CODE OF ETHICS OF THE CHRISTIAN PERSON INVOLVED IN POLITICS
Bologna, 10 October 2015

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2.- A LOST COUNTRY AND HOPE FOR THE PEOPLE. POLITICAL CALL TO ITALIANS. "Cardinale van Thuân" International Observatory, Edizioni Cantagalli, SIENA 2014.

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PRESENTATION

1 – Introduction. On 16 February 2015, in the Rectory of the Basilica of S. Petronio in Bologna, a working group constituted by university lecturers of different scientific and cultural background[1] met to draft a new code of ethics for Christians involved in politics. This work continued on a monthly basis and concluded on 10 October 2015.

a) How the idea of a Code of Ethics came about. The idea to formulate a code of ethics for Christians involved in politics came from a reflection on an interview in the magazine "The Kingdom" (June 2014) with Monsignor Nunzio Galantino, the General Secretary of the Italian Episcopalian Conference. He was asked "How should the relationship between Italian Catholics and their country be viewed?
One of the elements highlighted in the reply was that "the element that cut off politics from the electorate (also the Catholic one), "already present at the start of the 1980s", was "further widened" because "there was no real dialogue among Catholics themselves, and between them and other cultures on the new issues of democracy: from new sciences and their practical consequences to the emergence of new social aspects".
The code drawn up here is not a methodological solution to the above mentioned dialogue issue. However, it seeks to contribute to a solution by recovering from oblivion and updating another code[2] which, again in the 1980s, was drawn up by a Catholic politician who greatly contributed to the then party for Catholics, Democrazia Cristiana, to clarify the ethical bases for a good relationship between politics and the electorate.
The intention of the working group was to draw up a code of ethics for Christians involved in politics, and therefore not specifically for those belonging to a specific party. The reference to Guido Gonella's code is due to its being a significant precedent, because it had been drawn up for a party of Catholics and seculars with a common inspiration ideal, even though it has now disappeared from the Italian political scenario, but which did historically exist.
The issues covered by the code are: "principles", "politics and religion", "politics and morality", politics and law" and "politics and economy". "Principles" and "politics and economy" are additions to the original text.

b) About Democrazia Cristiana, the party of Catholic people. The centrist DC party, from 1948 with a parliamentary majority, led coalition governments with smaller parties, both of the "right" and of the "left", for the economic and social reconstruction of Italy after the war and, subsequently (until the early 1990s), promoting a significant development of the GDP and employment[3].The political direction was that of "mixed" State and Market economies (that is to say: a) the

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Members of the Group:
- FRANCESCO ARCIERI, HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK, formerly of the University of Padua
- ANNA MARIA DI PIETRA, PHARMACEUTICAL CHEMISTRY, University of Bologna
- MARISA FARACA, MEDICINE, S. Orsola Hospital.
- ANTONINO GIANNONE, PROFESSIONAL ETHICS AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, Turin Polytechnic
- ORESTE LEONARDI, RECTOR OF THE BASILICA OF SAN PETRONIO, Dioceses of Bologna
- NINO LUCIANI, SCIENCE OF FINANCE, University of Bologna
- EZIO MESINI, ENERGY MANAGEMENT, University of Bologna
- GIAMPIETRO MINELLI, MEDICAL VIROLOGY, University of Bologna
- FRANCO NARDINI, FINANCIAL MATHEMATICS, University of Bologna
- GIANNI PORZI, ORGANIC CHEMISTRY, University of Bologna

2 G. Gonella, Il codice di comportamento della DC (The code of conduct of the DC), Edizioni Logos, Rome 1982.
The author was probably aware of the Camaldoli Code: "For the Christian community", drawn up in 1944 by a group of seculars and religious intellectuals of the Camaldoli monastery. It was a Catholic social culture text, which considered social justice and freedom to be the primary objectives of the State. The Code was articulated into seven points (State, Family, Education, Employment, Production and exchange, Economic activity and International Life) and 99 paragraphs.

3 Significant points of the DC governments were: the agricultural reform, the industrialisation of the north, the extraordinary State intervention in the Mezzogiorno (the South of the country), the national motorway network, the school and hospital networks across the country, the nationalisation of electricity, the creation of a national body for hydrocarbon (vital for Italy, given the dominance of foreign multinationals in the oil field)

intervention of the State in economic and social issues; b) and free private initiative); the economic integration of Italy with the countries of Western Europe; foreign defence in the framework of the Atlantic Pact, adhesion to the United Nations.
However, at the start of the 1990s, judicial events took place which observed serious "deviations" from the law[4] of influential members of the DC party. The internal life of the party also appeared to have "deviated" from its code of ethics[5].
Lastly, due to a sense of general uneasiness, the party decided to self-dissolve but then, 20 years later, the Court of Appeal declared the motion null and void, giving as an explanation that the body (the National Council) who dissolved it did not have the power to do so.
In Italy, the objective consequences of those deviations, apart from the legal, civil and judiciary aspects, were highlighted by the instability of governments, by excess State budget deficit and by the large public debt. The burden of this debt, which is difficult to reduce (also because it has subsequently grown), still remain.
In Germany, on the other hand, for similar reasons, the German DC had proceeded by firing the "guilty" individuals on the spot, even though they might have been deserving citizens for their country and for Europe; and the electorate had provided to alternate the party (in the federal government) with the largest opposition party.
Generally speaking, under a constitutional profile, the fundamental anomalies of the operation of governments are corrected by the alternating of parties in governments (sooner than through the judicial process), at the end of the electoral mandate. As a consequence of this, the parties' managing classes are (normally) renewed.
But it has been precisely the faulty operation of this constitutional mechanism of alternance between the large parties to governments that has prevented the normal restart of the governance machine[6].

