



1861–1961

Centennial Celebration

of the Unification of Italy

PROGRAM

of the Ceremony held under the patronage of

The President of the United States of America

and

The President of the Republic of Italy

Washington, D. C. *Thursday, March 16, 1961*

The American Honorary Committee for the Italian Centennial

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CENTENNIAL OF THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the Centennial of the unification of Italy, which occurs in 1961, commemorates a great event in the history of nations; and

WHEREAS, in the observance of the Centennial, there will be many celebrations in Italy, in the United States and in many other countries as events of a century ago are relived; and

WHEREAS we in America are confident that the people of Italy, in the celebrations reenacting the events and experiences associated with their struggle for unification a century ago, will find renewed strength to further their vital contributions to the cause of freedom; and

WHEREAS it is the sense of the Congress, expressed by House Concurrent Resolution 225, agreed to July 2, 1960, that the President extend official greetings from the United States to the people of Italy on the occasion of the Centennial of unification of Italy;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, do hereby extend greetings and felicitations from the people of the United States to the people of Italy on the occasion of the Centennial of the unification of Italy, in recognition of the progress and achievements of the Italian people during the past century and the bonds of friendship between our two nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE *at the City of Washington this eighth day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.*

By the President:
John F. Kennedy

Secretary of State:
Dean Rusk

MESSAGE BY THE HONORABLE GIOVANNI GRONCHI
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

To The Chairman,
American Honorary Committee for
The Italian Centennial,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Chairman:

I am happy to address, through your courtesy, the good wishes and greetings of the Italian people, as well as my own, to the American Committee for the Italian Centennial and to all those—Americans and Italians—who have participated with such spontaneous enthusiasm in the celebration on American soil of this day which has such lofty significance for the history of my country.

I address my gratitude particularly to the President of the United States, who has consented to attend these ceremonies, as well as to the Members of Congress, the Governors, the Mayors, the educational and cultural institutions, the public and private officials, to the numerous committees from all over America who joined in commemorating our anniversary.

The great American nation, which has such a high sense of liberty, recognized in the events that 100 years ago led to the unity of the Italian people the selfsame yearning for independence which led to the birth of the United States.

Thus, the tribute being paid in America to our Risorgimento, whose anniversary is being celebrated throughout Italy with great solemnity, is a new expression of the spirit which increasingly binds the peoples of our two countries in their determination to enhance, both now and in the future, the values of a free civilization. At the same time, these observances which unite Americans and Italians underscore those sentiments of confident friendship which opened the doors many years ago to the constructive contributions of Italians to life in the United States.

Please accept, Mr. Chairman, the gratitude of the Italian people and of myself and kindly convey it to all those who in response to the Committee's appeal are today celebrating this joyful anniversary of our national unity.

Gronchi

Quirinale Palace,
Rome, March, 1961

MESSAGE BY THE HONORABLE AMINTORE FANFANI
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

To The Chairman,
American Honorary Committee for
The Italian Centennial,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Chairman:

We, in Italy, are deeply moved by the thought that on March 16 the Centennial of the Unification of Italy will be observed in the City of Washington for the first time in a foreign country.

It is highly significant that the United States, whose own history is based upon the respect of freedom and a sense of independence, so promptly realized the import of that long and hard struggle which led to Italian Unity one hundred years ago, through strife and suffering, through the deep beliefs of our people, the sacrifice and martyrdom of the brave, the able and patient efforts of our leaders.

I believe the reason for this understanding lies in the similarity of historic events, in the common struggle for the same goals and in the active participation of Americans and Italians in the development of both countries. All this stirred in the hearts of the people of the United States the memory of the years when the new Italy was born and a friendship was started, which never died.

The warm American participation in the observance of our Centennial adds to the many ties already existing between our two countries a new bond which strengthens their determination to persist in the defense of the common ideals of the two nations.

I am therefore extremely happy to convey the greetings and the appreciation of the Italian government, as well as my personal thanks, to you, Mr. Chairman, to the American Committee for the Italian Centennial and to all those — Americans and Italians — who joined in the observance of this solemn Anniversary in your country.

I wish particularly to extend my grateful respects to the President of the United States, who graciously consented to honor the ceremony with his presence, to the Diplomatic Corps, the Members of the Congress, the Governors, the Mayors, the various institutions, committees and personalities that in Washington and all over America are celebrating our Centennial.

I am happy to express my heartfelt thanks and those of the Italian Government to them all.

A. Fanfani

Rome, March, 1961

PROGRAM OF THE CEREMONY

10:00 A.M. — *Prelude* — Italian and American musical selections of the XIX Century

The Orchestra of the U.S. Marine Band
Lt. Col. Albert T. Schoepper, USMC, Director, Conducting

10:30 A.M. — Arrival of the President of the United States
National Anthems

Invocation by

H.E. THE MOST REV. PATRICK O'BOYLE
Archbishop of Washington

Opening Remarks by the

HONORABLE VICTOR L. ANFUSO, MC
Chairman of the American Honorary Committee for the Italian Centennial

Special Messages read by

H.E. MANLIO BROSIO
Ambassador of Italy to the United States

Address by the

HONORABLE PROF. GAETANO MARTINO
Member of the Italian Parliament, Head of the Italian Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly

Address by the

HONORABLE JOHN F. KENNEDY
President of the United States

11:15 A.M. — *Recital* of Italian Operatic Music

Miss Renata Tebaldi, *Soprano*
Mr. Franco Corelli, *Tenor*
Mrs. Alberta Masiello, *at the piano*

1. Giuseppe Verdi — From *"I Lombardi"* (1843):
"La mia letizia infondere"
(Mr. Corelli)

2. Giuseppe Verdi — From *"La Forza del Destino"* (1862):
"Pace, Pace, mio Dio!"
(Miss Tebaldi)

3. Umberto Giordano — From *"Andrea Chénier"* (1896):
Final duet
(Miss Tebaldi and Mr. Corelli)

"I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata", one of Verdi's earliest operas, was the first to cause him difficulties with the censor in Milan. He stood firm against all demands and agreed to change only one word of the text. The opera — which includes one of the most popular and patriotic melodies of the Risorgimento, the chorus "O Signore, dal tetto natio" — had an enthusiastic reception at "La Scala" on February 11, 1843.

