Visit by President Pertini of Haly in February 1984

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THE PRIME MINISTER

23 May, 1984

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T86/84

GE a MASTON

Hear In. President.

Thank you so much for your charming letter of 14 May.

I recall our meeting in London with the greatest pleasure. I was deeply touched by the gift which you forwarded from the citizens of Porto d'Ascoli. Italian craftsmanship is renowned; and the shoes are a fine example. I am most grateful.

With best wishes,

His Excellency Signor Alessandro Pertini

10 DOWNING STREET 23 May 1984 From the Private Secretary Thank you for your letter of 18 May about the shoes made for the Prime Minister by the citizens of Porto d'Ascoli. The Prime Minister has written to President Pertini to convey her thanks - you will receive her letter separately. A.J. COLES His Excellency The Lord Bridges, K.C.M.G.



BRITISH EMBASSY.

ROME.

18 May 1984

J A Coles Esq 10 Downing Street LONDON SW1

Dear John

I had a telephone call from President Pertini last weekend, who asked me to forward to the Prime Minister two pairs of shoes which had been specially made for her by the citizens of a town called Porto d'Ascoli in le Marche, which is a centre of shoe production. We believe that the citizens ascertained the Prime Minister's size beforehand: I certainly hope they fit.

Pertini has now sent round the shoes with the attached personal letter to the Prime Minister. It seemed to me that, in the circumstances, I could not fail to send them on, and I take the opportunity of a visit by the Chancellor of the Exchequer here this weekend for a G10 meeting, to send them to you.

Bridges

Jum ere Tom.

Aroun. 12-maggio. 1984

• Il Tresidente della Repubblica Italiana

PRIME MINISTER

PERSONAL MESUAGE SERIAL No. T67A184 a mater

Gentile Tiguoza e cara Amica, il unio viaggio a Loudan vive in une quale dolce ricardo. L'incontro con dei è stato un incontro fra autichi amici, suori di ogni regola spotocollere. Do souo un deciso nemico del protocollo.

noi a siamo inconhati sul terreno dell'acuiazia.

Noi a siamo inconhati sul terreno dell'acuiazia.

L'amicizia-a mio avviso- ha un grande velore enche
in solitica. Non dimenticheso mai la serole incite con
uno ssillo da Anna Bolena su una serete della celu
uno ssillo da Anna Bolena su una serete della celu
della "Torre di donda" alla rigilia della Sua decasiterione: "Nulla è sia prezioso d'un amico."

H nosto incontro, Gentile Siguoza, ha averto risourne que uno 10/000, che tanto acua l'Inghie-

toria.

Cosi, un gruffo d'italiam, amminat e commos losi, un gruffo com estrema semplicità di uno. si, hanno voluto com estrema semplicità di uno. si hanno voluto com estrema semplicatà di uno. strema a Lei [ed ancte a me] la loro gioia com surider quel questo semplice domo : E soo fara sorrider quel ete Suo compassato connagionale! Lei, gentile ete Suo compassato connagionale! Lei, gentile ete Suo compassato connagionale! Lei, gentile semplice manifestazione di affetto. semplice manifestazione di affetto. semplice grader, cara sigura, i miei saluti sinteremente offe thuon, espessione di amialia. Luo sandro Terrini

Luo sandro Terrini

My visit to London is a sweet memory for me. Our meeting was a meeting between old friends when protocol was set aside. I am myself opposed to protocol. We met on grounds of friendship.

Friendship, in my opinion, has a great value, particularly in politics. I shall never forget the words engraved with a pin by Anne Boleyn on a wall of her cell in the Tower of London on

Our meeting, dear Madam, was followed with great interest

A group of Italian admirers therefore wished, with great simplicity, to show that appreciation to you (and incidentally to me) by means of this simple present. Perhaps this will make some of your compatriots smile! You too may smile, dear Madam, with some pleasure at this genuine expression of affection.

Please accept, dear Madam, my best wishes with this expression of friendship.

Yours,

(Signed) Sandro Pertini



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 March, 1984

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of 8 March which I have shown to the Prime Minister. It is good to know that President Pertini enjoyed his visit here - and I am glad that you yourself enjoyed the lunch at No. 10.

A.J. COLES

His Excellency The Lord Bridges, K.C.M.G.





A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street LONDON SW1 BRITISH EMBASSY.

ROME.

8 March 1984

Mine Minister.

A. d. c. 3.

ME

Dear John.