2. Criterion followed to formulate the new code. It includes the political ethics principles inspired to the social doctrine of the Catholic church. They have the purpose of guaranteeing behaviours inspired to the universal secular principles of service for the common good.
With the review of the code by G. Gonella, the working group aims at the definition of a path of principles and values, which again starts from the ideological source of a Christian party, and which is positioned within the contemporary historical process.
a) Reinterpretation of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church and of the recent historical framework. As revision criteria, the members of the working group have decided to use:
- a preliminary review of the Catholic Church's social doctrine, freely drawing from bibliographical sources; and, in any case, a common understanding of some official texts, in particular from the period after the Second Vatican Council (please refer to the Bibliographical Note, at the end of this introduction);
- a review, even if cursory, of the historical and political situation of the last 30 years;

[4] Reference is made to the financing of the party through provisions on the financing of public tenders, the capture of consent (votes) through the manipulation of the Public Administration and of public companies, assigning in a politically discriminating manner the jobs to be provided within it.

[5] The party was fractured into organisational factions, which largely derived the power gained from the "capture" of badges (customers) and from the "purchase" of delegations in conferences. This role with "badges" and "conference delegations" turned into a genetic mutation with respect to the Christian role (of the founders) for a Christian Democratic party at the service of common good. The "majority" considered a "constructive" confrontation with the opposition party (PCI, the Italian Communist Party), while minorities were against it. This confrontation tended to avoid the alternance to government with the PCI, which was considered to be impractical.

[6] In that historic phase (in the Seventies) the characterising element was, in fact, a political agreement (known as the "historic compromise") between the DC and the PCI, on the basis of which:
- alongside the State, the Ordinary Regional framework, which had also already been outlined by the Constitution in 1948, was established, through which of the management of the National Health Service was delegated to the Region (even though these powers were, from a constitutional point of view, pertaining to the State).
- the PCI renounced to alternance in the government of the state and was given a free way to access regional governments, through normal electoral processes.
A division of the management of "intermediate institutes" between the PCI and the DC took place in peripheral areas.
Those agreements envisaged the creation of new regional offices to be balanced by the suppression of state offices with the same function, so that the total expenditure for the Public Administration remained the same. This, however, did not happen: from that moment (1975-77) the public administration's costs increased by the equivalent of 15% of the GDP.

- the personal contributions of the members of the group, the result of their own civil life experience, from the point of view of voters with specific scientific and cultural competences.

b) Not only this: also consideration of some general prerequisites. A "living" code is not only an abstract expression of principles and values. It must find a feedback in the expectations of the civil world to which it refers. In this sense, some precautionary care must be taken with regard to the existence of conditions for the link between politics and civil society. Even taking into account that an ethical code includes behavioural rules aimed at a Christian involved in politics, it is however necessary to observe that, even when moved by correct intentions, Christians (and anyone) may encounter obstacles that interfere with their goodwill.
Among obstacles, two cases are relevant:
- if the political system is incapable of working correctly, even if only for organisational reasons;
- if the Christians (and anyone) do not have the minimum pertinent cultural and professional requisites;
- if there is no equal opportunity, for all candidates, to take part in elections.
Paying some attention to these preliminary requirements becomes, therefore, important and this not only to provide specific solutions but also to ensure that Christians involved in politics are aware of their existence.

For these aspects, please refer to the "Note on ethics of the political system", in APPENDIX to the code[7].

3. - Proposal for a "National Consultation of seculars for political activities". From historical references[8], it would appear that the DC, founded in 1943-45 by, among others, Giuseppe Alessi, don Luigi Sturzo and Alcide De Gasperi, had remained an association composed only of leaders and that it was only around 1948 that it experienced a "strengthening in society" thanks to the "approval from parishes" [9].
In order to establish a reciprocal relationship between secular Christians and people with similar values and plans, the Group considers that it would be useful to constitute a national secular Committee for Christians in relation to political activities, to which seculars in parish associations, involved as citizens, and competent in politics, may take part (albeit not exclusively).
The purpose of the Committee would be to act as:
- an observatory of the politics of Italy and of the European Union;
- an instrument for dialogue with the competent Office of the CEI (Italian Episcopal Conference);
- a direction for Christian seculars to participation to political parties, with a preference to the greatest possible participation to a "wide party" not exclusively for Catholics, which is in harmony with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, and within which the Catholic group has the opportunity for free expression, notwithstanding the respect of the decision-making rules of the party involved.
From a strategic point of view, the Committee should promote unitary proposals from the Catholic world to political institutions, taking into account the fact that in a democracy decisions are taken by the majority, and votes count.
This ethical code is proposed as a behavioural framework for the Committee, should the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI) choose to use it.
On the other hand, the contribution of the Committee to the reorganisation of a party of Catholics and other secular people with a shared inspiration and program should be viewed as the start of a debate.