"La Forza del Destino" was composed by the newly appointed Senator Verdi shortly after the Unification and was first performed in St. Petersburg on November 10, 1862. It marks the transition from his second manner, characterized by the frankly popular vein and the pre-eminence of theatrical effects, to the search for a new, less conventional form, escaping the tyranny of pure lyricism. The intensely expressive aria "Pace, pace, mio Dio" clearly illustrates this evolution.

"Andrea Chénier", Giordano's most successful opera, inspired by the French Revolution, was first performed at "La Scala" in March 1896. Its famous, lively final duet "Vicino a te t'acquieta" shows the exuberant gift of melody, typical of his Southern temperament.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

On March 17, 1861, in the City of Turin, Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy, King of Sardinia, signed an Act passed a few days earlier by both Houses of the first Italian Parliament. This Act consisted of one simple, brief article which stated:

"Victor Emmanuel II assumes for himself and for his successors the title of King of Italy."

In this solemn document the Monarch called himself "King of Italy by the grace of God and the will of the Nation."

Thus the Kingdom of Italy was officially proclaimed and for the first time in her 3000-year history Italy entered the community of nations as an independent and unified State. It included the territories ruled until then by the House of Savoy (Piedmont, Liguria and Sardinia), the Province of Lombardy (freed from Austrian domination in 1859) and the other peninsular and insular regions which had unanimously requested, in a series of plebiscites held in 1859 and 1860, their annexation to Piedmont. These regions were: the formerly independent duchies of Tuscany, Modena and Parma, the Papal Provinces of Romagna, Umbria and the Marches, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Southern Italy and Sicily) formerly ruled by the Bourbons.

The new State, however, did not yet include all territories lying within the natural and historical boundaries of Italy. The Venetian Region was annexed in 1866 and the Papal State in 1870. The Nation's Capital, moved from Turin to Florence in June 1865, was solemnly transferred to Rome on July 1, 1871. It was not until the end of World War I (which the Italians regard as their 4th and last War of Independence) that territorial unification was completed. The Northeastern provinces (Trento, Bolzano and Trieste) under the Hapsburg rule were finally liberated and annexed in 1918.

Today's ceremony recalls the events which led to the unification in 1861 and commemorates the men who awakened and guided the Italian people to the achievement of their national ideal in the fateful decades of the Risorgimento (1820-1860).

The current celebrations began in Italy in 1959 on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the second War of Independence, which started the final drive toward unity. Centennial observances are being held this year in virtually every Italian city, as well as throughout the United States and in many other foreign countries.

To Turin, cradle of the Risorgimento, belongs the honor of organizing the major celebrations. An "Historical Exhibition of Italian Unity" will be held there from May 1 to October 31. For the same period two other exhibitions are scheduled: one showing the rich cultural patrimony of each of the 19 Italian Regions, the other ("International Labor Exhibition") outlining the role of man's labor in the shaping of the past century. More than 20 Countries will be represented in Turin. The participation of the United States was decided by the 86th Congress in House Concurrent Resolution 225. Its text is reproduced on the following page.

86th Congress of the United States

Second Session

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 225

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States extend official greetings from the United States to the people of Italy on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the unity of Italy, which occurs in March of 1961, and provide for official participation by the United States in the celebration to be held in 1961 in the city of Turin, cradle of Italian unity, in recognition of the progress and achievements of the people of Italy during the past century.

Passed the House of Representatives June 6, 1960.

Passed the Senate July 2, 1960.

This Resolution was first introduced in the House of Representatives on June 23, 1959 by Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO (N.Y.) and co-sponsored by many other Representatives. It was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on May 19, 1960, reported to the House and unanimously passed on June 6, 1960.

The same Resolution was introduced in the Senate in July 1959 by Senators PASTORE (R.I.), KENNEDY (Mass.) and HUMPHREY (Minn.), referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations on June 7, 1960, reported to the Senate on June 28 and unanimously passed on July 2, 1960.

GIUSEPPE VERDI (1813-1901)

Verdi's music is imbued with the patriotic spirit that in the 1840s and the 50s roused the Italians to their struggle for independence and unity. Some arias of his early works, giving voice to the passionate yearning of his countrymen for liberty, ran like wildfire from lip to lip — from Milan to Genoa and Venice, from Rome to Naples and Palermo. Everywhere he was greeted as the Tyrtaeus of awakened Italy. Although the censorship of the various governments in the peninsula managed to eliminate from the libretti of his operas any reference or wording that might afford the patriots new occasions to vent their ardent feelings, the mere singing of some choruses, duets and arias — no matter how they were actually worded — became the invariable signal for turbulent political demonstrations.

Even his name was adopted as a patriotic cry when the Italians discovered that its spelling could stand for "Vittorio Emanuele Re D'Italia" (Victor Emmanuel King of Italy). Thus, shouting "Viva Verdi!" (Long live Verdi) in the theatres and in the streets, they voiced their longing for a unity which was to be realized on March 17, 1861.

After "Nabucco" (Milan, 1842) and "I Lombardi" (Milan, 1843), the great composer made new contributions to the spreading of political unrest throughout the country. His new operas "Ernani" (Venice, 1844), "La Battaglia di Legnano" (Rome, 1849), "Rigoletto" (Venice, 1851), "Il Trovatore" (Rome, 1853) and "Un Ballo in Maschera" (Rome, 1859), which all harmonized with the restless spirit of the times, had a great impact upon the awakening of the national conscience among the populations of all Italian States.

"Un Ballo in Maschera" was to be performed in Naples in 1858 under its original title "Gustavo III". The performance was prohibited by the police after Verdi had flatly refused to change the title and some words of the opera. This interference nearly caused an uprising as huge crowds gathered in the streets of Naples shouting "Viva Verdi". The hidden meaning of that cry was by then well known to the Bourbons.

A year later Verdi was elected a member of the National Assembly in Turin and in 1861 he was appointed to the new Italian Senate. In 1871 he was made Minister for Education.

