Moro to declare the PCI's willingness to vote for Giovanni Leone.

### **2.7.3. The reasons for the end of the government**

On 30<sup>th</sup> December 1971, the PRI decided to withdraw its support from the government. The decision was officialised on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 1972, when the secretary of the PRI communicated to the Prime Minister Emilio Colombo, the irrevocable decision of the forthcoming exit of the party from the executive, thus giving effect to the government crisis. Given the political crisis, the President of the Republic Saragat, in an interview re-confirmed the validity of the centre-left formula and the need to exclude the PCI from the government area, due to the persistence of its links with the Soviet Union. Hence, on the 21<sup>st</sup> January a new mandate is given to Emilio Colombo. However, a following meeting of the DC leadership, highlighted the persistence of strong disagreements between the various currents. Consequently, the incumbent Prime Minister Emilio Colombo had to resign on the 1<sup>st</sup> February 1972.

### 3. The 27<sup>th</sup> Government of Italian Republic;

#### 3.1. *The premises*

After the PRI withdraw its support from Colombo's government, the latter had to resign. Therefore, in order to solve the political crisis, the four centre-left parties met on the 9<sup>th</sup> February 1972<sup>67</sup>. The meeting recorded the impossibility of forming an organic centre-left government. In fact, only the PSDI agreed with the line of the newly appointed president, Giulio Andreotti, namely a DC-PSDI government with the external support of the PLI, in order to avoid the early elections.

Given the impossibility of forming a centre-left stable government in charge until 1973, the following day<sup>68</sup>, the management of the DC put forward three hypotheses for an "electoral government" (*governo elettorale*), the latter meaning a government that is formed with the goal of guiding the country to the polls. The three options were a single-colour DC government, that will convert the decrees into laws and guide the country to the early elections; a coalition government or sending back to parliament the Colombo Cabinet.

However, the preference for the single-color government emerges from the debate, even though Aldo Moro and others were contrary to it. In fact, all the interventions during the debate recommended trying first the coalition option, with a tripartite government (DC-PSDI-PSI), in order not to visibly interrupt the connection with the centre-left parties, with which, probably, the DC will form a government after the elections.

As a consequence, from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> February<sup>69</sup>, the president in charge, Giulio Andreotti, tries for the last time to verify the conditions for the formation of the government. Nonetheless, the most probable

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<sup>67</sup> As in «l'Unità», 10<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.12], ««Vertice»: nessun accordo tra i quattro partiti», and in «La Stampa», 10<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1-p.2], «Accordo impossibile. Si va verso le elezioni»

<sup>68</sup> As in «l'Unità», 11<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.12], «La DC tenterà nuove manovre», and in «La Stampa», 11<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1], «Le decisioni della dc. Il documento Giolitti»

<sup>69</sup> As in «l'Unità», 13<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.2 – p.18], «Le masse popolari condanno la svolta a destra voluta dalla D.C.», and in «La Stampa», 13<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1], «Ultimi colloqui di Andreotti. Governo nella settimana?»

option still remains the single-colour DC government, which at the motion of confidence will not obtain the votes of the centre-left and will refuse the votes of the right. This single-colour government was approved by the majority of the management of the DC, even though, given the situation, surely the government would not have passed the motion of confidence. In fact, in the DC, the representatives of the factions “*Basisti*”, “*Forze Nuove*” and “*Amici di Moro*” abstained from voting<sup>70</sup>.

The “*Basisti*” (literally “inside men”) faction was composed by people representing the “base” of the party, in opposition with the party’s general direction. The “*Forze Nuove*” (namely “new powers”) group was made by the left of DC, they were led by Carlo Donat-Cattin and were in opposition with the “*Dorotei*”. The “*Amici di Moro*” (literally “Moro’s friends”), were, of course, Moro’s supporters.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> February 1972, the single-color DC government presided by Giulio Andreotti takes office. Yet, the faction “*Forze nuove*” of Carlo Donat-Cattin, does not participate in the composition of the executive. On the same day it took office, the Council of Ministers decided that the referendum on the repeal of the law allowing divorce will be held on the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1972.

### **3.2. The parliamentary “Non-Confidence”;**

Andreotti’s first government presents itself at the Senate and at the Chamber of Deputies on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 1972<sup>71</sup>. In his speech, the President of the Council of Ministers underlined the temporary nature of the office and the fact that it will deal only with ordinary administration. In particular, it will focus on the powers of the Regions, the tax reform and the economic measures.

Despite the pressures coming from the context and the relevance of the issue for students and workers, coalized since 1968, the university reform, had been postponed, but a plan was to be set for new universities. According to the newspaper of the PCI, “*l’Unità*”, Andreotti confirmed the trend to the right of the DC, in his speech at the Parliament, in which he made no mention of any reformist orientation<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> As in «La Stampa», 16<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1], “Il via ad Andreotti per il «monocolore»”

<sup>71</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Camera dei Deputati, 545<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1972, and in “Senato della Repubblica, 592<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1972

<sup>72</sup> As in «l’Unità», 25<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.14], “Andreotti conferma in pieno la linea di destra della DC”

The former President of the Republic, Giuseppe Saragat, harshly criticized the single-color DC government, in fact, he claimed that “the current government is open to anything and closed to everything” (*“L’attuale governo è aperto a tutto e chiuso a tutto”*). He was so sceptical about it because this government did not give any political direction to the electorate, insofar as it was the first time that elections were called and there was no democratic coalition that guaranteed the majority and that had a common line to be able to govern the country.