PART I – INTRODUCTION TO THE CODE

I – PRINCIPLES

[7] Drawn up by two of the Group's members, this is complementary to the code but is not part of it.
[8] See: G. Galli, Storia della DC (History of the DC), 1943-93, Kaos, Milan, 2007, p. 47, in accordance to the reference by G. Rossi, Lo scudo crociato (The Crusader shield), Armando ed. , Rome 2014, p. 207.
[9] Apart from this, it is known that parish priests and bishops are in any case entitled to vote.

1 – *Object of the Code*. The rules of conduct for the members of a party of secular Christians include the code of political ethics inspired to the social doctrine of the Catholic Church.
The have the purpose of guaranteeing behaviours inspired to the universal secular principles of service for the common good.
2 - *General principles*
1. Christians involved in politics have the task, specific to them, to infuse Christian principles in the temporal order, through the fulfilment of shared civil duties, guided by the Christian conscience and in accordance with values that are consistent with it. The consequence of this fundamental teaching of the Second Vatican Council is that faithful seculars cannot relinquish participation to "politics", that is to say to the multi-faceted and various economic, social, legislative, administrative and cultural activities whose purpose is to promote organically and institutionally the common good.
2. Civil society finds itself today within a complex cultural process whose relativism contains within itself evident signs of the theorisation and defence of ethical pluralism, which results in the decadence and dissolution of reason and of natural moral laws principles. It would appear that the condition for democracy to exist is cultural relativism and ethical pluralism, as if all the possible view of life have the same truth and an equal value. In reality, democratic life needs true and sound foundations, ethical principles that for their nature and their role in the foundations of social life are not "negotiable", because founded on a moral framework rooted in the very nature of human beings, whose judgement must prevail with regard to every notion of man, common good and State. These are principles that are imbued with their own absolute value because they serve the dignity of the person and of true human progress. The right to freedom of conscience and in particular to religious life, proclaimed by the Dignitatis Humanae Declaration of the Second Vatican Council, is founded on the ontological dignity of human beings, and not on an inexistent equality of religions and of cultural human systems.
3. The relativist idea of pluralism has nothing to do with the legitimate freedom of Christian citizens to choose, among the political opinions compatible with their faith and the natural moral law, the one that best represent their own view of the needs of the common good. The legitimate plurality of temporal options preserves the matrix that dictates the commitment of Christians in politics and this is directly correlated to the Christian moral and social doctrine. It is precisely on this teaching that secular Christians are required to always consider to be certain that their participation to political life is marked by a coherent responsibility for temporal realities.
It is certainly legitimate to offer one's own support to individual proposals aimed at limiting the damage of a law contrary to one's own fundamental values, while it is not possible to enable with one's vote the implementation of a political plan or an individual law contrary to these values. As faith is not an indiscible entity, it is not logical to isolate only one of its elements to the detriment of the entirety of the Catholic doctrine.
4. For Catholic moral doctrine, secularity - intended as the autonomy of civil and political values from religious and ecclesiastical but not moral values - is an acquired and recognised concept by the Church, and it is part of the level of civilisation we have reached.
The fact that some truths are also taught within the Church does not impact on their civil legitimacy and the "secularity" of the commitment of those who recognise themselves in them. In fact, first of all "secularity" indicates the approach of those who respect the truths that derive from man's natural knowledge, even if these truths are also taught by a specific religion, because there is only one truth.
5. The Christian faith does not claim to harness a rigid framework of socio-political contents, aware that the times in which people live imposes the presence of imperfect and often rapidly-changing situations. From this point of view, it is necessary to reject political positions and behaviours that are inspired by a utopic vision that, overturning the biblical faith tradition into a sort of God-less prophetism, manipulates the religious message, guiding the conscience towards an earth-bound hope that invalidates or downgrades the Christian aspiration of an eternal life.
6. - From a Christian (and not only Christian) point of view, man is a spirit and body "entity", created by God, Father of all men and of all living beings.
The Christian secular involved in politics is inspired by spiritual and material values, worthy of the Creator.

From this point of view, communion with the Creator and charity to our neighbours become a priority; and it is normal that people, who are at the "top of the existing social scale" may, however, be viewed as being at the bottom of the "Christian social scale".

The contribution to the "creation" and to its improvement through scientific research and the application of the relative results to human life conditions and to the organisation of civil society falls under these priorities.
7.- Even from this point of view, dictated by respect for the Creator, the Christian involved in politics debates and works with people with other orientations, and is aware of the difficulty of a correct view and consideration of human values, facts and needs.