I do not know whether Pertini has written to the Prime Minister to thank her for the lunch given in his honour, but you may like to know that he telephoned me yesterday to say how very much he had enjoyed his visit, and what great pleasure his visit to No. 10 in particular had given him. He asked me to convey his gratitude to the Prime Minister, and to remind her of the great respect he has for her. Hence this letter.

Pertini spoke with obvious sincerity and I believe from all I hear that he and the staff accompanying him were genuinely delighted with their visit. The description of the various events in the Italian press was extremely warm and they were well covered on television.

From my own observation point I would say that it is rare to enjoy a formal visit as much as I did this. I shall not quickly forget the atmosphere of allegria and good company created in the State Dining Room at No. 10 on that occasion. It seemed to me to be an excellent party, and the key to the other successful events which followed.

your era

Bridges



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 February 1984

In dops.

Visit of the President of Italy

President Pertini called at No. 10 at noon today for talks. I enclose a record of the conversation.

for an ge Cola.

Roger Bone, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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SUBJECT CONFIDENTIAL CC Master

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY AT 12 O'CLOCK ON WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY AT 10 DOWNING STREET

Present

The Prime Minister
Lord Bridges
Mr. Coles
Interpreter

President Pertini Signor Andreotti Signor Maccanico The Italian Ambassador Interpreter

The <u>Prime Minister</u> suggested that the discussion should concentrate on the Lebanon, East/West relations and European Community issues.

President Pertini said that he had been in the Lebanon when the situation was very difficult and the Italian contingent in the MNF was still present. Italian troops had been greatly respected by the local population. He had also visited Jordan and had received President Gemayel. The situation now was very serious and worried him greatly. He did not know what the solution was. But he doubted whether President Gemayel himself would be able to achieve a solution.

Signor Andreotti said that the immediate problem was to try to obtain a favourable vote in the UN Security Council on a UN force. It remained to be seen whether, inspite of the internal divisions in the Lebanon, the various groups positively wanted a united Lebanon with territorial integrity. It might be that there was a greater possibility of achieving this because of the comparative weakness of Israel. It was not clear whether President Gemayel would be able to form a government of national unity or whether another leader such as Franjieh would be better suited to the task. The latter was again a Maronite but was not committed to the Phalange; he was regarded favourably by Syria and might be better placed to make progress. But it could not be excluded that Syria would prefer Gemayel simply because he was weaker.

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Italy was concerned about the Palestinians who remained in the refugee camps. There was a risk of attacks upon them similar to those which had occurred at Sabra and Chatila.

Italy had hoped that its contingent could stay in the Lebanon until a UN force arrived. But when the United States decided to withdraw, the Italian troops were left in the Shia part of the city. There was a terrible risk that if the United States had shelled the Shia area the retaliation would have resulted in Italian victims. So the Italian contingent had embarked leaving behind 100 soldiers to protect the Italian Embassy and a naval unit which would stay there until a UN force arrived. The Italian hospital had been given to the Shia community which was the only authority which could take it on. There were also volunteer doctors and nurses who were ready to come to the Lebanon if required.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> explained that the British contingent had been in a particularly exposed position. Once the United States had decided to redeploy the other contributors had little option but to do the same. We too had been worried about the consequences of US shelling. So our contingent had been put on RFA RELIANT but a representative continued to attend the MNF Coordination meetings.

We shared Italian concern about the future. It had once looked as though the 17 May Agreement was the stumbling block. But other demands had also been tabled. It was very difficult to assess the significance of Saudi efforts to promote a solution. Their 8 point plan had appeared to be little more than a set of aspirations. She was very doubtful whether complete Israeli and Syrian withdrawal could be secured. But if President Gemayel could re-engage in negotiations and if a UN force could replace the MNF, that would be an advance. Syrian cooperation was essential. It was her impression that the major Lebanese groups wished to achieve a solution in order to prevent the extremists taking over. So there was possibly an opportunity for constructive negotiation. We too were actively supporting the idea of a Security Council Resolution on a UN force.

It was possible to learn certain lessons from events in the Lebanon. All the MNF contributors had been able to foresee what might happen, ie that there might be a major deterioration in the situation. But they had not been able to agree on effective contingency planning. The four contributors had not been able to meet regularly. There was clearly a need for better crisis management.

Signor Andreotti said that the Saudis had made a series of proposals for a solution in the Lebanon. But the basic problem was that the Lebanese government and army were not able to function properly because of the mixed composition of the army. The Americans had made the mistake of believing that such an army could operate against individual communities such as the Shia. There had to be a Lebanese government representing all the major communities.