In the last four decades of his life, Verdi produced fewer new works which, however, overshadowed all his previous triumphs. After the transition marked by "La Forza del Destino" and "Don Carlos", he reached new heights with "Aida" (Cairo, 1871), the "Requiem" (1874 — in memory of another great Italian patriot, Alessandro Manzoni), "Otello" (Milan, 1887) and "Falstaff" (Milan, 1893).

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1ª Segreteria (Abbreviata)

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Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is, for me, a very great honour, indeed, to have been given the opportunity of illustrating the political birth of my country in the community of modern States on an occa_ sion such as this, made particularly memorable by the presence of the President of the United States of America. But at this moment I am, above all, animated by a profound sense of gra_ titude towards all those that, by organising this gathering and taking part therein, have wished to pay their homage to Italy. I should like to assure you, Mr President, that your presence here, today, at this celebration will deeply touch the hearts of all Italians and reinforce the affection with which they regard your great country. In fact they love and admire the United States as the place where

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human labour has, in these modern times, made the finest contribution to the civil and moral progress of mankind and where the greatest effort is being made to guarantee that this progress will be continued in spite of the uncertainties and dangers of the present time. I am sure, Mr President, that this ceremony, which your presence will endear to the hearts of the two peoples, will make a new contribution to the friendly relations between Italy and the United States.

A hundred years ago at Turin, in the Parliament elected for the first time by the majority of the Italian people, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. The proclamation marked the birth of the Italian State which embraced within its political framework, constructed on democratic lines, all Italians living in the continental territory of Italy and in her islands. It is true that the Veneto was still

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under Austrian rule and that the new State was being born without its capital, which could not be but Rome. But the liberation of the Veneto and the annexation of Rome could only appear, in 1861, as inevitable events to take place shortly. Venice, in fact, was restored to Italy in 1866 and Rome annexed in 1870.

The last Italian War of Independence of 1915 to 1918 came within the context of the first great world conflict of this troubled century, of ours. It is hardly necessary to recall the decisive contribution made by the United States towards the settlement of that conflict, in defence of the principle of self determination. It was this last War of Independence that finally restored to the unity of the Italian family those populations of Italian language, culture and spirit still under Austrian rule.

The fundamental and decisive events leading to the unification of Italy were those that took place in the two years from 1859 to 1860. Hence, it cannot be said that when, on March 14th, 1961, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, the Italian State was born only in a juridical and programmatic sense. On the contrary, it must be recognised that it came into existence as a substantial reality in the historical and geographical sense as well as in the moral and political sense. For this reason we are fully justified in celebrating, as we are celebrating, here in 1961, the centenary of Italy as a political entity.

The idealistic and political movement that culminated in the formation of the Italian State is as integral part of the European history concerning the first seventy years of the nineteenth century.

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This was the very century in which the germs of renewal, sown by that great wind of human emancipation that had blown so power_ fully through the American and the French revolutions, developed and ripened in so many parts of the old world. The Italian movement, the Risorgimento, receveid a stimulus and an impulse from the moral and intellectual climate that had spread over Europe, arising from those sources of the same great ideals that had operated in the course of the American and French events of the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, even if the primary cause of the Risorgimento was the desire to renew the Italian society, through the motive force of the same ideals on which other peoples had already reconstructed their lives and made them freer and more creative, the

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Italian movement was an autonomous one, justified and expressed by the particular conditions and need of that society.

Prior to 1859, Italy was split into small states of varying dimensions:in the South a State including Sicily, the Papal States in the centre, which, with the Legations, stretched from Rome to Romagna, the Granduchyof Tuscany, the two diminutive Duchies of Modena and Parma, the Kingdom of Piedmont,including Sardinia, situated in the North-West of the peninsula and the two prosperous regions of Lombardy and the Veneto incorporated in the Austrian Empire.
Austria was the sole foreign Power, among those ruling in Italy; and with her might and arms - the strongest in the peninsula at that moment - she conditioned and influenced

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not only the general balance, but the life itself within the other Italian States, None of these was in practice, free to choose a political system incompatible with the policy and the position of Austria in Italy.

It must be added that the dinastyc character of these states and their small dimensions made it impossible for most of them to bring about reforms through the impulse of autonomous indig_ enous forces. The restricted groups of leaders in these small states could only identify their interests with the most stubborn conservatism which, moreover, fully coincided with the general conservative function that Austria carried out in Europe in defence of her imperial interests.

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Austria wished particularly to protect the existing European order, the survival of which was, on the other hand, dependent on her stability. An essential part of this order was the political fragmentation of Italy, a harsh reality which thus hindered or checked both the common efforts of the Italians and their separate advance towards more modern and civilised forms of social life.

In most of her districts, Italy continued to be afflicted by the serious social evils that the rest of Europe had already eliminated or was about to eliminate: poverty, ignorance, fear and the servility of the weak, and the corruption of her rulers, fed by the incapacity of the governed to make their voices heard in public affairs. It is true that the movement for the settlement of the Italian problem was prepared and directed by elect

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minds developed through participation in the informing and inspiring thought of the new social and political life of Europe and the world. It is however, equally true that this movement was capable of practical achievement, inasmuch as it was grafted upon the needs of the most numerous and suffering section of the Italian people. Taken as a whole, such needs could be summarized in fact as the need for Italy to rise again as a Nation, on a level of general civil progress after centuries of decadence and discouragement.

A great English statesman, Gladstone, who although he followed with solicitude the moral and political drama of Italy , as early as 1854 wrote to an Italian friend that he could not understand why the Italians were insisting so much on their desire for independence and unity without

first taking care to lay the bases for it, by promoting the improvement of individual states and the civil education of the people. Gladstone, prompted by the dictates of his own method, envisaged an Italy resurgent solely through the slow growth of the oak, that is to say, through the prolonged exercise of self-control and self-criticism and the cautious development of national industries and resources. This vision, which was also shared by some of the finest Italian minds prior to the disastrous experience of the war against Austria in 1848-49, had to be abandoned because it became clear that it was first of all essential to wrest independence from the Austrian Empire. Austria's pre_ dominance in Italy was, in fact, preventing

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any change, not only of territorial character but also of politico-institu_ tional character: therefore independence could not be achieved by the alliance of Italian States united by a mere federal link. It was abundantly clear that the edifice of the constitutional liberties of the Italians, in harmony with what the peoples already emancipated had achieved, could only be constructed on the basis of liberation from Austria and the destruction of the old States, whose institutions, opposed to every form of progress, were ossified and incapable of modification.