II - POLITICS AND LAW
1 - *Politics and religious values*. The member of a secular Christian party must be aware of the duties imposed by the respect for religious values, also covered by the Italian Constitution protecting religious freedom.
2 - *Politics as mission and as realisation of personal ambition*. The Christian involved in politics has as their objective that of social service, like a mission. The expectation of the realisation of personal interests such as the personal ambition to serve one's country, the social prestige deriving from politics, a remuneration defined by the law is ethically and morally acceptable as a secondary objective.

III POLITICS AND MORALS
1 – The "role of politics". Politics demands the respect of those moral principles that dictate not the being, but the moral "must be" of politics.
In the relationship with secular morality, it is necessary to differentiate between a "secular" concept of respect of the different concepts of morality from a secular concept of claiming spaces as exceptions of Christian morality, if these cause outrage in common opinion.
This needs does not imply any confusion between religious and civil values. There is no claim that religious values become duties, nor that the State becomes denominational.
2 - *Politics and the common good.* The ultimate purpose of politics is essentially the common good, that is to say the best for the community that, considered in its organic whole, transcends individual interests. Politics must be the essential means for the public protection of human rights within the state.
3 - *Objectives and means of politics.* Christian politics requires not only for the objectives to be legitimate but also the means because the end, even if legitimate, does not justify the means.
4 - *Conscience and political responsibility*. Political experience is necessary to ensure political competence and techniques, but it is not sufficient to direct political action, which must be disciplined first of all by the conscience of political duty and by moral responsibility.
5 - *Political morality intended as science and art*. Political morality is the science of good and evil in political practice, and it is also an art that aims at promoting political good and the fight against political evil.
6 - *Political virtues and moral virtues.* The politics of a Christian secular party intimately links political virtues and moral virtues (honesty, correctness, loyalty, disregard of personal interest, fairness, courage, allegiance to ideas, brotherhood with colleagues, testimony to truth, etc.). A political player must have a "good reputation", as dictated by the Codes and laws that establish sanctions against offences to "good reputation".
7 - *Inseparable values.* The politics of a Christian secular party must reject any separation not only between private and public morality but also between morality and politics because it considers these values to be different but not separate. With regard to the boundary between these two fields, please refer to the principles indicated in the introduction. The integration of moral, judicial and political duties is also required.
8 - *Christian morality, materialistic politics and secular politics.* The Christian involved in politics recognises the specific ethical nature of Christian politics, which is incompatible with anti-Christian values.
9 - *Social doctrine of the Catholic church and current morality*. "Morality" is not necessary the social doctrine of the Catholic church. It is similarly necessary to respect the morality that is normally expressed by the conscience and the actions of most people in a determined historical time, given a determined political situation. In any case the Christian secular defends morality, in accordance with their own conscience.
10 - *Professional morality and political activity.* Political activity, in relation to the exercise of public offices, may take a character of professionalism, not exclusive because is normally coexists with another pre-existing profession which is

replaced or suspended, nor permanent because the professional activity of the politician normally ceases at the end of a political mandate or office.

Even if it is neither exclusive nor permanent, the political profession must respect the professional morality conscience.

IV - POLITICS AND LAW

1 - *Political morality and positive law.* The respect of the duties of the moral conscience is emphasises by the fact that moral aspects are stated by the Constitution and relative Codes, which make repeated specific references the notions of "moral values", "moral principles", "moral and religious duties", "moral and social duties", "moral equality", "moral unworthiness", etc.

The required coherence is ultimately inspired by the "right and duty of citizens to sincerely seek truth and to promote and defend with legitimate means the moral truths relating to social life, justice, freedom, respect for life and the rights of the person" (Sturzo).

2 - *Political morality and the Penal Code.* The morality of the secular Christian involved in politics cannot be limited to respecting the prohibition of committing those illicit acts that the Penal Code defines as crimes, but must be committed to fight any form of moral crime even if not sanctioned by juridical regulations.

3 - Moral behaviour and legal behaviour. There are in politics valid classical norms of juridical behaviour ("neminem laedere, honeste vivere, suum cuique tribuere") which, in essence, aim at establishing moral actions.

V - POLITICS AND ECONOMY

I . MARKET

1 - *Market ethics.* Having acknowledged that people satisfy their needs in the presence of resources that are limited with respect to such needs and that market prices reflect the abundance or scarcity of resources with respect to needs, the Christian involved in politics deems it necessary, generally, to realise free market conditions with regard to the formulation of prices. In this sense, prices become the reference parameters for the transformation of abundant resources (i.e. exceeding need) into resources that are needed more, and for the better guidance on their use for consumption.

2 - *Differentiation of needs.* The priority of needs must be subject to a critical debate, so as to differentiate between founded and unfounded needs, between original needs and needs induced by emulation and by publicity.

3 - *Ethical limitations to the significance of market prices.* In the combination of production factors, the person cannot be viewed as any sort of material. Therefore profit, as a motivation for the enterprise, is ethically acceptable if subject to the recognition of the human dignity of the worker. In particular, the price of labour (hourly wage) should not be lower than a determined minimum fixed by law, after consultation with social partners.

4 - *Ethics, corporate activities, general interest.* The correct operation of the economic activity may not be independent of the respect of the state law, such as (for example) the regulations on the quality and origin of products, and the respect of competition among companies, respect for the environment and the payment of taxes.