It was French objections that had prevented the four from meeting. France had been conducting negotiations with Syria and the Soviet Union about a UN force and it had suited them to avoid giving the impression that the four MNF contributors were united.

The 17 May Agreement had been a political error. At an earlier stage the United States had achieved a good relationship with Syria through the efforts of Ambassador Habib. But by failing to keep the Syrians informed about the negotiations for the 17 May Agreement the United States had created a serious lack of trust. When Italy had tried to broaden the MNF by including troops from Greece and Yugoslavia (and this in agreement with the United States) they had been surprised to discover, very late in the day, that the 17 May Agreement contained a clause by which President Gemayel had undertaken not to accept in the Lebanon troops from countries which had no diplomatic relations with Israel. This effectively excluded Greece, Yugoslavia and the moderate Arab countries. It was an absurd provision. The 17 May Agreement must now be considered obsolete. Otherwise countries which did not have diplomatic relations with Israel would not be able to participate in the UN force.

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The <u>Prime Minister</u> commented that she did not believe that an agreement between President Gemayel and Israel could affect the composition of the UN force. She wondered what effect the abrogation of the 17 May Agreement would have on Israel.

Signor Andreotti said that in November Assad had told him that it was necessary to save the face of both Gemayel and the United States - and that that could be achieved by replacing the 17 May Agreement by a broader agreement. Assad had also wished to secure Israeli withdrawal but recognised that Israel must have adequate security arrangements.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that the key was largely in Syrian hands. If the Saudis were willing to bring pressure to bear on Damascus, this could be useful. <u>Signor Andreotti</u> recalled that Syria, given its traditional attitude to the Lebanon, had never appointed an Ambassador to Beirut. Assad had told him that if sovereignty was not restored to the Lebanese the whole region, including Syria, would not be able to stay at peace.

Lord Bridges asked whether Syria wanted a strong, independent Lebanon or a nominally independent Lebanon that was weaker. The Prime Minister suggested that the Syrian aim was a puppet government in Beirut. Signor Andreotti expressed the view that Syria would always have great influence on the Lebanon. It was clear that many were working for a divided Lebanon, but he did not believe that that concept prevailed with the major interests involved.

President Pertini said that he believed in Lebanese unity but he doubted whether Gemayel could achieve it. The latter was very weak and was seeking help from everybody. If unity were to be achieved, Israel would have to withdraw. The Sadat/Begin agreement had achieved Israeli departure from Sinai but Israel had been more than compensated for this by the settlements it had been allowed to establish in the West Bank and elsewhere. The Prime Minister commented that the Israeli attitude was unlikely to change in the near future. She recalled that it was the Israelis who, by their opposition to the Reagan plan, had neutralised American peace efforts. King Hussein's recall of the Jordanian Parliament had

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been a shrewd move. She understood that the Americans had made it clear to the Israelis that they must allow West Bankers to take their seats in the Parliament. They had also pressed the Israelis to allow Arafat to leave Tripoli unimpeded.

More recently, there had been some developments which could facilitate the peace process but it would not be easy to persuade Israel to negotiate with the Palestinians. Signor Andreotti commented that in his view Israel would be prepared to negotiate with West Bank Palestinians eg the Arab mayors (Mr. Shamir himself had told him so) but the Israelis would not be prepared to negotiate with the PLO. The visit of President Mubarak to Washington and of Arafat to Cairo raised the possibility of the PLO adopting a more moderate stance. Israel, in its present economic condition, might be tempted to respond to this. He recalled a recent conversation in Washington with a Zionist leader who had expressed considerable anger with Israel because its South American type inflation belied the Israeli image of being good administrators.

He wished to inform the Prime Minister that an Orthodox Patriarch who lived six months of the year in Damascus and six in Beirut recently visited Rome and had seen himself and the President. He (Signor Andreotti) had given the Patriarch a letter to the Syrian Foreign Minister suggesting that, in the absence of an effective civil authority in the Lebanon, it might be worthwhile attempting to work through religious authorities, both Christian and non-Christian. The Patriarch had recently telephoned to say that he believed that he had secured a 15 day cease-fire which would give the parties time to meet and negotiate.