Italians preserve in their hearts the memory of four men who stand out

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among all others as the true artificers of the political reconstruction of their country: Vittorio Emanuele II, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. None of these could or did operate without coming into conflict with the other three; but Italy was able to rise only as the synthesis of the work of each and everyone of them. Two ways appeared possible for the solution of the Italian problem: through the political and military initiative of Piedmont, or through popular initiative. In reality it was necessary to follow both roads to achieve the goal, even if the direction of the uprising came from Piedmont, which transformed itself into the instrument of the Italian cause. It is to Vittorio Emanuele II and

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Cavour that history now gives the merit of having reformed the old Piedmontese State and made it the intensely vital cell around which the others were able to develop the organism of Italy. Equally, Mazzini is regarded as the apostle and the promoter of popular initiative and Garibaldi as the brilliant and victorious mediator. But it must be made clear that Vittorio Emanuele's outstanding merit lay in having offered himself and his kingdom to Italy and of adhering to this offer even at moments of adversity. He heeded and identified himself with all the uplifted voices of Italians of all conditions and regions. Cavour's great merit was the construction of the admirable apparatus of the Piedmontese State as the instrument of liberty and of intense progress and to have

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used this instrument with such admirable precision to settle to the advantage of resurgent Italy the various situation determined by himself or by others. But perhaps Cavour's highest achievement was the skill with which he piloted the Italian problem through the tempestuous waters of Europe, without overturning her order, He had the wisdom and the capability to enrich the Italian movement with fertile elements of evolution that helped in eliminating stagnant situations which would have otherwise degenerated into uncontrolled and destructive uprisings. Cavour, by bringing Italy to the European level and inserting her into the European body ~~politic~~ as a new force and an autonomous and sovereign unit, not only showed himself to be a great Italian but also

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a great and responsabile European. Mazzini's great merit was, on the other hand, the pertinacity with which he preached the need of the Italian people to gain its liberty independently. The concept that dominated his mind and informed his actions was that of auto-emancipation. Therefore he was never tired of preaching the necessity for popular initiative and worked constantly to promote it. The man, who translated the energies aroused in every part of Italy by Mazzini's preaching into concrete action for the formation of the new State, was Garibaldi, whose generous and courageous struggle for the liberty of the people, makes him one of the most colourful figures in the European history of the last century. He was the one who, more than

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anybody else, helped in popularizing the idea of the people's contribution to the formation of Italy, the one who daringly led their efforts. A believer himself, like Mazzini, in the creed of the auto-emancipation of the people, he was, moreover, aware that in the situation of Italy and Europe at that time, this creed was only partially applicable and that Italy could become a free and sovereign State only by a combination of monarchical-Piedmontese initiative and the initiative of the people. Thus Italy was born as the result of the convergence of the forces of diverse inspiration, but all concurrentin the desire for an autonomous and sovereign

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Italian State as the instrument capable of guaranteeing the liberty of all Italians and of securing to them the means for their social progress. This was a birth of great historical importance because even if for centuries, indeed millenia, an Italian nation had existed in a continuous formative process, there had never before existed an Italian State as a political and territorial autonomous entity. The new State, through the very process of its formation, began its history with three salient characteristics; that of a unitary State, because, it had been constituted through the development and the growth of the cell of the Piedmontese State; that of a

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liberal State, because of the character of its institutions, founded on popular vote; and finally that of having been constructed on the basis of the containment rather than the development of the uprising of popular energies, so as to take its place in the European order without upsetting it or risking suffocation.

The liberal character of the new State is emphasized by the way in which the problem of the temporal power of the Pope was solved. The happy formula coined by Cavour "A Free Church in a Free State" forced the State to constitute itself and operate strictly according to the law of liberty and,

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as the same time, created for the Church the most ideal conditions for the intensification of its spiritual action. It would be difficult not to recognise that the behaviour of the State towards the Church in fulfillment of Cavour's formula was such as to give the Catholic world no reason to regret the end of the temporal power of the Church. On the contrary that event was henceforth to be regarded as the beginning and the condition for a new and more fruitful phase of work and religiosity in the history of Catholicism.

The Italian State, born with these characteristics, neither broke its promises,

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nor deluded the expectations of those that hoped to see it established or awaited it as the instrument for the renewal and the progress of Italian society. And in spite of many difficulties and grave limitations in which were reflected some of the defects of its origins, and above all the persisting tradition of centuries of servitude to the foreigner or its own rulers, it made decisive progress towards the future between the the date of its birth and the 1915-18 war, improving and strengthening its structure, enlarging its political bases and giving a decisive impulse to cultural and economic progress.

It must be observed that the rise of Fascism in Italian life was stimulated and favoured by the spread of the nationalism infecting the entire body of Europe.

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Nevertheless it must be recognised that its primary cause lay in the incompleteness of the edifice of the unitary State. Fascism founded its fortunes, above all, on that numerous class that the unitary State had not succeeeded in raising from conditions of extreme misery or in educating politically, by liberating it from its traditional acquiescence to arrogance and the partisan use of authority. Born and maintained through violence from within, it could not but end in the tragic episode of violence from without.

On the ruins of the war and with wisdom acquired through sacrifice and sorrow, the Italian people has reconstructed its State in the spirit and on the fundamental

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concepts of those that founded it a hundred years ago. This faithful re-establishment proves that the work of those men was neither ephemeral nor arbitrary. It was they, on the contrary, that indicated the sole way open to the Italian people for the future:a way from which it is not possible to verge, as the tragedy of Fascism has all too eloquently proved, without running into great disasters and placing itself in the most terrible danger. We are conscious of having progressed faithfully and decisively along this road in the last fifteen years. We have perfected the institutions that guarantee liberty. We have reconstructed the material bases of the national wealth, We have extended the sources of work and the means

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of assistance in order to give security to all. We have taken and held our place in the international ~~constituted~~ institutions, that operate for the defence of liberty of men and ~~of the~~ peoples. We have collaborated and continue to collaborate actively, in the van, for the creation of that united Europe which was the unfulfilled dream of Giuseppe Mazzini. We are firmly convinced that it is solely by translating Mazzini's ideal into the concrete form of common, supra-national institutions, that a new chapter in history will be opened, which will see the old Europe, finally liberated from intestine selfishnesses and feuds, enjoying a re-gained unity of minds.