The "external effects" (i.e. pollution) of a company's activities must be considered company production costs, so that there is an automatic limit to abuse, and ensure the protection of the environment. From this derives that companies must by law use purification means or pay taxes of an amount equivalent to the damage caused to the environment or to public health.

Furthermore, the Christian should support the importance of environmental obligations, with respect to everything that relates to the balance of the ecosystem.

5 - *Private ownership.* Private property of assets, both tangible and intangible, created by human ingenuity, must be allowed and promoted as a process for the preventive accumulation of assets with a view to future needs.

6. *For the plurality of household income.* Diffusion of shareholding. Taking into account that in industrial economies competition between capital and labour promotes automation (that is to say the creation of revenues from capital rather than from labour) with the possible permanent effects on long-term unemployment, it is considered necessary to promote (e.g. with tax concessions) the diffusion of share ownership for financial investment (not for speculation), so that households can balance the drop in revenues from work with the increase in revenues from capital (dividends).

II . STATE
1. *Ethics and essential State tasks.* The state must carry out its fundamental tasks for the protection of the citizen, of civil coexistence and for the promotion of productive activities (external defence, safety of the citizen, infrastructures, public justice, fundamental rights).
For the performance of these tasks, the state needs resources from taxes. In this task, the state is required to carefully balance sacrifices and benefits to social classes. In particular, tax collection must not become so high as to prevent private production activities, therefore destroying the basis for collection.
2. *Promotion of work positions.* The state protects the creation of employment, with tax credits to enterprises on employment costs, and eliminating tax credit promoting technical capital.
The state essentially becomes the employer in the last resort, even though in exceptional situations.
3. *"Basic human needs" and minimum individual income.* Determined individual needs that must be met, regardless of the available income. This relates to essential needs and fundamental social services (education, health, social pension). The state must meet these needs, and their cost must be met with taxes, but with credits for income lower than the essential minimum.
4. *Mediation between economic and trade union categories*. The Christian involved in politics operates so that the State acts as mediator among the economic categories so as to prevent unchecked competition between companies from leading to the destruction of still usable resources and the exclusive control of the market by a monopoly.
Mediation also takes place in the relationship with trade unions, to ensure that (in the formation of representation) workers in large industries do not benefit from excessively at the expense of workers in small and medium-sized companies, with regard to agreements to set wage levels.

III . BANKS
1 - *Money.* Taking into account of the public function of money, the banking sector must not be allowed to act without controls, but required to pursue "normal profit" levels and respect specific public utilities obligations, such as the protection of savings and the financing of production investments. This is necessary both in order to guarantee the return of deposits to savers and to prevent banks from illegally benefiting from illicit gains.

IV . THIRD WORLD
1 - *Ethics and economic development of poor countries*. Relief from poverty refers both to immediate and to longer-term needs. This latter field includes the provision to individuals of skills and means to provide for themselves independently. When compared to the different degrees of development of the various countries in the world (which can give rise to wars and uncontrollable mass migrations), developed countries must allocate a significant part of their resources to local economic development, with particular regard to agriculture (irrigation, commercialisation, etc.).

PART II - SPECIFIC CODE RULES

Art. 1 - IDEAL VALUES

1 - *Adhesion to ideal values.* The statute of a secular Christian party must require its members to "adhere to the ideal values of the Party". It is the task of the Party to understand what the "ideal values" of the party essentially are, and how these include "moral values", and therefore also the rules of professional ethics.
2 - *Incompatibility between ideals.* The Statute must require members not to be part of movements "with objective in conflict with those of the Party". This participation implies a violation not only of the statutory regulations but also of specific moral regulations (duty of loyalty to principles and coherence).

Art. 2 - BEHAVIOUR

1 - *Correct and irreprehensible behaviour*. The behaviour of members must be not only "uncensored" (external opinion) but also "irreprehensible" (internal correctness). Furthermore, not only is a political behaviour specifically required, but so is a "moral" behaviour.

2 - *Dignified behaviour.*
It is essential that each member behaves in a manner guided by the maximum respect for the dignity and personality of everyone, respect intended as the primary duty of the party.

Art. 3 - CONSCIENCE
1 - *Conscience and responsibility.* Political conscience must be intended not only as individual but also social, in terms both of responsibility with regard to nature (environmental sustainability) and responsibility to humanity (future generations and third world countries).
The conscience of political responsibility has three elements: towards the country and its institutions, towards the electorate and towards the Party, which presents the candidate to the electorate in the name of a specific political programme.
It is not possible to sacrifice one responsibility for the sake of another.
2 - *Conscientious objection.* Conscientious objection must be admitted for those members who do not intend to participate in a direction or to a political decision they consider incompatible with their own conscience.
3 - *Cases of mistaken conscience.* In cases of conscientious objection, the member in opposition with a wide majority (of members) of a different view must be invited to further reflection, notwithstanding the respect for their opinion.
4 - *Conscience uncertainties and resignations.* It is possible to resolve unsurmountable conscientious uncertainties by resigning from a position whose performance has become difficult for one's own conscience.