Of course, many reprisals came from opposition, an example may be the declaration of the Senator Giuseppe di Prisco, Vice-President of PSIUP group, during the 596<sup>th</sup> Assembly of the V legislature, of the 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972, who said *“Il Governo monocolore che essa [the DC] oggi esprime, rappresenta una sfida per le masse popolari e per le forze politiche che le organizzano. A questa sfida, congiuntamente al forsennato attacco squadristico della destra fascista, vogliamo rispondere con la decisione e con la forza che una politica di unità delle sinistre [...]. Vi contrasteremo tenacemente, signori della Democrazia cristiana, signori del Governo, in questa linea di politica moderata, conservatrice, di destra e offriremo alle masse popolari, agli elettori ed alle elettrici del Paese quell’alternativa di governo [...]”*<sup>73</sup>.

Moreover, the President Emeritus of the Italian Republic affirmed that the only plus point of this executive was the fact that the MSI will vote against it. In those years Italy was facing a high level of unemployment rate and Saragat underlined the peril of having a mass of unemployed with no short-term perspective and open to the suggestions of the extremism (*“L’Italia corre il rischio di avere una massa di disoccupati priva di prospettive almeno per i tempi brevi e aperta a tutte le suggestioni degli estremismi.”*). For this reason, going to the polls with a coalition government was fundamental to indicate the direction to the voters.

Furthermore, the former Head of State believed in the impossibility of having a government constituted by the PCI, the PSI and the left factions of the DC. Likewise, it was considered anachronistic to have a centre coalition government, the best path was the centre-left<sup>74</sup>.

The various newspapers predicted that Andreotti’s executive would not pass the motion of confidence.

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<sup>73</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, “Senato della Repubblica, 596° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972.

<sup>74</sup> As in «La Stampa», 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1-p.12], “Un duro discorso di Saragat contro la dc ed il monocolore”

Indeed, it failed with 158 votes against and 151 votes for<sup>75</sup>, to have the majority, 155 votes were needed. The only external party that supported the government was the PLI, which shared its positions, and obviously the DC; all the other parties votes against it.

The government was criticized for constituting the first time, in the history of the post Second World War Italy, in which an executive presents itself to Parliament without being sure of passing the motion of confidence, on the contrary, the opposite was certain. To Saragat's statement about the importance of going to the polls with a coalition government, Andreotti answered mentioning another occasion, the elections of 1953, in which the country faced the polls with a solid quadripartite coalition, that afterwards crumbled.

Following the vote, Andreotti resigned, however, the President of the Republic Leone decided to make the Prime Minister remain in office to manage the ordinary administration until the elections<sup>76</sup>. A couple of days after, the President of the Republic, after having verified the impossibility of constituting a majority, decrees, for the first time in the Italian Republican history, the early dissolution of the Chambers. Therefore, the early elections were called for 7<sup>th</sup> May 1972.

### ***3.3. The composition of the Government;***

The 27<sup>th</sup> Government of the Italian Republic was, as previously mentioned, a single-color DC government. The President of the Council of Ministers was Giulio Andreotti, at his first mandate, the Ministers without Portfolio were Italo Giulio Caiati as Minister for extraordinary interventions in the South, Eugenio Gatto as Minister for the problems related to the implementation of the Regions, Fiorentino Sullo as Minister for Universities and Research and Remo Gaspari as Minister for the Administrative Reform. Moreover, the Presidency of the Italian Delegation at the UN was directed by Carlo Russo.

Aldo Moro was again the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mariano Rumor was the Minister of the Interior, Guido Gonella was the Minister of Grace and Justice and Franco Restivo was the Minister of Defence. Concerning the economy, the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning was headed by Paolo Emilio

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<sup>75</sup> Look at parliamentary documents, "Senato della Repubblica, 596<sup>o</sup> seduta, resoconto stenografico", 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972

<sup>76</sup> As in «l'Unità» 27<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1 – p.17], "Battuto il governo Andreotti al Senato. Il Paese chiamato a condannare la DC" «La Stampa», 27<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1-p.2], "Andreotti battuto. Elezioni a maggio"

Taviani, the Ministry of Finance by Giuseppe Pella and the Ministry of Treasury by Emilio Colombo. The Minister of Public Works was Mario Ferrari Aggradi, the Minister of Agriculture and Forests was Lorenzo Natali, the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation was Oscar Luigi Scalfaro and the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications was Giacinto Bosco. Furthermore, there were the Ministry of Public Instruction with Riccardo Misasi, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce with Silvio Gava, the Ministry of Health with Athos Valsecchi and the Ministry of Foreign Trade with Camillo Ripamonti. Lastly, the Ministry of Merchant Navy was headed by Gennaro Cassiani, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security by Carlo Donat-Cattin and the Ministry of Tourism and Events by Giovanni Battista Scaglia. Instead, the Minister of State Enterprises was Flaminio Piccoli, who was succeeded *ad interim* by Giulio Andreotti after the 31<sup>st</sup> May 1972.

