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IMMEDIATE

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ITALY

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Cabinet Office

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NO. 616 OF 1 DEC 82

INFO PRIORITY COPENHAGEN, UKREP BRUSSELS

SAVING FOR INFO OTHER EC POSTS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MADRID,
LISBON AND CONSULATES IN ITALY

MY TELEGRAM NO. 603 AND MIPT (NOT TO ALL): ITALIAN CRISIS: FANFANI

1. FANFANI WILL BE BOTH THE NEWEST AND THE ELDEST HEAD OF GOVERN-
MENT PESENT AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL. HE WAS DC PARTY SECRETARY,
AND THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE, WHEN ITALY SIGNED THE TREATY OF
ROME. HE IS A VIGOROUS 74 AND HIS CAREER COINCIDES WITH THE LIFE
OF THE POST-WAR REPUBLIC. HE BECAME A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
WHEN 28, AND SERVED AS MINISTER OF LABOUR IN 1947, WHEN 39, DC
SECRETARY IN 1954 (AND AGAIN IN 1973-6), FOUR TIMES PRESIDENT OF THE
COUNCIL BETWEEN 1954 AND 1963, AND SUCCESSIVELY FOREIGN MINISTER.
FOR MANY YEARS NOW HE HAS BEEN PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. THE ONE JOB
THAT HAS ELUDED HIM, NOT FOR WANT OF TRYING, IS THE PRESIDENCY OF
THE REPUBLIC, AND THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT HE WILL RUN FOR IT AGAIN
WHEN PERTINI'S TERM IS OVER. FOR FULLER DETAILS OF HIM (AND OF HIS
SECOND WIFE) SEE OUR LPR.

2. IT IS MISLEADING TO PIN LEFT OR RIGHT-WING LABELS ON DC POLITI-
CIANS AND FANFANI IS NO EXCEPTION. IN THE 1950S HE WAS THE ARC-
HITECT, WITH MORO, OF THE CENTRE-LEFT FORMULA, WHICH WEENED NENNI'S
SOCIALISTS AWAY FROM THEIR PREVIOUS ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS.
WHEN HE RESIGNED AS PRIME MINISTER FOR THE LAST TIME IN 1963,
ABANDONED BY HIS PARTY AFTER THEIR ELECTORAL SETBACK, HE SAID THAT
THE CENTRE LEFT WAS 'NOT IRREVERSIBLE'. IN THE 1970S, AS PARTY
SECRETARY FOR THE SECOND TIME, HE LED THE DC CAMPAIGN AGAINST
DIVORCE AND ABORTION, THE INTRODUCTION OF WHICH WERE SUCCESSFULLY
SUPPORTED BY THE LEFT: ANOTHER SETBACK FROM WHICH HE NEVERTHELESS
BOUNCED BACK. NOW IN 1982, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER HIS PRESIDE-
NTIAL ASPIRATIONS. THE DC HAVE HISTORICALLY SELDOM BEEN UNITED
BEHIND A SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE, AND DC PRESIDENTS HAVE
NEARLY ALWAYS HAD TO RELY ON SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST VOTES OR ABST-
ENTIONS. FANFANI WILL NOT WANT TO BURN HIS BOATS THIS WINTER WITH
THE PCI, ANY MORE THAN OTHER ASPIRANTS LIKE ANDREOTTI OR SPADOLINI.
3. THIS PUTS A QUESTION MARK OVER HIS HANDLING OF ITALY'S GROWING
ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. HE WAS THE MAN OF THE POST-WAR ECON-
OMIC MIRACLE, A SPENDER RATHER THAN A SAVER, WHO REMEMBERS WITH
PRIDE HOW STRONG THE LIRA WAS WHEN HE WAS IN POWER. HE LIKES
CONCRETE, IDENTIFIABLE ACHIEVEMENTS (E.C. THE POST-WAR COUNCIL HOUSE

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/BUILDING

BUILDING PROGRAMME OR THE STATE-LED DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY), AND MAY FIND IT DISTASTEFUL TO GRAPPLE WITH ITALY'S INTRACTABLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HE BEGAN BY PROPOSING A RELATIVELY TOUGH AUSTERITY PROGRAMME (PARA 3 OF MY TUR), ONLY TO DRAW BACK UNDER PSI PRESSURE. AS AGAINST THIS, HE HAS AN ENORMOUS SENSE OF DESTINY, AND MIGHT WELL WANT TO BE REMEMBERED AS 'THE SAVIOUR OF ITALY'. AND HE IS A PRAGMATIST: HE WILL TRY ANY SOLUTION ONCE AND THEN ANOTHER IF THE FIRST DOES NOT WORK.

4. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE IS REMEMBERED IN THREE MAIN CONNEXIONS: ADVOCACY OF A 'MEDITERRANEAN POLICY' (WITH THE BACKING OF MATTEI, THE FOUNDER OF THE STATE OIL COMPANY ENI); THE VIETNAM PEACE FEELERS WHICH CAUSED HIS TEMPORARY RESIGNATION IN 1966; AND, LESS OBVIOUSLY BUT IMPORTANT IN THE CURRENT CONTEXT, HIS DECISION IN 1958 TO ACCEPT U S MISSILE BASING IN ITALY, THE FIRST CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN STATESMAN TO DO SO. THERE IS SOME CONCERN, WHICH THE REPUBLICANS ARE NOW VOICING, ABOUT HIS ATTITUDE TO INF BASING AT COMISO. IN THE PAST HE HAS BEEN ATTRACTED BY THE IDEA OF TAKING A DRAMATIC 'PEACE INITIATIVE'. BUT HIS COALITION COLLEAGUES CAN BE EXPECTED TO HEM HIM IN AND, TIRELESS THOUGH HE IS, ITALY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE BOUND TO CLAIM MUCH OF HIS ATTENTION.

5. ONE WONDERS WHY AT HIS AGE HE HAS TAKEN ON THIS THANKLESS TASK. ONE SUGGESTION HAS BEEN THAT HE SEES IT AS A WAY OF SMOOTHING HIS PATH TO THE QUIRINALE (PARA 2 ABOVE), BUT FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST THE COMMUNISTS ARE PROCLAIMING FIERCER OPPOSITION TO HIS GOVERNMENT THAN THEY DID TO SPADOLINI'S. THE ANSWER MAY SIMPLY BE THAT HE IS A GAMBLER, WHO THRIVES ON NEW CHALLENGES. HIS CRITICS SAY THAT, UNLIKE MORO, HE REACTS TO EVENTS INSTEAD OF TRYING TO IMPOSE A PATTERN UPON THEM. THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL TEST HIM.

6. THE AMBASSADOR AND HIS WIFE KNOW FANFANI AND HIS SECOND WIFE WELL, AND IT CAN ONLY BE OF HELP TO THE EMBASSY THAT HE SHOULD HAVE UNVEILED OUR HENRY MOORE STATUE ON THE VERY DAY THAT PERTINI ASKED HIM TO TRY TO FORM A GOVERNMENT.

7. FCO PSE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES EXCEPT CONSULATES IN ITALY.

SIMPSON-ORLEBAR

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

T240/82
2

Italian Embassy
14, Three Kings Yard,
London, W.1.

11216

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T240/82.

London, 22nd December 1982.

CC MASTER, OPS.

Prime Minister

JF
23/12

Jan Mr. Coles,

I have pleasure in enclosing, herewith, a message addressed to the Prime Minister by the President of the Italian Council of Ministers, Senator Amintore Fanfani. A rough translation is also provided.

with very best wishes for Christmas and a happy New Year, I remain truly yours

Luigi M. Fontana Giusti,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Mr. A.J. Coles,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON S.W.1.

encs.

ROUGH TRANSLATION

TEXT OF THE MESSAGE ADDRESSED BY SENATOR AMINTORE FANFANI
TO THE PRIME MINISTER

I was very pleased to receive the message you kindly sent me on the occasion of my appointment as President of the Council of Ministers, and I wish to thank you very much.

I am sure that the friendly relations existing between our two Countries, both involved in the construction of Europe and both bound by their membership to NATO, will be further strengthened.