Art. 4 - PRACTICES
1 - *Fighting against political corruption*. It is the politician's duty to contrast any form of corruption in public affairs and in the exercise of public functions.
2 - *Malpractice in Public Bodies.* The politician must demand, especially from state entities, that no public instruments are used for the diffusion of malpractices and for their justification.
It is necessary to prevent, through an active and organised control of public administration as well as of the legitimate representations of the persons involved, grievous attempts to mislead the public's good faith, situations contrary to the law and morality or the use of diffusion and propaganda means intended for the common good to be used for other specific purposes.
Information must be for the service of the people, according to truthful criteria.
In particular, information from public entities must not be manipulated for party purposes. To this end, professional tasks must be assigned on the basis of professionalism.
3 - *Recruitment of personnel in Public Administration.* Taking into account the fact that public service is the highest service in civil society, the Christian involved operates to ensure that the recruitment of personnel by the state and local Public Administrations takes places exclusively through public competition.
4 - *Principle of separation of State powers and of judiciary powers.* Notwithstanding the constitutional principle of the separation of the three powers of the state (legislative, executive and judicial powers), the magistrate must absolutely behave as a "third party" between disputing positions, both from a moral and political point of view.
In accordance with the code's ethical principles, the magistrate who moves to politics can no longer return to a judicial position.
5 -*Social structures that promote corruption.* Politics has the duty to contrast those social structures that facilitate corruption, waste and fiscal evasion.
6 - *Morality and public affairs.* To fight the diffusion of immorality in public affairs, it is necessary to contrast the proliferation of public entities and the interference of the state in enterprises, economic institutions of any type, as this intervention in economic relationships may have an impact on the relaxation of moral values.
As a rule, public expenditure should not exceed a specific level of GDP (e.g.: 45% of GDP), including running costs of public enterprises, to prevent public macro-structures from becoming the source of economic inefficiencies (due to diseconomy of scale) and places of corruptions for parties and of illicit connivance between the state and public industry with economic relationships with the state.

7 - *Incompatibility between those who control and those who are controlled.* The confirmation of incompatibility between the controllers and the controlled is a requirement of political ethics and in consequence the separation of the responsibilities of the parliament representative from those of the public administrator, both at central and at local levels. The negation or dismissal of fundamental Christian principles, and not only Christian, also inevitably leads to severe of social decadence situations. The repudiation of this principle is the primary cause of widespread corruption and of the deterioration in private and public moral standards.
8 - *Abuse of public resources.* Contrasting any abuse of public money is a must, even if the abuse is to the benefit of parliamentary, regional or party political groups.
9 - *Funding of political parties.* Public financing of parties (private law associations according to the Italian Constitution) at the expense of the budget of the state and of public entities, is not acceptable.
Funding is acceptable in voluntary forms, with the subscription of 0.5% of the IRPEF payment, with donations from individuals or private legal companies as long as recognised in the financial statements and approved by the members of the juridical entity, both Italian and non-Italian.
Private and legal entities may deduct the cost of donations from their taxable income in their tax return.
Receipt of the donation must be documented and in any case made public.

Art. 5 - MORALITY
1 - *Malpractice and public immorality.* Generally the secular Christian involved in politics must consider their moral duty to be in net opposition to all forms of public immorality, and in any case to all manifestations contrary to Christian morality, with particular reference to natural right.
2 – *Sexuality.* With regard to sexuality, which is part of personal freedom, the Christian involved in politics does not apply any form of discrimination, as long as it is an experience lived in the respect of Christian morality and of all sensitivities (of others).
3 - *Instrumental acquisition of paternity or maternity*. With regard to the forms of acquisition of paternity or maternity through instrumental means, such as artificial insemination, solutions as close as possible to the natural law must be recommended.
4. - *Marriage and civil partnerships.*
a) The Christian involved in politics recognises the family founded on a religious (or civil) marriage between one man and a woman, as the natural nucleus for the continuation of the human species.
b) With regard to civil unions between same sex people of age, they must respect freedom of choices even though not sharing the same beliefs.
c) They are against the adoption of minors by these partnerships.
5 – *Paedophilia.* With regard to paedophilia, it must be absolutely condemned.
6 - *Toxic dependency.* With regard to forms of pathological addictions, to drugs and similar substances, or to gambling, they must absolutely condemn any expression of these forms, especially if exercised for gains purposes.
7 - *Education to good practices.* Promoting education for decency, in particular in educational institutions, must remain an essential purpose of Christian politics.

Art. 6 - PARTY DISCIPLINE
1 - *Respect for the rules of democratic decisions.* The principle of respect of the rules of democratic decisions must be observed, as must any other directive democratically be adopted by the Party's legitimate organs.
Respect relates to a set of rules for co-existence and realisation, rules for exercise and defence, and must also relate to relationships with democratically elected officers to whose directives the member's activities must be coordinated with and subject to. Any form of lack of discipline due to ignorance, bad faith, partisan attitudes, presumption, and such as to weaken the Party must be contrasted.
All forms of participation and cooperation among members must aim to form an active working community within the Party in which individuals are respected, as are the needs to respect the rules of democratic decision.
2 - *Observance of statutory and regulatory norms.*
The party's Statute must establish the duties of the party's members.