Turning to East/West relations, the <u>Prime Minister</u> said that the outstanding feature of the funeral arrangements and the accompanying talks had been the new ascendancy of Gromyko. He had made the best speech and had delivered it with a natural air of authority. He had also clearly influenced the various statements made by Chernenko at the latter's bilateral meetings. Gromyko seemed to have more authority than Ustinov. There was a general air of satisfaction that the Andropov experiment was over and that the comfortable old routine had returned. <u>President Pertini</u>

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said that when he had met Chernenko he had been courteously excluded from the conversation by Gromyko who had said that he wished to speak to Signor Andreotti. The President's impression was that Gromyko was now the salient figure in the Politburo. It might be an illusion but he believed that the Soviet Union wished to re-start the various negotiations which had been terminated.

Signor Andreotti said that Gromyko's great strength lay in his international experience and his close relationship with Ustinov. Some people thought that Gromyko might be chosen as President. There was less room for optimism than Vice President Bush had implied after his Moscow meetings, largely because the Kremlin still distrusted US intentions. This originated in the failure of Congress to ratify SALT II. The Russians did wish to resume negotiations but were very cautious. Stockholm would be important in establishing a general framework. But we should work on two points - first, the banning of chemical weapons, though effective verification measures were essential; secondly, the limitation on the use of space for military purposes. The Soviets were very alarmed about military use of space. They had begun their own activities but they knew that the United States had the power to outstrip them. If the United States were able to obtain such protection as to make them invulnerable to attack by the Soviet Union, this would create great problems for Europe which would be much more exposed. This could be a useful subject for dialogue.

The change of one person did not mean a change of Soviet policy. The Collegiate approach would survive. But he believed that the Russians were willing to conduct a dialogue, not least because of their economic situation. However, a dialogue would not bring quick results. Agreeing, the Prime Minister said that we had to tread softly and cautiously. But we must embark on the dialogue. President Pertini said that he entirely agreed.

Turning to European Community issues, the <u>Prime Minister</u> said that the more difficult the world situation, the greater the need to solve the Community's internal problems. She did not underestimate the difficulty of achieving solutions and the present rate of progress was not adequate. The difficulties in both

the agricultural and financial fields were enormous. President Mitterrand was being very active, especially through the series of bilateral talks which M. Dumas was conducting. We should not be too depressed if we did not solve all the problems in March but the Community must show the outside world that it was united. Recent speeches about the Community had been too gloomy. We should strike the note that the Community had its problems but that we were determined to solve them.

Signor Andreotti said that the current problems depressed those who had grown up with the European idea and now believed that their political dream could fail. He was convinced that it was a mistake to set rigid deadlines. There were two choices. Either the Treaty was strictly applied with no exceptions. Or greater flexibility was allowed within the framework of a policy of strict control of expenditure, taking into account the fact that every country had one or two points which it could not surrender without losing the trust of its people. In the case of the United Kingdom, there was the matter of a budget solution. But other countries had their problems - eg Ireland because of its special type of agriculture, Italy because of competition in Mediterranean products.

President Pertini said that he wished to make the point that the young King of Spain had overcome great difficulties in restoring and defending democracy. The King now felt abandoned. He (Pertini) had spoken to President Mitterrand who had explained the problems of Spanish entry into the Community. But these were not the real problems. He had told Mitterrand that it was the wine growers of Southern France who were preventing Spanish entry - and there had been no answer to this point. It was worth recalling that when the question of Greek entry into the Community had arisen, Italy had known that it would face new competition but had not on that account objected to Greek entry.

The discussion ended at 1300 hours.

PRIME MINISTER President Pertini 1. The visit begins with the usual guard of honour. Then talks in the White Room. Geoffrey Howe and Lord Bridges will join you. He will have: Andreotti Maccanico (Secretary-General, Presidency) Attolico (Diplomatic Adviser, Presidency) Cagiati (Italian Ambassador), 3. I attach notes for an after-lunch speech. You will remember that when in Rome he gave you a very nice Gucci scarf (and bag?). We suggest you give him a Crown A.J.C. Derby bowl. 21 February, 1984

TOAST OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY ON THE OCCASION OF THE LUNCHEON OFFERED IN HIS HONOUR BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MRS. MARGARET THATCHER

(LONDON, WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY 1984)

MADAM PRIME MINISTER,

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY FOR THEIR KIND INVITATION AND THE WARM WELCOME ACCORDED ME. MORE PARTICULARLY, THANK YOU, MADAM, FOR THE COURTEOUS WORDS WITH WHICH YOU HAVE DEEMED FIT TO GREET MY PRESENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN TODAY.