Nevertheless we are even more conscious of what still has to be achieved. As

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homage to our "Founding Fathers" are making efforts to ensure that their country becomes increasingly aware of these duties and capable of fulfilling them in the best possible way both in international and internal life.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

At this moment our major responsibility lies at home. There are still some millions of our fellow citizens that hold that justice is to be found outside the democratic system. Their preoccupying presence is partly determined by unstable and precarious living conditions and partly bound up with the hard crust of habits and scepticism formed through long and bitter centuries of servitude. Our task is to restore security

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faith and hope to them, in order to re-absorb them in the oneness of the democratic State. In doing this we shall be carrying on the work of those whose memory we are honouring and celebrating today and shall contribute to the dinamic defence of the free and democratic world; a task, which, at the present hour is laid upon us by Destiny as the indispensable condition for the survival of civilised mankind.

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is, for me, a very great honour, indeed, to have been given the opportunity of illustrating the political birth of my country in the community of modern States on an occa_ sion such as this, made particularly memorable by the presence of the President of the United States of America. But at this moment I am, above all, animated by a profound sense of gra_ titude towards all those that, by organising this gathering and taking part therein, have wished to pay their homage to Italy. I should like to assure you, Mr President, that your presence here, today, at this celebration will deeply touch the hearts of all Italians and reinforce the affection with which they regard your great country. In fact they love and admire the United States as the place where

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human labour has, in these modern times, made the finest contribution to the civil and moral progress of mankind and where the greatest effort is being made to guarantee that this progress will be continued in spite of the uncertainties and dangers of the present time. I am sure, Mr President, that this ceremony, which your presence will endear to the hearts of the two peoples, will make a new contribution to the friendly relations between Italy and the United States.

A hundred years ago at Turin, in the Parliament elected for the first time by the majority of the Italian people, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. The proclamation marked the birth of the Italian State which embraced within its political framework, constructed on democratic lines, all Italians living in the continental territory of Italy and in her islands. It is true that the Veneto was still

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under Austrian rule and that new State was being born without its capital, which could not be but Rome. But the liberation of the Veneto and the annexation of Rome could only appear, in 1861, as inevitable events to take place shortly. Venice, in fact, was restored to Italy in 1866 and Rome annexed in 1870.

The last Italian War of Independence of 1915 to 1918 came within the context of the first great world conflict of this troubled century of ours. It is hardly necessary to recall the decisive contribution made by the United States towards the settlement of that conflict, in defence of the principle of self-determination. It was this last War of Independence that finally restored to the unity of the Italian family those populations of Italian language, culture and spirit still under Austrian rule.

The fundamental and decisive events leading to the unification of Italy were those that took place in the two years from 1859 to 1860. Hence, it cannot be said that when, on March 14th, 1961, the Kingdon of Italy was proclaimed, the Italian State was born only in a juridical and programmatic sense. On the contrary, it must be recognised that it came into existence as a substantial reality in the historical and geographical sense as well as in the moral and political sense. For this reason we are fully justified in celebrating, as we are celebrating, here in 1961, the centenary of Italy as a political entity.

The idealistic and political movement that culminated in the formation of the Italian State is as integral part of the European history concerning the first seventy years of the nineteenth century.

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This was the very century in which the germs of renewal, sown by that great wind of human emancipation that had blown so power_ fully through the American and the French revolutions, developed and ripened in so many parts of the old world. The Italian movement, the Risorgimento, receveid a stimulus and an impulse from the moral and intellectual climate that had spread over Europe, arising from those sources of the same greate ideals that had operated in the course of the American and French events of the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, even if the primary cause of the Risorgimento was the desire to renew the Italian society, through the motive force of the same ideals on which other peoples had already reconstructed their lives and made them freer and more creative, the

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Italian movement was an autonomous one, justified and expressed by the particular conditions and need of that society.

Prior to 1859, Italy was split into small states of varying dimensions:in the South a State including Sicily, the Papal States in the centre, which, with the Legations, stretched from Rome to Romagna, the Granduchyof Tuscany, the two diminutive Duchies of Modena and Parma, the Kingdom of Piedmont, including Sardinia, situated in the North-West of the peninsula and the two prosperous regions of Lombardy and the Veneto incorporated in the Austrian Empire.
Austria was the sole foreign Power, among those ruling in Italy, and with her might and arms - the strongest in the peninsula at that moment - she conditioned and influenced

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not only the general balance, but the life itself within the other Italian States. None of these was in practice, free to choose a political system incompatible with the policy and the position of Austria in Italy.

It must be added that the dinastyc character of these states and their small dimensions made it impossible for most of them to bring about reforms through the impulse of autonomous indig_ enous forces. The restricted groups of leaders in these small states could only identify their interests with the most stubborn conservatism which, moreover, fully coincided with the general conservative function that Austria carried out in Europe in defence of her imperial interests.

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Austria wished particularly to protect the existing European order, the survival of which was on the other hand, dependent on her stability. An essential part of this order was the political fragmentation of Italy, a harsh reality which thus hindered or checked both the common efforts of the Italians and their separate advance towards more modern and civilised forms of social life.

In most of her districts, Italy continued to be afflicted by the serious social evils that the rest of Europe had already eliminated or was about to eliminate: poverty, ignorance, fear and the servility of the weak, and the corruption of her rulers, fed by the incapacity of the governed to make their voices heard in public affairs. It is true that the movement for the settlement of the Italian problem was prepared and directed by elect

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minds developed through participation in the informing and inspiring thought of the new social and political life of Europe and the world. It is however, equally true that this movement was capable of pratical achievement, inasmuch as it was grafted upon the needs of the most numerous and suffering section of the Italian people. Taken as a whole, such needs could be summarized in fact as the need for Italy to rise again as a Nation, on a level of general civil progress after centuries of decadence and discouragement.