Every member is required to observe the Statute, the regulations and the decisions of the statutory organs, and must contribute to their implementation and to the implementation of the programme and of the party's political line. Every violation of the above-mentioned duties is a violation of behavioural norms, with all the consequences that may derive from this.

Art. 7 - CRITICISM

1 - *Internal and external criticism*. While the Party's internal criticism may promote necessary clarifications and progression of ideas, external criticism may turn into a form of defeatism that provides weapons to its adversaries.
All members are required to respect confidentiality with regard to the decisions relating to the Party, with the exception of those published by the Party, which guarantees their truthfulness.
2 - *Criticism and respect for Party decisions*. Criticism is admitted, but it must respect conference and management decisions.
The rules of the Party's management organs must be binding for subordinate organs and for all members. Dissent expressed internally may contribute to their amendment and improvement but they must be observed while they are applicable.
3 - *Criticism for people in government*. Criticism for people in government with respect to Party's directives must not be such as to become harmful to the Party which has appointed them to their offices, or harmful to the unity of the government body, notwithstanding the right to freedom of conscience.

Art. 8 - PARTY

1 - *Morality of the Party*. The morality of political conduct implies the morality of the Party, intended as a community of individuals inspired by the same principles and who place themselves at the service of political community. The Party must be considered not only as a "movement", but also as a "social body", which includes an organic system of rights and duties, a stable relationship between ends and means in an ethical and political social organism.
2 - *Educational action*. The Statute of the Party indicates the instruments for "training, presence and proposal actions", in order to prepare the ruling class in managing the three separate and complementary areas in which political actions is expressed, in varying degrees. The duty of training must be viewed as the duty of moral behaviour for every member.
3 – *Solidarity.* The duty of solidarity among Party members is expressed with the assumption of individual and social responsibilities, social harmony, the subordination to the provisions of the freely-elected managing organs, as the Party's top management are the free and democratic expression of the actual will of the "base".
The concept of solidarity is intended as its deepest and challenging meaning, that is to say, "a style of making history, in a vital environment where conflicts, tensions and opposing sides can reach a multi-faceted unity which generates new life" (Don Sturzo).
4 – *Assistance.* The Christian involved in politics must advise the citizen, assist them in their needs, help them rectify their incorrect orientations, cooperate with the individual to make their participation to the democratic system increasingly conscious.
5 - *Party crises and institutional crises*. It is trying to avoid any Party crisis, not only to protect the stability and efficiency of the Party, but also to prevent a Party crisis from causing an institution crisis.

Art. 9 - ORGANISATION

1 - *Rights of members*. Every member has the right to: "participate to the Party's activities", "contribute to the determination of the political line", "take part in the election of statutory organs", that is to say exercise the political rights that relate to the admission of candidatures to public offices, and every public and private appointment in which the Party has a direct or indirect competence.
2 - *Banning of specific ideological movements and trends*. A party must have representation organs that faithfully represent the pragmatic orientations of its members, even if only in general lines, and endure that these organs are able to take prompt decisions at the same time.
In this sense it is a duty, not only a political duty but also a moral one (for the respect of the solidarity law and of the need for political unity) to limit the number of sections, or setting significant thresholds to bar entry; or, in the case of

proportional distribution of places, preventing the formation of groups with a number of members under a determined threshold (e.g. 30%) of the members of the body in question.
3 – *Members' referendum*s. The use of referendums among members by the Party to determine the most important political orientation directions is admitted, so as to best guarantee the certainty and democratic nature of major decisions, avoiding leaving them to the arbitrariness and competition of powerful organs or groups.

Art. 10 - ELECTIONS
1 - *Behaviour of the Christian candidate involved in politics*. The candidate must respect the rules of electoral morality which require: truthful promotion, loyalty towards other candidates, objectivity in the criticism of adversaries, faithfulness to the Party's programme, refusal to be a candidate in contrary or competing lists.
2 - *Declaration of electoral expenses*. Every candidate, whether elected or not, must publish and document the expenses incurred for electoral campaigning and electoral financing, if any, received by the same candidate or by the Party for electoral purposes.
3 - *Respect for unreconcilable difference.*
When accepting the candidature, candidates in the Party's lists must declare that there are no reasons for ineligibility, incompatibility or impediments deriving from the law of the state.
Any other incompatibility of a moral nature must also be respected, even if not juridically sanctioned, as in the case of participation, in addition to the Party itself, to associations in part or totally hostile to Christian values.