My BEING HERE - IF I MAY USE AN EXPRESSION WELL KNOWN HEREABOUTS - IS A "SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY", FOR I HAVE COME HERE TO ACCOMPANY VENICE TO ENGLAND, IN "LOVE'S LABOUR LOST", SHAKE-SPEARE PUTS A VERY SPECIAL INVOCATION IN THE MOUTH OF THE SCHOOL-MASTER HOLOFERNES: "VENETIA, VENETIA, CHI NON TE VEDE NON TE PRE-TIA", FOR CENTURIES, INDEED, VERITABLE THRONGS OF ENGLISHMEN HAVE COME TO OUR COUNTRY TO SEE VENICE AND ITALY AS A WHOLE. FOR CENTURIES, TOO, ITALIANS HAVE LOOKED TO ENGLAND AS A BEACON OF LIBERTY, AS A GOAL FOR THE ROAMING SPIRIT. AND IT WAS HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELISABETH WHO ON THE OCCASION OF HER VISIT TO ITALY POINTED OUT THAT THIS CULTURAL OSMOSIS HAS NOT SUFFERED ANY ABATEMENT, THAT IT IS TODAY AS INTENSE AS EVER IT WAS. NEW GENERATIONS OF ENGLISHMEN ARE TODAY CONTINUING THE TRADITIONS OF THE "ANGLOVE-NETIANS" AND THE "ANGLOFLORENTINES" OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, FOR WHOM ITALY WAS A "HOME OF THE SOUL", INDEED, THE HISTORY OF BRI-TAIN AND ITALY IS LITTERED WITH SUCH EXCHANGES OF "CULTURAL PAS-SIONS". BUT AFTER THESE INNUMERABLE ENGLISH PILGRIMAGES TO VENICE

AND HER LAGOON, IT IS FOR ONCE VENICE HERSELF TO COME IN PILGRIMAGE TO THIS COUNTRY, TO ALLOW HERSELF TO BE ADMIRED IN THE FLESH,
AS IT WERE, AD TO PAY BACK HER TRIBUTE OF HOMAGE FOR AN ADMIRATION
SHE HAS ENJOYED THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES.

AND YET IT IS NOT ONLY VENICE THAT RELIVES IN THIS GREAT EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY IN ALL THE SPLENDOUR OF HER ART AND WITH ALL THE FORCE OF HER GENIUS, BUT ALSO THE MYSTERIOUS AND FASCINATING HISTORICAL SIMILARITY THAT UNITES TWO CIVILIZATIONS: THE TRADITION OF THE CITY ON THE LAGOON THAT LED HER TO EXPLORE DISTANT LANDS AND TO CONQUER GREAT RICHES WITH HER DARING INTELLIGENCE, A TRADITION THAT HAS BECOME AN ESSENTIAL PART OF İTALY'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE; AND THAT OF THE BRITISH İSLES, RULER OF THE SEAS AND MIDWIFE OF NATIONS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. THIS EXHIBITION THEREFORE SYMBOLIZES A TRAIT THAT IS COMMON TO OUR PAST AND ALSO TO OUR PRESENT, AND WHICH REPRESENTS BUT ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE MUTUAL ATTRACTION THAT RUNS THROUGH ALL THE HISTORY OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

ATTRACTION, COMPREHENSION AND FRIENDSHIP, THEN. AND THE DESIRE TO BEAR WITNESS ONCE MORE TO THESE SENTIMENTS REPRESENTS ANOTHER REASON FOR MY BEING HERE TODAY. THESE SENTIMENTS GO BACK A LONG WAY IN TIME, THEY ARE NOT LIMITED TO THE CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL SPHERE, BUT HAVE OVERFLOWN AND REFLECTED IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS. INDEED, IT WAS IN THIS COUNTRY, CRADLE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HAVEN OF REFUGEES AND EXILES, THAT THE MISSIONARIES OF OUR RISORGIMENTO, THE FATHERS OF THE NEW ITALY, WON THEIR SOLITUDE AND FOUND FRATERNAL SUPPORT LONG BEFORE WE ACHIEVED, NOT WITHOUT ENGLAND'S DECISIVE HELP, OUR OWN NATIONAL UNITY. DESPITE GEOGRAPHY, HUMAN AND POLITICAL PROPINGUITY BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS THUS MATURED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE SPIRIT, AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF IDEALS.

But there followed a long period of darkness, when my country fell under the brutality of dictatorship and ended up by being dragged into the opposite camp. When the storm was at its height, one torch remained lit, just one in the whole of Europe, and it was an English hand that held it high. Just one country - yours - opposed an unflinching resistance to the assault of the enemies of freedom, a stand that became model and encouragement for all antifascists, who, no sooner had they left prison on the fall of Fascism, set up the partisan formations and gave life to the Italian resistance movement.