### ***3.4. Andreotti and Europe;***

The newspaper «La Stampa» dedicated, on the 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972, an article<sup>77</sup> on the Italian crisis seen from the point of view of Europe. According to the article, in European politics, Italy counts for little, surely much less than it should, given its size. The article continues highlighting that the foreign policy is a vocation of the states, rather than of the people.

Therefore, a state that is distracted with too many internal problems, tends to be more an ‘object’ than a ‘subject’ of the international politics. The limited international influence of Italy was seen as a sign of its crisis, and the latter could also be read as a permanent instability.

Moreover, the permanent character of the Italian instability can have a double meaning, either that the Italian crisis never ends, or that this instability lasts over time (*“un’instabilità che dura”*). Besides, analysing the various parties, the frictions of the system can be easily highlighted. In fact, the Italian state sees a dichotomy between, on the one hand, the left, that has strong ties with the Soviet Union, and, on the other hand, the right which originates from Fascism. Hence, the two parties, the PCI and the MSI, tend to push Italy outside Europe, as it is with Spain, Greece and Yugoslavia.

Ernst Majonica, the German politician, also underlined that the Italian crisis is, first of all, a crisis of the

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<sup>77</sup> As in «La Stampa», 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972, [p.1-p.2], “La diagnosi di Bruxelles”

DC that is divided in too many factions. (*“La crisi italiana è, prima di tutto, crisi della DC, che ha troppe fazioni.”*) Amongst the causes of this political crisis, the excessive proportionality of the Italian electoral system, can be counted. This system tends, indeed to intensify the centrifugal tendencies inside the parties.

Focusing on the European side, the article claims that the regional policy of the EEC is inexistent. In those years, the modest proposals of the Commission in support of the underdeveloped areas, were blocked by France in the Council of Ministers of the EEC. France got Europe to finance its agricultural policy, Italy, on the contrary, did not request or obtain European resources to make the underdeveloped regions of the country grow. Nonetheless, the problem of the backwardness of Southern Italy must be taken into account for the social and political equilibrium of Europe.

Only in those years, Italy highlighted the necessity of a policy of regional development, as a condition to continue with the monetary and the economic union. However, to respect this initiative, the governments must be strong and united, and in order to exit this crisis, political stability is fundamental.

Furthermore, concerning Europe, it was the Andreotti I Cabinet to decide the adherence of Italy to the “snake in the tunnel”, that was the first experience of European monetary cooperation. Nevertheless, it was Andreotti himself who had to declare the exit of Italy from this economic cooperation, due to the weakness of the Italian *lira* and the difficulties in the relations between Italy and the European Community.

### **3.4.1. The Foreign Policy**

Andreotti deals, as a protagonist, with international politics, when, in 1972, he is called to lead an electoral government, to which the so-called "Andreotti-Malagodi" government will follow.

Despite the political weakness of the executive and serious economic difficulties of the country, Andreotti does not renounce in including Italy in the diplomatic initiatives. The latter, in those years, tend to bring the East and West closer after the years of the Cold War. In October 1972, he went to Moscow on an official visit, that aimed at analysing in depth the issue of organizing a multilateral initiative on security in Europe. The following matter will be addressed at the Helsinki conference of 1975.

A few months later, Andreotti, had a meeting with the President Richard Nixon at the White House. The meeting was aimed, also, at confirming the good relations with American authorities, in a difficult moment for relations between Italy and the United States.



The tensions in the relations between the two states originated from, on the one hand, an anti-Americanism, linked to the Vietnam War, that was growing in Italian public opinion, being the latter, after World War Two, strongly pacifist. On the other hand, because Washington did not hide its fears, that led sometimes to attempts to interfere, due to the growing influence of the PCI, still powerfully supported - politically, but also economically - by the Soviet Union, in Italian political affairs.

After Andreotti's visit at the White House, the President Nixon, in 1973, would have said "after having spoken with him, I can say that he continues De Gasperi's work, he is a strong man, of those that are necessary to the country, to the people, to the free world"<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> Messa Paolo (intervento di), "Giulio Andreotti e gli Stati Uniti", Istituto Luigi Sturzo, 13<sup>th</sup> January 2017

## 4. Conclusions;

As seen in the previous chapters, the fifth parliamentary term was one of the most important and troubled of the history of the Italian Republic. This legislature, in fact, has seen the succession of six governments. Starting with the Leone II Cabinet, up to the formation, albeit precarious, of the first government, presided by who would have been one of the major protagonists, amongst lights and shadows<sup>79</sup>, of the history of our country, Giulio Andreotti. Numerous and relevant are the measures adopted by this legislature, a particularly significant example being that of the law on divorce. From this standpoint, it is noticed a step forward towards a strong innovation of the country, not only from the internal point of view, but also from the perspective of the external image of the country. Nevertheless, the numerous governments that have alternated during the legislature have rarely been able to understand the profound transformations, social, historical and cultural of the period, the demand and the need for change, the cry for help of a society that, indeed, it has often been severely repressed.

Concerning, instead, the purely "political" aspect, we can affirm that, given the crisis of the centre-left, which persisted from the moment, before the formation and then the crisis, of the Leone II Cabinet, one could understand how precarious could be the internal equilibriums of the majority. The latter being born and dying with the DC alone to the government, but that, throughout the legislature, would have expanded and reduced several times.