A great English statesman, Gladstone, who although he followed with solicitude the moral and political drama of Italy, as early as 1854 wrote to an Italian friend that he could not understand why the Italians were insisting so much on their desire for independence and unity without

first taking care to lay the bases for it, by promoting the improvement of individual states and the civil education of the people. Gladstone, prompted by the dictates of his own method, envisaged an Italy resurgent solely through the slow growth of the oak, that is to say, through the prolonged exercise of self-control and self-criticism and the cautious development of national industries and resources. This vision, which was also shared by some of the finest Italian minds prior to the disastrous experience of the war against Austria in 1848-49, had to be abandoned because it became clear that it was first of all essential to wrest independence from the Austrian Empire. Austria's pre_ dominance in Italy was, in fact, preventing

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any change, not only of territorial character but also of politico-institu_ tional character: therefore independence could not be achieved by the alliance of Italian States united by a mere federal link. It was abundantly clear that the edifice of the constitutional liberties of the Italians, in harmony with what the peoples already emancipated had achieved, could only be constructed on the basis of liberation from Austria and the destruction of the old States, whose institutions, opposed to every form of progress, were ossified and incapable of modification.

Italians preserve in their hearts the memory of four men who stand out

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among all others as the true artificers of the political reconstruction of their country: Vittorio Emanuele II, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. None of these could or did operate without coming into conflict with the other three; but Italy was able to rise only as the synthesis of the work of each and everyone of them. Two ways appeared possible for the solution of the Italian problem: through the political and military initiative of Piedmont, or through popular initiative. In reality it was necessary to follow both roads to achieve the goal, even if the direction of the uprising came from Piedmont, which transformed itself into the instrument of the Italian cause. It is to Vittorio Emanuele II and

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Cavour that history now gives the merit of having reformed the old Piedmontese State and made it the intensely vital cell around which the others were able to develop the organism of Italy. Equally, Mazzini is regarded as the apostle and the promoter of popular initiative and Garibaldi as the brilliant and victorious mediator. But it must be made clear that Vittorio Emanuele's outstanding merit lay in having offered himself and his kingdom to Italy and of adhering to this offer even at moments of adversity. He heeded and identified himself with all the uplifted voices of Italians of all conditions and regions. Cavour's great merit was the construction of the admirable apparatus of the Piedmontese State as the instrument of liberty and of intense progress and to have

used this instrument with such admirable precision to settle to the advantage of resurgent Italy the various situation determined by himself or by others. But perhaps Cavour's highest achievement was the skill with which he piloted the Italian problem through the tempertuous waters of Europe, without overturning her order. He had the wisdom and the capability to enrich the Italian movement with fertile elements of evolution that helped in eliminating stagnant situations which would have otherwise degenerated into uncontrolled and destructive uprisings.- Cavour, by bringing Italy to the European level and inserting her into the European body politic as a new force and an autonomous and sovereign unit, not only showed himself to be a great Italian but also

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a great and responsabile European. Mazzini's great merit was, on the other hand, the pertinacity with which he preached the need of the Italian people to gain its liberty independently. The concept that dominated his mind and informed his actions was that of auto-emancipation. Therefore he was never tired of preaching the necessity for popular initiative and worked constantly to promote it. The man, who tranlated the energies aroused in every part of Italy by Mazzini's preaching into concrete action for the formation of the new State, was Garibaldi, whose generous and courageous struggle for the liberty of the people, makes him one of the most colourful figures in the European history of the last century. He was the one who, more than

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anybody else, helped in popularizing the idea of the peaple's contribution to the formation of Italy, the one who daringly led their efforts. A believer himself, like Mazzini, in the creed of the auto_ emancipation of the people, he was, moreover, aware that ih the situation of Italy and Europe at that time, this creed was only partially applicable and that Italy could become a free and sovereign State only by a combination of monarchical-Piedmontese initiative and the initiative of the people. Thus Italy was born as the result of the convergence of the forces of diverse inspiration, but all concurrent in the desire for an autonomous and sovereign

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Italian State as the instrument capable of guaranteeing the liberty of all Italians and of securing to them the means for their social progress. This was a birth of great historical importance because even if for centuries, indeed millenia, an Italian nation had existed in a continuous formative process, there had never before existed an Italian State as a political and territorial autonomous entity. The new State, through the very process of its formation, began its history with three salient characteristics; that of a unitary State, because, it had been constituted through the development and the growth of the cell of the Piedmontese State; that of a

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liberal State, because of the character of its institutions, founded on the popular vote; and finally that of having been constructed on the basis of the containment rather than the development of the uprising of popular energies, so as to take its place in the European order without upsetting it or risking suffocation.

The liberal character of the new State is emphasised by the way in which the problem of the temporal power of the Pope was solved. The happy formula coined by Cavour "A Free Church in a Free State" forced the State to constitute itself and operate strictly according to the law of liberty and,

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as the same time, created for the Church the most ideal conditions for the intensification of its spiritual action. It would be difficult not to recognise that the behaviour of the State towards the Church in fulfillment of Cavour's formula was such as to give the Catholic world no reason to regret the end of the temporal power of the Church. On the contrary that event was henceforth to be regarded as the beginning and the condition for a new and more fruitful phase of work and religiosity in the history of Catholicism.

The Italian State, born with these characteristics, neither broke its promises,

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nor deluded the expectations of those that hoped to see it established or awaited it as the instrument for the renewal and the progress of Italian society. And in spite of many difficulties and grave limitations in which were reflected some of the defects of its origins, and above all the persisting tradition of centuries of servitude to the foreigner or its own rulers, it made decisive progress towards the future between the the date of its birth and the 1915-18 war, improving and strengthening its structure, enlarging its political bases and giving a decisive impulse to cultural and economic progress.

It must be observed that the rise of Fascism in Italian life was stimulated and favoured by the spread of the nationalism infecting the entire body of Europe.