I STILL CARRY WITH ME A LIVE RECOLLECTION OF THOSE DAYS OF STRUGGLE WHEN I FOUND MYSELF BY THE SIDE OF COURAGEOUS BRITISH SOLDIERS, ESPECIALLY MAJOR BRIAN ASHFORD RUSSELL AND LIEUTENANT FRANK, TO WHOM I AM BOUND BY FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP.

I WAS STILL IN PRISON UNDER THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP WHEN I HEARD OF THE COURAGEOUS WORDS PRONOUNCED SO FIRMLY BY WINSTON CHURCHILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AFTER THE BOMBING OF COVENTRY, WHICH HAD BEEN RAZED TO THE GROUND. If I REMEMBER RIGHTLY, ON THAT OCCASION HE SAID SOMETHING LIKE: "WE SHALL FIGHT ON THE BEACHES, WE SHALL FIGHT IN THE STREETS, WE SHALL NEVER SURRENDER" TO THE NAZI BRUTALITY. WE SHALL FIGHT TO THE END, IF NECESSARY WE SHALL LEAVE THE BRITISH ISLES TO GO TO CANADA AND FROM CANADA WE SHALL RESUME THE STRUGGLE TO RECONQUER OUR COUNTRY AND BRING DOWN THE NAZI REGIME. THESE WORDS WERE SPOKEN BY CHURCHILL WHILE THE NAZI ARMY MARCHED UNDER THE ARC DE TRIOMPHE IN PARIS AND A FRENCH MARSHALL, ONCE A FIRM AND COURAGEOUS FIGHTER, SET UP A GOVERNMENT AT VICHY TO SERVE THE INVADER, AN ACT OF COWARDICE THAT DIMMED THE GLORY OF VALMY AND VERDUN, THOUGH IT WAS LATER TO BE REDEEMED BY THE FRENCH RESISTANCE.

But as soon as the light flooded back into Europe, our friendship also reflourished as vigorously as before. Italy ended up by earning what Churchill called her "return ticket" into the midst of the great democracies and resumed her place in the family of free nations by the side of England. And in recent years this victory over ourselves was splendidly confirmed when our country stood the test of terrorism and succeeded in fighting it effectively without having recourse to authoritarian repression.

IT IS ON THIS SOLID BASIS OF FRIENDSHIP, MADAM, THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO BUILD FOR THE FUTURE AND TO FACE THE TENSIONS THAT LACERATE AND ANGUISH THE WORLD TODAY. GRAVE AMONG THEM ARE THOSE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND IT BEHOVES US JOINTLY TO VALUE THEIR IMPORT, DOING THIS COLDLY AND PRECISELY, WITHOUT EVER ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE CARRIED AWAY BY FACILE OPTIMISM, SURRENDERING TO SMUG DISENGAGEMENT, OR BECOMING ENTRENCHED IN CLOSED POSITIONS. A RAY OF LIGHT HAS REAPPEARED IN STOCKHOLM. AN EMBRYO OF DIALOGUE HAS BEEN REBORN. YOUR OWN TRIP TO BUDAPEST, MADAM, HAS MADE A SUBSTANTIAL PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS END AND WILL SHORTLY BE FOLLOWED BY A VISIT TO BE MADE THERE BY THE ÎTALIAN PRIME MINISTER.

Most grave, too, are the tensions between North and South. Here we must jointly reaffirm our will to put an end to the waste of wealth caused by growing expenditure on lethal weapons and to rededicate our energies to the struggle against hunger, against the backwardness that still keeps entire nations and continents far removed from a more human model of life. We have to fight against famine in the world. Each passing day forty thousand innocent creatures die of denutrition. The death of these innocents weighs also on our conscience.

THE DREAM OF RECONCILIATION IS FAST DISAPPEARING IN THE LEBANON, WHERE ITS PLACE IS BEING TAKEN BY AN INSANE ATTRACTION FOR MASSACRE AND THE ABYSS. WE SHALL HAVE TO CONSULT TOGETHER TO FIND A CONCRETE ALTERNATIVE AND, WITH THE HELP OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TAKE THE WISE DECISIONS NEEDED TO SAVE LIVES, PEACE, AND THE FUTURE.