It is otherwise true that these changes were nothing other than the mirror of a society that was, also, going through a period of particular complexity and significant transitions. The years of the fifth Italian Parliamentary Term are, in fact, characterized, on the one hand, by the students protests of 1968, on the other hand, by the workers' protests of the "Hot Autumn". In May 1968, approximately all the Italian universities had been occupied, however, in most cases the State answered to the student's issues with repression and the use of the public power. Moreover, in 1969 there was an outburst of factory workers' strikes, which united with the students' movement, that contested the backwardness and insufficiency of the contents on which

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<sup>79</sup> Montanaro Silvestro e Ruotolo Sandro (presentazione di), "La vera storia d'Italia: interrogatori, testimonianze, riscontri, analisi: Giancarlo Caselli e i suoi sostituti ricostruiscono gli ultimi vent'anni di storia italiana", Napoli, Tullio Pironti, 1995

public education was based, and claimed the extension of the right to education to young people of poor economic status. Hence, the main requests of the student movement were a generalized education and a renovation in the university system. The peculiarity of the Italian protests of 1968 was the presence of young workers siding with the students in the protests, the students and workers world were united in the request for reforms. Some of the workers' requests were accepted, such as an increase in the salaries, assembly rights and a decrease in working hours. Furthermore, during the Hot Autumn the foundations of the Workers' Statute were laid, which was then signed in 1970. The repression of the student revolt, on the contrary, led to a radicalization of the demands that then resulted in the terrorism of the Years of Lead.

Concerning the parliamentary majorities, the Leone II Cabinet was a single-color DC government, instead, with the Rumor's first government the majority extended to the PSI and the PRI. Then, the Rumor II Cabinet will once again return to a single colour, looking forward to the establishment of a new centre-left. While, Rumor's third government will see the PSI and the PRI return to government with the DC, this time supported by the PSU, born the next day of the socialist split. The Colombo Cabinet will be formed with the same majority, which, once it has failed, will lead to the end of the government and the formation of the first government presided by Andreotti, which will be a single-colour DC executive.

The last chapter paid particular attention to the Andreotti I Cabinet, that was an "electoral government", composed only by the DC, and it aimed at guiding the country to the polls and convert decrees into laws. This single-colour government was born from the impossibility of forming a stable centre-left executive, hence the Christian Democrats chose this option. However, it did not pass the motion of confidence, being it supported externally only by the liberals, thus, its powers were limited to the ordinary administration. Moreover, the decision to form this government was strongly criticized by the former President of the Republic, Giuseppe Saragat, since, with a view to the future elections of 1972, it did not indicate any political direction to the electorate. Also, the PCI, through the newspaper *l'Unità*, condemned this choice and claimed that through this executive the DC asserted its tendency to the right. After the vote of no confidence and having established the impossibility of forming a new government with a solid majority, the President of the Republic called for the first early elections in the history of the Republic, these will be followed by the Andreotti II Cabinet, or "Andreotti-Malagodi" government.

Andreotti's first government paved the way to a season that, although controversial, would have been one of the most important in the history of the Italian Republic, both internally and internationally. It would

have been the first of the 7 governments led by the *"divo"*. Andreotti was a leading figure in the history of the Italian Republic, he was the only Italian politician who was already a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1946, and would always have been a member of Parliament since its formation, in 1948, until 2013, when Andreotti's death occurred. He participated in ten national political elections, being the candidate with the highest number of preferences in Italy on four occasions, in 1958, in 1972, in 1979 and in 1987. Moreover, in 1991, he was appointed senator for life by the President of the Republic Francesco Cossiga. Andreotti was also the politician with the largest number of government posts in the history of the Republic. He was, in fact, seven times President of the Council of Ministers, supported by the right, with Malagodi, in the early seventies and with the backing of the left, with Berlinguer's PCI in the middle '70s. Furthermore, he was eight times Minister of Defence; five times Minister of Foreign Affairs; three times Minister of State Enterprises; twice Minister of Finance, Minister of Budget and Economic Planning and Minister of Industry and Commerce; once Minister of Treasury, Minister for Cultural Heritage and Environment (*ad interim*) and Minister of Community Policies. Lastly, he also led once the Ministry of the Interior and in holding this post he was the youngest in the Republican history, only thirty-five years old<sup>80</sup>.

Andreotti has always been considered as a cynical figure, and this characteristic has contributed to fuelling the fame of a cold politician. However, in this cynicism, there was a veil of irony from which hundreds of mottos and aphorisms were born, some of the most famous were *"Il potere logora chi non ce l'ha"* (Power wears out those who do not have it), or *"amo talmente tanto la Germania che ne preferivo due"* (I love so much Germany that I preferred two), commenting on the German re-unification<sup>81</sup>.

That of the Andreotti's first government was the third longest government crisis in the history of the Italian Republic, which lasted 121 days. The longest crisis was that of the Dini government, which lasted 127 days, followed by the crisis of the Andreotti V Cabinet, lasting 126. The crisis of the first Andreotti government, however, was longer than that of the Prodi II Cabinet, which lasted 104 days. In all these cases, the crises led to the early dissolution of the two Chambers of Parliament and the end of the legislature. In fact, as we know, in the period between the resignation of an executive and the entry into operation of the

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<sup>80</sup> Barone Mario, Di Nolfo Ennio (a cura di), "Giulio Andreotti: l'uomo, il cattolico, lo statista", Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2010

<sup>81</sup> Franco Massimo, "C'era una volta Andreotti: ritratto di un uomo, di un'epoca e di un Paese", Milano, Solferino, 2018.

subsequent government, the former can only perform functions of "ordinary administration" or "*affari correnti*".