Hoping to meet you again in order to continue together our fruitful work, I reciprocate to you my warmest wishes for your task as Prime Minister and for your personal well-being.

Amintore Fanfani

TESTO DEL MESSAGGIO DEL PRESIDENTE DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI
AL PRIMO MINISTRO

Ho molto gradito il messaggio che Ella ha voluto inviarmi in occasione della mia nomina a Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri e La ringrazio vivamente. Sono certo che le amichevoli relazioni fra i nostri due Paesi, entrambi impegnati nel processo di edificazione dell'Europa, e legati dalla comune appartenenza all'Alleanza Atlantica, potranno ulteriormente rafforzarsi.

Nell'attesa di rivederLa e di riprendere insieme il nostro fruttuoso lavoro, ricambio i più sentiti voti augurali per le Sue attività di Governo e per il suo benessere personale.

Amintore Fanfani

ITALY

2 December 1982

Senator Fanfani

Thank you for your letter of 2 December. As I told Brian Fall on the telephone, the message to Senator Fanfani can be despatched, though the word "seeing" should be substituted for "meeting".

The Prime Minister has also approved the message to Senator Spadolini.

AJC

Roger Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 December, 1982

John Pym

You may already have heard that a new coalition government has been formed in Italy under the leadership of a Christian Democrat, Senator Amintore Fanfani. I enclose a biographical note. The new coalition comprises, apart from the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, the Social Democrats and Liberals. The Republican Party decided against joining the coalition but will support the Government. Signor Colombo remains Foreign Minister. The new Government's chances of survival beyond next spring are not rated very high. The Embassy in Rome will be commenting by telegram.

Mr Pym recommends that the Prime Minister send a message of congratulations to Senator Fanfani before the start of the European Council (which he is expected to attend). I enclose a draft telegram which also includes a message to the outgoing Prime Minister, Senator Spadolini.

*Yours
R B Bone*

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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FANFANI, SENATOR AMINTORE

Prime Minister (Christian Democrat)

Born 1908. Elected member of the DC Party Directorate in May 1946. Member of Constituent Assembly 1946-48 for Siena; Deputy for Arezzo 1948-72, then life Senator. He held a wide variety of ministerial posts before serving briefly as Prime Minister in 1954. Secretary of the DC Party 1954-58, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister July 1958 to February 1959, Prime Minister again July 1960 to June 1963. In January 1962, together with Moro, he converted the Christian Democrats to the policy of 'opening to the Left' and included Social Democrats and Republicans in Government with, for the first time, Parliamentary support from the Socialists.

In the General Election of April 1963, however, the Communist vote increased by a million; Fanfani was much criticised in his own party and resigned in May.

Reappointed Foreign Minister in March 1965, he was elected President of the General Assembly of the UN in September, only to resign early in 1966. Foreign Minister again in the third Moro administration, to June 1968. He then became President of the Senate, a position which he retained until the DC Congress in June 1973 when he was reelected Secretary of the Party. Fanfani's personality and hard-line policy were responsible for setbacks to the Christian Democrats over the Divorce Referendum in 1974 and in the regional elections in June 1975, and he was replaced as Party Secretary the following month.

Signor Fanfani again became President of the Senate (and therefore in protocol terms second only to the President of the Republic) in July 1976. He remains an outstanding, if not attractive figure in the DC Party and in Italian politics. Intelligent, quick, tireless, he is an ambitious man of great organising ability and oratorical skill. He does not inspire trust or affection and is a man of few scruples in promoting his ambitions. His tiny stature perhaps contributes to his aggressiveness.

Though he has been friendly and helpful to the UK when it suited him, it was never certain that he was whole-hearted in his support of British entry into the EEC. Speaks some French and Spanish but virtually no English.

Married his second wife, Signora Maria Pia Tavazzani in 1975. His second marriage seems to have rejuvenated him and if possible increased his ambition to play some further key role in Italian politics: Maria Pia is hyperactive and, for lack of anyone effective above her, has acted with relish the role of First Lady. To her delight, the Fanfanis attended Prince Charles' wedding.

OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats

RESTRICTED

Precedence/Deskby

IMMEDIATE

1 ZCZC

2 GRS

3 RESTRICTED

4

5

6 FM FCO

7 TO IMMEDIATE ROME

8 TELEGRAM NUMBER

9 NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

10 1. Please convey the following message from the Prime Minister
11 to Senator Fanfani (and report when it has been delivered):

12 BEGINS:

13 Please accept my warm congratulations on your appointment as
14 Prime Minister. Your long experience in European and international
15 affairs will be a great benefit to us all at this time. I look
16 forward very much to ^{seeing} meeting you at the European Council. ENDS

17 2. Please also pass the following message to Senator Spadolini
18 when you judge it appropriate:

19 BEGINS

20 I should like to take this opportunity to say how much I have
21 enjoyed working with you during the past 18 months. I have
22 greatly valued the cooperation between us during your period
23 in office. I send you my best wishes for the future.

24
25 PYM NNN

NNNN ends telegram

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Catchword

File number

Dept

PRIVATE OFFICE

Distribution

Drafted by (Block capitals)

R B BONE

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தமிழ்நாடு
12-1-2004

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The Italian Ambassador
to the United Kingdom

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London, 1st december, 1982

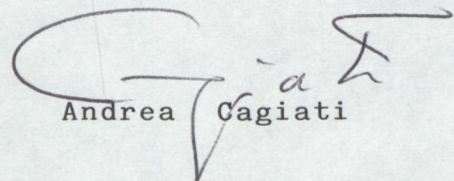
Prime Minister

Dear Mr. Coles,

A.J.C. 3/12.

I have the pleasure of enclosing herewith a message addressed to the Prime Minister by the President of the Italian Council of Ministers, Senator Giovanni Spadolini. A rough translation of the same is also provided.

Very sincerely yours


Andrea Cagiati

Encs.

A. J. Coles, Esq.,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,
10, Downing St.,
London S W 1

T 229/82

ROUGH TRANSLATION

At the time of relinquishing my office of Prime Minister of the Republic of Italy, I wish to express to you my deepest gratitude for the co-operation and kindness shown to me during the whole period I led the Italian Government.

The relations between our two Countries, during this period, have recorded fruitful developments, also thanks to the deepening of the ties of personal friendship between us and the several meetings we had bilaterally and within the European Community and NATO.

I hope that these happy relations will continue to develop in the interest of peace and security, as well as world economic progress, thus bringing about the unification of Europe which we all pursue. I also hope that there will still be opportunities for us to meet in the future.

In expressing to you my sincere good wishes for the continuation of your high mission and in renewing the personal feelings of my most cordial friendship, please accept, dear Prime Minister, my warmest regards.

Giovanni Spadolini

TESTO DEL MESSAGGIO DEL PRESIDENTE DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI, SENATORE
GIOVANNI SPADOLINI, INDIRIZZATO AL PRIMO MINISTRO INGLESE

Nel momento in cui mi accingo a lasciare la carica di Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri della Repubblica italiana, desidero esprimere la mia piu' profonda gratitudine per la collaborazione offerta e la cordialita' da Lei dimostratami durante tutto il periodo in cui ho guidato il Governo italiano.

I rapporti fra i nostri due Paesi, in questo periodo, hanno registrato un fecondo sviluppo grazie anche all'approfondirsi dei vincoli di amicizia personale fra noi ed ai ripetuti incontri che abbiamo avuto sia bilateralmente che in sede europea ed atlantica.

Mi auguro che tali felici rapporti potranno continuare a svilupparsi, nell'interesse della pace e della sicurezza, non meno che del progresso economico nel mondo e al fine di portare a realizzazione quel disegno di unificazione europea che noi tutti perseguiamo. Mi auguro inoltre che non mancheranno in futuro occasioni di incontro fra noi.

Nel formularLe sinceri voti augurali per il proseguimento della Sua alta missione e nel rinnovarLe i sentimenti personali della piu' cordiale amicizia, Le invio i miei migliori saluti.

GIOVANNI SPADOLINI