I HAVE RECENTLY BEEN TO THE LEBANON, MADAM, AND WHAT I SAW THERE CANNOT BUT FILL MY HEART WITH DEEP ANGUISH: BEIRUT, ONCE A SPLENDID CITY, HAS NOW BECOME A GHOSTLY MASS OF RUINS, WHERE DESPERATE WOMEN AND FRIGHTENED CHILDREN ROAM AMID THE DEBRIS IN SEARCH OF FOOD. AND THE MOURNFUL RUMBLE OF THE GUNS UNDERSCORES THE DESPERATION IN WHICH INNOCENT PEOPLE ARE LIVING.

THIS IS HAPPENING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AT A TIME WHEN MAN HAS SUCCEEDED IN LIFTING HIMSELF INTO THE HEAVENS, SETTING OUT IN CONQUEST OF OTHER PLANETS, LIKE THE MOON, ONCE A SHINING SYMBOL OF OUR DREAMS. EVEN THIS ENCHANTMENT OF OUR DISTANT YOUTH HAS NOW DISAPPEARED. MAN HAS BURST THE FETTERS OF GRAVITY, LET US NOW DO AWAY WITH THE CHAINS OF EGOISM.

LET US KEEP OUR FEET FIRMLY ON THE GROUND, LET US REALIZE THAT WE ARE THE BROTHERS BOUND TOGETHER BY THE SAME DESTINY:
WE MUST EITHER WALK TOGETHER IN FRATERNAL UNITY, HELPING EACH
OTHER AS WE GO, OR WE SHALL ALL PERISH IN THE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.
THAT IS THE TRAGIC DILEMMA FACING MANKIND TODAY.

IN PURSUING THE SUPREME GOAL OF PEACE, MOREOVER, WE MUST TAKE COGNISANCE ONCE AND FOR ALL OF JUST HOW GREATLY THIS SELFSAME PEACE NEEDS A UNITED EUROPE, OF HOW LONG THE WORLD HAS BEEN WAITING FOR THIS. IN LINE WITH THE SOLEMN DECLARATION WE HAVE UNDERWRITTEN, WE HAVE TO RELAUNCH THE COMMUNITY AS QUICKLY

AS POSSIBLE, WE HAVE TO DEVELOP IT AND ENLARGE IT BEYOND AND ABOVE THE CONFLICTS OF INTEREST AND OUR PERIODIC CRISES. AN OLD SAYING HAS IT THAT INTERESTS CAN TOLERATE COMPROMISE, BUT IDEAS CANNOT. I DO NOT SHARE THIS VIEW, GREAT IDEALS REDIMEN-SION OUR INTERESTS AND PAVE THE WAY TO GREAT COMPROMISES. WHEN INTERESTS STIFFEN AND BECOME ENTRENCHED, THIS IS A SIGN THAT IDEALS ARE WEAKENING, ABOVE INTEREST, LET US NEVER FORGET THIS, THERE STANDS REASON, AND THIS REASON, BE IT CLEAR, IS ULTIMATELY ALSO OUR INTEREST. YOU IN ENGLAND WENT TO BATTLE IN 1939 IN DE-FENCE OF REASON, WHICH AT THAT TIME WAS FREEDOM IN PERIL, AND FOR LONG YEARS YOU CARRIED ON YOUR SHOULDERS THE FATE OF THE PERSECUTED AND THE OPPRESSED, SHIELDING THEM AGAINST TYRANNY AND VIOLENCE. TODAY, ONCE AGAIN, YOU ARE OBEYING THE COMMAND OF REASON AND TOGETHER WITH US, FIRMLY AND PATIENTLY, YOU ARE SEEKING THE ROADS THAT LEAD TO UNION IN EUROPE AND TO PEACE IN THE WORLD. THE HOPE THAT FILLS MY HEART EVEN BEFORE I FORMUL-ATE IT IN WORDS IS THAT THIS ENDEAVOUR MAY BE CROWNED BY SUCCESS.

I THEREFORE RAISE MY GLASS TO DRINK A TOAST TO THIS VIEW OF THE FUTURE, TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, TO THE SERENITY OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE, OUR FRIENDS. AND I RAISE MY GLASS TO YOUR GOOD FORTUNE, MADAM. YOU ARE OFTEN REFERRED TO AS THE "IRON LADY", THOUGH I DEEM THIS APPELLATION TO BE MISTAKEN. YOU DO INDEED HAVE A WILL OF STEEL, BUT YOUR HEART IS GENTLE. MAY THESE QUALITIES OF YOURS REMAIN IN THE SERVICE NOT ONLY OF YOUR PEOPLE BUT ALSO, AND ABOVE ALL, OF PEACE IN THE WORLD.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 February, 1984

Dear John ,

A.おC. 造

Visit of President Pertini of Italy

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I enclose briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting with President Pertini at 12.00 noon on 22 February, and a speaking note which the Prime Minister might draw on in proposing the President's health at lunch afterwards.