Furthermore, Andreotti is the President of the Council of Ministers who, in the framework of his mandates, remained in office longer without a parliamentary majority. In fact, his mandate was limited just to the "ordinary administration" for 454 days, or about 22.5% of all similar periods in the history of the Republic.

So far, Andreotti is the third Prime Minister to remain in office longer, with 2,669 days, distributed among his seven mandates, even more than Aldo Moro, with 2,277 days divided into five mandates. The President of the Council of Ministers who held this position longer is Silvio Berlusconi with 3,300 days in four governments, and the second is Alcide De Gasperi with 2,808 days in eight governments<sup>82</sup>.

Moreover, we can affirm that Andreotti holds the record in the relationship between the period of government in full function and the period of government limited to the ordinary administration.

From the point of view of continuity in governing, on the other hand, the period between the Andreotti I and II Cabinet, although in between the V and the VI Parliamentary Term, ranks fifth, after the first three Rumor Governments, also included in the V legislature, and subjects of numerous and widespread references in the second chapter of our work. The three Presidents of the Council who remained in office longer, however, were Alcide De Gasperi, from 1945 to 1953, Amintore Fanfani, from 1960 to 1963, and Aldo Moro, from 1963 to 1968.

We can therefore assert that, even though it is the shortest government in the history of the Italian Republic, the Andreotti I Cabinet, immediately followed by the II, would have inaugurated a new season for Italian politics, a season which, although controversially characterized by numerous shadows and lights, it would have lasted until 1992, with "*Mani pulite*" and the end of the so-called "First Republic".

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<sup>82</sup> As in «La Stampa», 16th November 2011, [online], "Le Crisi di Governo italiane dal 1946 ad oggi".

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- 26<sup>th</sup> September 1969, [Corriere milanese p.8], “La Pirelli ha riaperto gli stabilimenti”
- 8<sup>th</sup> October 1969, [p.1-p.2], “De Martino negativo sul rilancio del quadripartito”
- 9<sup>th</sup> November 1969, [p.1-p.2], “Accordo per gli edili”

### **5.3.4. Il Popolo**

- 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1 - p.3-p.4 - p.5], “Rumor ha costituito il nuovo Governo. Venerdì la presentazione alle Camere”
- 31<sup>st</sup> August 1969, [p.1], “Esercizio di responsabilità”
- 13<sup>th</sup> December 1969, [p.1-p.3-p.6], “Il paese reagirà con fermezza contro chi attenta alla democrazia”
- 8<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.7], “La D.C. soddisfatta per l’avvio delle trattative quadripartite”

- 13<sup>th</sup> February 1970, [p.1-p.9], “Conferito a Rumor l’incarico per il Governo quadripartito”
- 1<sup>st</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.9], “Rumor rinuncia all’incarico. Domani nuove consultazioni”
- 4<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.7], “Affidato all’on. Moro l’incarico di prendere contatti per il Governo”
- 6<sup>th</sup> March 1970, [p.1-p.7], “Si è conclusa la prima fase delle consultazioni di Moro”

### **5.3.5. Avanti!**

- 6<sup>th</sup> August 1969, [p.1-p.8], “I ministri del nuovo governo”
- 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1969, [p.1 – p.8], “Positivi per l’Europa i colloqui Moro-Brandt”

## **5.4. Parliamentary documents**

### **5.4.1. Senato della Repubblica**

- “295° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1960
- 76° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 21<sup>st</sup> December 1963
- “165° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 1<sup>st</sup> August 1964
- “1° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1968
- “7° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1968
- “52° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1968
- “165° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 12<sup>th</sup> August 1969
- “265° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1970
- “314° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1970
- “592° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1972
- “596° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1972

#### **5.4.2. Camera dei Deputati**

- “9° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1953
- “83° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1954
- “222° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1960
- “82° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 17<sup>th</sup> December 1963
- “179° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1964
- “1° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1968
- “9° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 11<sup>th</sup> July 1968
- “20° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 29<sup>th</sup> August 1968
- “21° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1968
- “61° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1968
- “138° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 29<sup>th</sup> May 1969
- “160° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1969
- “265° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1970
- “320° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 12<sup>th</sup> August 1970
- “545° seduta, resoconto stenografico”, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1972

## 6. Sintesi dell'elaborato

### 6.1. Introduzione

In un contesto caratterizzato da una crisi economica progressivamente più allarmante, e da situazioni di disagio sociale irrisolte, dilagano i fermenti di cambiamento, le proteste, le rivendicazioni sindacali. La contestazione giovanile che divampa nelle università e nelle scuole all'insegna della richiesta di riforme e di un diritto allo studio generalizzato, si intreccia con la protesta operaia "dell'autunno caldo" del 1969, in un inasprirsi di toni che sfocia spesso nella violenza e nel sangue. Rilevanti furono gli episodi di Battipaglia in cui ci furono incidenti con due morti nell'aprile 1969 e l'uccisione della guardia Annaruma durante una manifestazione a Milano nel novembre 1969.