Art. 11 - PARLIAMENT
1 - *Defensive duty of the legislative function*
The Christian parliamentary representative or individual involved in politics must defend the independence of legislative activities fighting against interventions that interfere with the free and responsible exercise of parliamentary functions, opposing undue interference by people with specific interests.
2 - *Freedom rights of the parliamentary representative*. The freedom of the parliamentary representative must be respected, but so must also the freedom of their Chamber.
With regard to the first case, there is no imperative mandate on electors, according to Art. 6 of the Constitution, nor on Groups. The Parliament may not be considered as a "registration Chamber".
Rules of conduct contrast party politics, promoting freedom in relation to parliamentary responsibilities.
With regard to the second case, full parliamentary freedom must be intended as being exercised within the parliamentary Group, which takes decisions according to the rules provided for the gravity and importance of the topics of decisions, notwithstanding cases of conscientious objection, referred to above.
3 - *Duties of the Christian legislator*. For the correct and efficient performance of the office of legislator, the parliamentary representative is required to have juridical experience, knowledge of legislative techniques, skills and objectivity in the discipline on which they legislate. Those who neglect competence training and professional ethics do not do their duty any justice.
4 - *Fighting against parliamentary absenteeism*. To prevent the decadence of the parliamentary institution, the seat of democracy, correct conduct contrasts the ills of absenteeism of parliamentary representatives, providing sanctions for the Group and also the termination of their office for absenteeism, if in excess of a 20% threshold, excluding sick leave and absence for public service.
5 - *Authorisation to proceed against a member of parliament.*
A correct moral conduct, together with the authority of the functions of the parliamentary representative, are to be promoted.
To this end, the members of the parliamentary commission vote without any party restriction. The acceptance of the request for authorisation to proceed by the magistrature is approved with at least an absolute majority.
The request from the magistrature must be considered valid, if made by a committee of magistrates composed of at least three judges.
6 - *System for incriminating Ministers.* To guarantee equal justice for all and to eliminate privileges determined by political complicity, ministries are subject to the Court of Ministers although, however, they are guaranteed the possibility of seeking a second opinion.

Art. 12 – PARLIAMENTARY AND ADVISORY GROUPS
1 - *Respect for the Group's directives*. The parliamentary representative must respect the directives of their parliamentary Group, so as not to weaken the Group and the efficiency of its operations within the Parliament, according to the electoral mandate.
2 - *Presentation of law proposals.* It is necessary to respect the Group's discipline with regard to the presentation of law proposals, amendments and agendas. Before presentation, they must be submitted to the executive body of their own parliamentary Group.
- *Dissenting speeches*. It is the parliamentary representative's duty to preventively advise in writing, with the relative motivation, the Group's executive body in case they intend to make a speech in parliament disagreeing with the Group's orientation.

Art. 13 - VOTING
1 - *Sincerity in voting*. The ethical principle of the parliamentary representative's full transparency with regard to the electorate must be stated, and therefore the abolition of secret votes is desirable.
With regard to dissent in voting, courage is required to express one's own personal opinion, as well as sincerity in the motivation for the dissent.
2 - *Loyalty and publicity of dissenting votes*. Parliamentary dissent on a vote must be fair, public and previously communicated to the parliamentary Group's executive body.
3 - *Voting and respect for one's conscience*.
No parliamentary representative may be forced to vote against their conscience.
The constitutional provision that requires every parliamentary representative to "exercise their functions without obligation from mandate" (Art. 67 of the Constitution) must be abolished.

Art. 14 - PUBLIC OPINION
1 - *Orientation of public opinion*. It is the politician's duty to inspire their political activities to the conviction that respect of moral rules can efficiently impact, more than any other activity, on the correct behaviour of public opinion.
2 - *Public opinion and disinformation*. It is the Party's duty to cooperate on the formation of a correct public opinion and to contrast sectarian disinformation.
3 - *Fighting scandals and sectarianism.* It is every party's member duty to defend the Party and its members from untrue and denigrating scandalism and fight any sectarianism in the press and in demagogic declarations.

Art. 15 - PRESS
1 -*Duty to clarify and deny*. The Christian, whether holding or not holding public functions, has the duty to clarify or deny gratuitous press declarations and arbitrary and sectarian or misleading interviews regarding their political activity. It is essential to prevent false or imprecise or in any case discrediting positions affecting public opinion. False information reported by the press must be contrasted, and it is necessary to cooperate with the Party, fighting sectarian prejudice of the Party's reputation they intend to defend.

Art. 16 - SANCTIONS
1. *Disciplinary measures*. The Party's statute will determine which disciplinary measures can be taken in relatively less serious cases of lack of respect of any behavioural rules.
The Statute will indicate the ultimate disciplinary organ, absolutely independent from the executive body.

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Note The encyclical letters listed are the consolidated foundation of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. The foundation test is Rerum Novarum. Subsequent encyclical letters are updates of the previous ones, with the progression of situations and socio-cultural evolution, but still, however, starting from the same initial point.
For a school level but authoritative critical summary of the social doctrine, please refer to:
- G. Diez Alegria, Problemi di etica sociale (dal punto di vista cristiano) (Social ethics issues (from a Christian point of view)), Lezioni, Pontificia Università
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APPENDIX FOLLOWS.

1 See: G. Galli, Storia della DC (History of the DC), 1943-93, Kaos, Milan, 2007, p. 47, in accordance to the reference by G. Rossi, Lo scudo crociato (The Crusader shield), Armando ed. , Rome 2014, p. 207.
2 Apart from this, it is known that parish priests and bishops are in any case entitled to vote.