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Nevertheless it must be recognised that its primary cause lay in the incompleteness of the edifice of the unitary State. Fascism founded its fortunes, above all, on that numerous class that the unitary State had not succeeeded in raising from conditions of extreme misery or in educating politically, by liberating it from its traditional acquiescence to arrogance and the partisan use of authority. Born and maintained through violence from within, it could not but end in the tragic episode of violence from without.

On the ruins of the war and with wisdom acquired through sacrifice and sorrow, the Italian people has reconstructed its State in the spirit and on the fundamental

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concepts of those that founded it a hundred years ago. This faithful re-establishment proves that the work of those men was neither ephemeral nor arbitrary. It was they, on the contrary, that indicated the sole way open to the Italian people for the future: a way from which it is not possible to verge, as the tragedy of Fascism has all too eloquently proved, without running into great disasters and placing itself in the most terrible danger. We are conscious of having progressed faithfully and decisively along this road in the last fifteen years. We have perfected the institutions that guarantee liberty. We have reconstructed the material bases of the national wealth. We have extended the sources of work and the means

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of assistance in order to give security to all. We have taken and held our place in the international constituted institutions, that operate for the defence of liberty of men and of the peoples. We have collaborated and continue to collaborate actively, in the van, for the creation of that united Europe which was the unfulfilled dream of Giuseppe Mazzini. We are firmly convinced that it is solely by translating Mazzini's ideal into the concrete form of common, supra-national institutions, that a new chapter in history will be opened, which will see th old Europe, finally liberated from intestine selfishnesses and feuds, enjoying a re-gained unity of minds.

Nevertheless we are even more conscious of what still has to be achieved. As

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I have already mentioned, the political formation of Italy takes its place as a minor cycle within a wider historical and political cycle. This wider cycle is based on the unshakeable belief in the rights of man, which come, as President Kennedy himself said in his message of January 20th, 1961, not from the generosity of the State but from the hands of God, and which the State can and must guarantee against anyone that would trample on them.

This great historical and political cycle is far from complete and far from being secure. It calls for precise duties from those that share in it and benefit from it. I can affirm that, in Italy, those that are today rendering sincere and reverent

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homage to our "Founding Fathers" are making efforts to ensure that their country becomes increasingly aware of these duties and capable of fulfilling them in the best possible way both in international and internal life.

At this moment our major responsability lies at home. There are still some millions of our fellow citizens that hold that justice is to be found outside the democratic system. Their preoccupying presence is partly determined by unstable and precarious living conditions and partly bound up with the hard crust of habits and scepticism formed through long and bitter centuries of servitude. Our task is to restore security,

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faith and hope to them, in order to re-absorb them in the oneness of the democratic State. In doing this we shall be carrying on the work of those whose memory we are honouring and celebrating today and shall contribute to the dinamic defence of the free and democratic world; a task, which, at the present hour is laid upon us by Destiny as the indispensable condition for the survival of civilised mankind.

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

1a Edizione Discorso al Congresso
Washington 16 maggio 1961

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am greatly honored to speak of the political birth of my country as a modern nation in a ceremony made so solemn by the participation of the President of the United States of America. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, that your presence here will be profoundly felt by all Italians and will increase their love for your country. They admire the United States as the country where human endeavor has brought its most important contribution to the civil and moral progress of the peoples and where the greatest

effort is

effort is being made to guarantee the continuity of that progress in the uncertain and perilous present. No doubt, Mr. President, this ceremony - attended by the highest representatives of the American nation - will contribute to the deepening and strengthening of friendly relations between the United States and Italy.

One hundred years ago in Turin the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in the first Parliament elected by the majority of the Italians. That proclamation marked the birth of the Italian state which included in its political structure, shaped on democratic patterns, all Italians living on the soil of Italy.

It is true

It is true that the Venetian region was still under Austrian domination, and that the new nation was born without its capital which could only be Rome. But already in 1861 the liberation of the Venetian region and the annexation of Rome appeared inevitable as events were soon to show. The first occurred in 1866 and Rome was annexed in 1870. Our final war of independence in 1915-18, which was part of theFirst World War, made it possible at last to restore to the Italian family the peoples of Italian language, culture and spirit still remaining under Austrian domination.

What we call "Risorgimento" is the political movement which through

revolutions and

revolutions and wars led Italy to the conquest of its national freedom and independence. It cannot be understood historically without recalling that it stemmed from that great fountainhead of ideals, sentiments and moral values which were the substance of the "Age of Enlightenment" of the XVIII century.

The moral and political forces which emerged from the Enlightenment stimulated the fundamental historical events of the American and French Revolutions, and of the Italian and European Risorgimento. After a silence of more than a century, Italy once again took its place in the cultural life of the XVIII Century Europe and celebrated its spiritual

its spiritual resurgence which was to become a political re-birth as Napoleon's victories brought to our land the wind of liberty. The immediate comparison with the more modern and civilized forms of life adopted by the French and partially introduced into Italy made the Italians feel the full impact of their centuries-old ills. They were the ills of poverty, ignorance, fear, the servility of the weak, the corruption and abuse of power of the rulers.

The problem of national independence could then be stated in terms that were no longer theoretical but which held a promise of solution since the old

refractory and

refractory and absolutist nations had demonstrated their complete backwardness and inefficiency in the face of the French conquests.

On the concrete political ground there were two ways to free and unify our nation: through a popular uprising which, following the American and French examples could have ousted the princes from their creaking thrones and defeat Austria; or through an action undertaken by one of the states of the peninsula having sufficient power and prestige to enable it to achieve the same results. Only the State of Piedmont could do this.

The first path was chosen by Mazzini, the second by Cavour. Giuseppe Mazzini maintained

Mazzini maintained that independence must be the fruit of revolt - not a gift from above - and that therefore Italian unity must be achieved exclusively by popular revolutionary forces. Inspired by the same ideals as your Founding Fathers, Mazzini held that national states can be founded only on the people, by the people and for the people. He affirmed the pre-eminence of the duty of human solidarity in domestic affairs as well as in the international life of the peoples. He thus intimately linked the destiny of resurgent Italy with that of a resurgent Europe by founding the two associations known as "Young Italy" and "Young Europe". Mazzini conceived

the Italian problem

the Italian problem as one aspect of the general European problem. Old Europe and old Italy were to die together. In their place the new Europe and the new Italy were to rise together. The constitutional formula of "United States of Europe" which, like your own, at that time was disseminated throughout Europe in the works of the French Victor Hugo and Michel Chevalier, the German Johannes Sartorius, the English Richard Cobden, found in Mazzini the staunchest supporter. The European ideal was transformed into political action.