In questo contesto prendono vita le prime formazioni extraparlamentari e si insinuano i germi del terrorismo; il 12 dicembre 1969 avviene la strage di piazza Fontana a Milano, con la tragica appendice dell'assassinio del commissario Calabresi nel maggio 1972 o del marzo 1972, la morte di Gian Giacomo Feltrinelli mentre preparava un attentato a Segrate.

Intanto a Reggio Calabria (luglio 1970) infuria per mesi la protesta popolare, espressione di profonda insoddisfazione sociale - nella quale si inserisce la strumentalizzazione politica - che la mancata designazione della città a capoluogo della Regione fa esplodere.

Nello stesso anno, il 1° dicembre 1970 viene approvata la legge Fortuna-Baslini riguardante l'introduzione del divorzio, il quale suscitò molte tensioni e polemiche.

La politica stenta a fronteggiare questo scenario. I risultati delle elezioni del maggio 1968 segnano un complessivo spostamento a sinistra dell'elettorato, con l'avanzata del Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) e l'affermazione del Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria (PSIUP), mentre la sconfitta del Partito Socialista Unificato (PSU) riapre le spaccature fra la componente socialista (dove si parla di "equilibri più avanzati" verso il PCI) e quella socialdemocratica: tornano a formarsi due partiti distinti. In questo periodo, tuttavia, vengono realizzate importanti riforme: dallo Statuto dei lavoratori all'avvio delle Regioni, all'introduzione del Servizio sanitario nazionale.

Del quadro di instabilità risentono gli equilibri di governo. Mariano Rumor presiede tre esecutivi in uno scenario di rapporti difficili all'interno della maggioranza di cui appaiono significativa testimonianza, fra l'altro, i contrasti che coincidono con l'elezione del nuovo Presidente della Repubblica, Giovanni Leone. Nel 1971, Presidente del Consiglio diventa Emilio Colombo al quale l'anno successivo succederà Giulio Andreotti che formerà un governo di minoranza per arrivare alle elezioni anticipate.

## ***6.2. La V Legislatura***

Il dato principale delle elezioni politiche del 1968 è il fallimento dell'unificazione socialista. I risultati alla Camera vedono il PSU prendere 4.603.192 voti, pari al 14,5%, 91 seggi, ciò costituisce una perdita di oltre il 5% rispetto alla somma dei voti che il Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) e il Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (PSDI) avevano nelle elezioni del 1963. Avanzano il PCI con 8.551.347 voti, pari al 26,9%, 177 seggi, quindi un più di 1,6% e la Democrazia Cristiana (DC) con 12.437.848 voti, pari al 39,1%, 266 seggi, più 0,8%. Il Partito Liberale Italiano (PLI) ottiene 1.850.650 voti, pari al 5,8%, 31 seggi. Il PSIUP, alle sue prime elezioni politiche, con 1.414.697 voti si attesta al 4,5%, 23 seggi. Flette, invece, il Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) con 1.414.036 voti, pari al 4,4%, 24 seggi, quindi, quasi un punto in meno. Il Partito Repubblicano Italiano (PRI) riceve 626.533 voti, pari al 2,0%, 9 seggi. Al Senato, ottiene un grande successo la lista PCI – PSIUP - Indipendenti di sinistra che raggiunge il 30% con 101 seggi. La DC ottiene 10.972.114 voti, pari al 38,3%, 135 seggi; il PSU, con 4.354.906 voti, pari al 15,2%, 46 seggi. Il PLI, riceve, invece, 1.943.795 voti, pari al 6,8%, 16 seggi e il MSI, 1.304.847 voti, pari al 4,6%, 11 seggi. Il PRI con 601.500 voti, pari al 2,1%, 2 seggi, viene per la prima volta rappresentato al Senato.

Le Elezioni del 19 maggio 1968 portano alla formazione di sei Governi: Leone II (24 giugno 1968 - 12 dicembre 1969), Rumor (12 dicembre 1968 - 8 agosto 1969), Rumor II (9 agosto 1969 - 27 marzo 1970), Rumor III (27 marzo 1970 - 6 agosto 1970), Colombo (6 agosto 1970 - 17 febbraio 1972), Andreotti (17 febbraio 1972 - 26 giugno 1972). Inoltre, nella V Legislatura, il 24 dicembre 1971, viene eletto il sesto Presidente della Repubblica Italiana, Giovanni Leone.

Il governo Leone II è un esecutivo monocolore DC, sostenuto dall'astensione del PSU, del PRI e del gruppo del Sudtirolo. Esso deve fronteggiare le proteste studentesche e dell'autunno caldo, che



caratterizzano tra l'altro tutta la V Legislatura. Gli scioperi organizzati dai sindacati, coinvolgevano spesso una mole ingente di persone, che costrinse anche la polizia ad intervenire in più occasioni. Durante il suo esecutivo, viene discussa la possibilità di approvare un'amnistia per i reati politici; nel corso del dibattito, il governo comunica che dall'ottobre 1966 a giugno 1968, sono stati intentati circa diecimila processi contro operai e studenti. Di conseguenza, nell'ottobre 1968, il Senato approva in via definitiva la proposta di amnistia per i reati politici. Grazie ad essa, decadono centinaia di procedimenti avviati negli ultimi mesi nei confronti degli studenti protagonisti delle occupazioni universitarie, delle lotte nelle scuole medie superiori e delle varie manifestazioni studentesche. Nonostante l'amnistia, le occupazioni delle scuole e gli scioperi non diminuirono; si verificarono, inoltre, degli attentati terroristici in alcune scuole di Roma, che furono attribuiti ad Avanguardia Nazionale. Il Governo Leone II si conclude sulla base della disponibilità manifestata dal PRI, dal PSI e dalla DC di dar vita a una più ampia maggioranza.

Il primo governo Rumor nasce da una maggioranza formata da DC, PSI e PRI. Nell'aprile 1969, a Battipaglia, ci fu una manifestazione contro la chiusura di una fabbrica di tabacco. Tuttavia, allargando il quadro, la popolazione stava protestando contro la condizione di crisi economica in cui si trovava l'Italia meridionale. Durante la protesta, la polizia sparò ai manifestanti, causando la morte di un tipografo e di un insegnante, che non erano coinvolti nella protesta. Altre proteste si susseguirono in tutto il paese; a Milano, esse hanno portato a scontri con la polizia e una bomba esplose alla Borsa. Inoltre, durante questo esecutivo è sancito l'inizio della discussione della proposta di legge sul divorzio, il testo esaminato vede la convergenza di PSI, PCI, PSIUP, PRI e PLI; invece, contro l'inizio della discussione votano DC, MSI e monarchici. Il governo cadrà in seguito alla scissione del partito socialista.

Il governo Rumor II è un monocolore DC, un governo d'attesa in vista di un'eventuale riproposizione del centro-sinistra che intanto può contare sul voto favorevole del PSI e del PSU mentre il PRI si astiene. L'esecutivo dovette fronteggiare vari scioperi degli operai edili, e dopo due mesi di lotta e dieci giornate di sciopero fu siglato il nuovo contratto di lavoro per 900 mila edili, il primo dell'«autunno caldo». Alla fine del mese di novembre 1969 Aldo Moro, Ministro degli Esteri italiano, e Kurt Waldheim, Ministro degli Esteri austriaco, raggiungono un accordo sui tempi di applicazione del «Pacchetto Alto Adige». Successivamente, il 1° dicembre al vertice del L'Aia, i capi di Stato e di governo dei paesi membri della Comunità europea confermano la volontà di procedere verso la realizzazione di un'Unione economica monetaria e un'armonizzazione delle politiche sociali. Si dichiarano, inoltre, d'accordo sul principio

dell'allargamento della Comunità. Il giorno successivo, nel Parlamento italiano ha luogo la discussione relativa allo statuto dei lavoratori, che si sarebbe conclusa, con l'approvazione dello stesso nella giornata dell'11 dicembre, al Senato. Il governo si conclude poiché i quattro partiti del centro sinistra (DC- PSI - PSU – PRI) raggiungono un'intesa di massima sulla formazione di un nuovo governo con una maggioranza più solida.

Il 27 Marzo 1970 Mariano Rumor presenta al Presidente della Repubblica il suo III governo, una coalizione formata da DC, PSI, PSU e PRI, in tal modo viene ripristinata la formula di centro-sinistra. Si svolgono, il 7 e l'8 giugno, le prime elezioni dei Consigli regionali nelle Regioni a statuto ordinario. Nelle stesse giornate si vota anche per il rinnovo dei Consigli provinciali e comunali. Analizzando i risultati elettorali, si nota che il PSI nonostante la scissione si attesta al 10,4% mentre il Partito socialdemocratico ottiene il 7%. Alle politiche del 1968 i due partiti unificati avevano ottenuto il 14,5%. Il PSIUP subisce un arretramento passando dal 4,4% del 1968 al 3,2%. In leggero regresso, anche, la DC e il PCI che recupera in parte a svantaggio del PSIUP. Aumenta di quasi un 1% il MSI e perdono il PLI e i monarchici. Il 6 luglio 1970, Rumor si dimette, visti i rapporti tesi con i sindacati.

A seguito del governo Rumor III, Emilio Colombo forma un governo di centro-sinistra, DC-PSI- PSU e PRI. Tra il 24 novembre ed il 1° dicembre 1970, la Camera approva la proposta di legge, già deliberata dal Senato il 9 ottobre, disciplinante i casi di scioglimento del matrimonio. La legge viene approvata alla Camera con 319 voti a favore e 286 voti contrari. Nella stessa seduta il governo pone la fiducia sulla conversione in legge sui provvedimenti anticongiunturali; la fiducia ottiene 341 voti a favore e 237 contrari. Il primo marzo 1971 il PRI ritira i propri rappresentanti dal governo, confermando, tuttavia, il proprio appoggio esterno alla maggioranza. A dicembre il Parlamento in seduta comune si riunisce per eleggere il nuovo capo dello Stato. L'elezione del Capo dello Stato è travagliata e solamente al 23° scrutinio, la DC candida Giovanni Leone che viene eletto presidente con 503 voti mentre Nenni, candidato delle sinistre, ottiene 408 voti. Prima dell'ultimo scrutinio Enrico Berlinguer incontra Aldo Moro per dichiarargli la disponibilità del PCI a votarlo. Il governo Colombo si conclude quando il 30 dicembre, il PRI decide di ritirare il proprio appoggio al governo, il quale viene ufficialmente meno dal 7 gennaio 1972.