With the crushing of the European revolution, a new political situation developed in Italy. In it Camillo

Benso di Cavour

Benso di Cavour directed the movement of the Risorgimento toward final achievement, with his genius and daring. After having accomplished a widespread reform of political, social and administrative life of the Piedmont, and after having placed it in the vanguard of civil progress which attracted the surprise and admiration of Europe, Cavour distinguished himself by engaging in the liveliest of diplomatic activity. Dealing with the great powers with skill he succeeded in securing for Piedmont a leading role on the European scene, by forming alliances now with France, now with England. If he was able to bring an end to Austrian domination

of Lombardy by

of Lombardy by securing the aid of France, it was with tacit English solidarity that the "Piemonte" and the "Lombardo" - the two ships carrying the Thousand from Scoglio di Quarto to the Sicilian coast - could slip quietly through Mediterranean waters.

However, despite the fact that he worked with the instruments of crude politics which do not admit sentimentalism, he remained steadily loyal to those moral values and principles of the Enlightenment re-developed and re-invigorated in the new century. It was His firm conviction that the unity of his country must benefit not only Italians but all of humanity. His conscience was the conscience of the most cultured

most cultured and civilized Europe and he looked upon its unity as the inevitable future of a Christian Europe. Few political leaders possessed his conception of rational freedom: only Jefferson, Lincoln, Gladstone could be cited as supporters of the same liberal ideals. These ideals inspired also his suggested solution of the problem of the Church-State relations through the ingenious formula of "a free Church in a free State". It gave Italy a long period of religious peace while it enhanced the spiritual force of the Church.

I cannot refrain from mentioning two other outstanding leaders to whom Italy owes its unity: Giuseppe Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel the

and Victor Emmanuel the second. The name of Garibaldi has been always celebrated not only in Italy, but in the Americas where he lived and fought for many years. It was mainly Garibaldi's daring that evoked the sympathy and support of public opinion in Europe and America for our national cause. He fought for all the oppressed against all oppressors. The generosity of his actions earned him a place among the champions of human ideals. Your poets and ours unanimously greeted him as the new Washington and glorified his name. It gives us pleasure to think of him at the moment when, concluding his victorious campaign, he handed over to Victor Emmanuel the second the

nuel the second the half of Italy he had liberated. Refusing to accept honor and gains he returned with his poncho and red shirt to his native island to cultivate the bleak earth. He had presented the King with a generous gift; the hands receiving it were equally generous. Victor Emmanuel the II had also given fully of himself and his kingdom to Italy. He had kept his selfless pledge in the darkest and most difficult hours.

The ideals of the apostles of our national unity are now once more, lighting our path after the tragedy of a war brought on by a minority which had seized power by violence and deceit. We have perfected the

have perfected the institutions that guarantee freedom. We have increased the opportunities and means to give everyone security. We have rebuilt everything that was destroyed; we have created an atmosphere of industriousness in our country. Nevertheless, we are more sensitive to what remains to be done than to what we have accomplished.

The unification of Italy, as I said, is only a phase of the broader historical and political cycle whose philosophy centered on the Enlightenment and on its unshakable faith in the rights of man. These rights - as you, Mr. President, wisely said in your Inaugural Address - do not derive from the state, but from God's hands, and the state can

and must only guarantee them against all attempts of subversion.

That historical cycle is now far from being concluded. We have precise duties in the process of its completion. Italy's duties can be outlined both in the domestic and the international field. In the area of domestic policy we are pledged to restore confidence and hope in the millions of our fellow citizens who still believe that justice should be sought outside the democratic system. We must win them back to democracy and eliminate the reasons which can explain - though not justify - their present attitude, a cause of concern for us all. These reasons are connected with certain conditions of poverty

conditions of poverty which time thus far has not permitted us to remove, as well as with the survival of habits acquired during the many centuries of our painful serfdom. To discharge this duty of redemption and civil education the model used by Cavour is still valid. It suggests application of the policy of the "juste milieu", the right middle of the road, which proved so fruitful not only in our country, but in yours as well.

On the international scene, it is our duty to move ahead, with renewed vigor along the path pointed out by Mazzini. In the last fifteen years Italy, not only participated in all organizations dedicated to the pursuit

to the pursuit of world peace, but kept itself in the forefront of the struggle for the unification of Europe. As Foreign Minister of my country, I had myself the privilege of playing a role, which was not minor, in the creation of the two new European communities: The Economic Community and EURATOM. But we are still far from our goal. It is therefore urgent and vital to speed up our movement for unity, closely coordinating our efforts with those aimed at the achievement of the Atlantic unity. A unified Europe is only a part of that broader unity of the Atlantic world which started taking shape in the fields of culture and ideals three centuries

ago and which

ago and which substantiated our common conception of the world centered on conscience and ethics. This unity took political shape in 1949, when the Atlantic Alliance was built. Thence a new Risorgimento started: we all have a leading role in this re-birth, you Americans and we Europeans, as keepers and bearers of the message of the "Age of Enlightenment".

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: We must further strengthen the ties of our unity. This is necessary not only to face the challenge of our common enemies, but principally to enrich and guard the spiritual and moral patrimony handed down to us by our forefathers, which we want to pass on to our children.

Only by tightening

only by tightening our bonds we will be able to make our future worthy of our past. Only by uniting more closely can we secure the triumph of our ideals and allow our peoples to dedicate themselves in full serenity to deeds of peace: only thus can we fulfill the wish expressed by your poet John Whittier in some of his verses addressed to our reborn Italy:

"..... fold the flags of war, and lay its sword and spear to rust away, and sow its ghastly fields with flowers".

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