### **6.2.1. Andreotti nella V legislatura**

Andreotti lascia il governo (dopo qualche mese ancora come Ministro dell'Industria nel secondo

governo Leone, dal giugno al dicembre 1968), quando a Palazzo Chigi subentra Mariano Rumor e viene eletto presidente del Gruppo democristiano alla Camera con 168 su 264. Lo rimarrà fino al febbraio del 1972 venendo riconfermato due volte con 210 voti su 265 e 223 su 264.

Nel luglio del 1970, entrato in crisi il terzo governo Rumor, il presidente della Repubblica Saragat affida ad Andreotti l'incarico di formare un nuovo esecutivo composto da DC, PSI, PSDI e PRI. Incarico fallito, soprattutto per l'ostilità dei socialdemocratici che accusavano il presidente incaricato di tendenze filo-socialiste. Alla rinuncia di Andreotti, al suo posto subentra, con successo, Emilio Colombo. Sull'alleanza di governo Andreotti non nasconde le critiche a proposito dell'atteggiamento socialista, che rivendica mani libere negli accordi in periferia con il PCI, nonostante l'alleanza con la DC a livello nazionale, negando un'analoga libertà ai democristiani. Fu allora che Andreotti lanciò la immagine dei "due forni", tornata di attualità negli anni successivi.

Da capogruppo, Andreotti si trovò ad affrontare una questione difficile come quella dell'approvazione della legge per l'introduzione del divorzio, particolarmente spinosa per i deputati democristiani. In aggiunta alle ragioni di principio, Andreotti avversava la proposta Fortuna-Baslini giudicandola anticostituzionale. Era, inoltre, particolarmente preoccupato per le conseguenze che avrebbe potuto avere il referendum per l'abrogazione della legge, anche per questo intervenne con una sua originale proposta di mediazione cui affiancò la pubblicazione di un libro - "I minibigami" - dedicato al tema dello scioglimento del matrimonio religioso. Si sarebbe trattato di limitare la possibilità di divorzio ai matrimoni non contratti in chiesa. Tuttavia, la proposta non ebbe successo, fu accusata dai divorzisti di creare disparità e dagli antidivorzisti di lassismo.

Di fronte alla nuova crisi di governo nel febbraio del 1972, è di nuovo la volta di Andreotti, al quale il Presidente Leone torna ad affidare l'incarico di formare un esecutivo. Il quadro politico non sembrava offrire soluzioni praticabili, infatti, il compito del presidente incaricato era di verificare l'ineluttabilità delle elezioni anticipate. Andreotti, primo romano ad assumere la guida del governo del Paese, si presentò al Parlamento con un governo monocolore DC che incontrava il consenso dei liberali e l'opposizione degli altri partiti, nonché riserve anche in seno alle correnti di sinistra della DC.

### **6.3. *Il Primo Governo Andreotti***

Dopo aver verificato l'impossibilità di formare un governo di coalizione DC – PSDI – PSI, si procede con il monocolore DC, di cui, tuttavia, erano alte le probabilità che non riuscisse a superare lo scoglio della fiducia in Parlamento. Il governo si presentò alle Camere il 24 febbraio 1972, e nel suo discorso, il Presidente del Consiglio mise l'accento “sulla proposta di amministrare la cosa pubblica per il tempo strettamente necessario e di consentire un chiarimento di fondo per dare modo di ravvicinare tutte le forze politiche democratiche”. Quindi, Andreotti sottolineò la natura temporanea dell'esecutivo che si occuperà soltanto di ordinaria amministrazione. Nel dettaglio, verranno trattate le deleghe per le Regioni, la riforma tributaria e i provvedimenti economici; la riforma universitaria, invece, verrà rinviata, ma si studierà un piano per le nuove Università.

Il nuovo governo fu duramente criticato da «l'Unità», poiché si riteneva che questo esecutivo confermasse la linea di destra della DC. Anche Saragat, il Presidente emerito della Repubblica Italiana, disapprovò il monocolore presieduto da Andreotti, e riteneva che il suo unico punto a favore fosse il voto contrario del MSI.

Il Presidente del Consiglio ritenne, inoltre, di dover dare un riconoscimento di legittimità democratica piena ai liberali. Il governo, però, non superò lo scoglio della fiducia. Venne battuto al Senato con 152 voti a favore e 158 contro, per avere la maggioranza erano richiesti 155 voti. Leone sciolse le Camere e indisse le elezioni anticipate per il 7 maggio 1972, respingendo le dimissioni di Andreotti che rimase in carica per l'ordinaria amministrazione, ricoprendo anche per un breve periodo l'incarico di Ministro delle Partecipazioni Statali dopo le dimissioni di Piccoli, eletto capogruppo dei deputati DC.

Per quanto riguarda la politica estera, fu il primo governo Andreotti a decidere l'adesione dell'Italia al “serpente monetario”, anche se fu lo stesso Andreotti a dover decretare l'uscita per la debolezza della lira e per le difficoltà nei rapporti fra Italia e Comunità europea.