President Pertini will be visiting the UK as a guest of HM Government and will attend the 'Genius of Venice' exhibition at the Royal Academy on the evening of 22 February. He will be accompanied at his talks with the Prime Minister by the Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Andreotti. My Secretary of State and HM Ambassador at Rome, Lord Bridges, will also attend.

Lord Bridges has recently written an interesting despatch on ''Citizen Pertini'' in preparation for this visit. The Despatch is at Annex D of the enclosed brief. I think that if she has time to read it, it would be the best possible background for the Prime Minister's talks with Signor Pertini

In ew ? Pela Ridcettz

(P F Ricketts) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street

speed form 1+3 and return this for VISIT OF PRESIDENT SANDRO PERTINI, 22-24 FEBRUARY SPEAKING NOTES FOR USE BY THE PRIME MINISTER AT LUNCH A great pleasure to welcome you, Mr President on your first visit to the UK. I also had the pleasure of meeting you in Rome a month ago following a useful Summit meeting with Prime Minister Craxi and his colleagues. The last official visit by an Italian President to Britain was that of President Saragat in 1969. A lot of water has flowed under the bridges of Tiber and Thames since then. Notably, we joined the European Community, and your country supported us staunchly in our accession. Our links go back very far - nearly two thousand years to the Roman conquest of Britain. We owe much to the legacy of Roman civilisation in our literature and our laws; much also to the Italian Renaissance, some of the splendour of which is illustrated in the 'Genius of Venice' Exhibition you have come to see, and of which you are Patron. We are proud to have such a magnificent collection of Venetian art on display in London, and to have contributed to it from our own great collections. Italian civilisation has become a part of our lives. We want to show you some of the glories of our civilisation too. One of these is our parliament, and our parliamentary institutions. You and we share the inestimable benefit of living in free societies, with proud traditions. I am delighted therefore that you, Mr President, who occupied the position of 'Speaker' in the Italian Parliament from 1969-76 with such distinction, will tomorrow be meeting the Speaker of our Parliament, Sir Bernard Weatherill. When you visit the Italian Cultural Institute, you will be meeting some of our English students of Italian. I have enjoyed my visits to Italy, as do the millions from our country /who

who travel to your country each year; and I can well understand the enthusiasm of young people to learn more of your country and its language, and to go there themselves. It is these young people who hold the key to the future, and we can be thankful that they are an outward-looking, inquisitive, eager generation.

5. Propose health of President Pertini.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEAKING NOTES

LUNCH FOR PRESIDENT PERTINI

WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY

WHEN YOU VISIT THE ITALIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE, YOU WILL BE MEETING SOME OF OUR ENGLISH STUDENTS OF ITALIAN. I HAVE ENJOYED MY VISITS TO ITALY, AS DO THE MILLIONS FROM OUR COUNTRY WHO TRAVEL TO YOUR COUNTRY EACH YEAR; AND I CAN WELL UNDERSTAND THE ENTHUSIASM OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO LEARN MORE OF YOUR COUNTRY AND ITS LANGUAGE, AND TO GO THERE THEMSELVES.

> IT IS THESE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE KEY TO THE FUTURE, AND WE CAN BE THANKFUL THAT THEY ARE AN OUTWARD-LOOKING,

INQUISITIVE, EAGER GENERATION.

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PROPOSE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT PERTINI.

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Mrs - helichie

A GREAT PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU, MR. PRESIDENT ON YOUR FIRST

Omne

VISIT TO THE UK.

I ALSO HAD THE PLEASURE OF MEETING YOU IN ROME A MONTH AGO FOLLOWING A USEFUL SUMMIT MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER CRAXI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

THE LAST OFFICIAL VISIT BY AN ITALIAN PRESIDENT TO BRITAIN WAS THAT OF PRESIDENT SARAGAT IN 1969.

A LOT OF WATER HAS FLOWED UNDER THE BRIDGES OF TIBER AND THAMES SINCE THEN.

NOTABLY, WE JOINED THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND YOUR COUNTRY SUPPORTED US STAUNCHLY IN OUR ACCESSION.

OUR LINKS GO BACK VERY FAR - NEARLY TWO THOUSAND YEARS TO THE

ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

WE OWE MUCH TO THE LEGACY OF ROMAN CIVILISATION IN OUR LITERATURE AND OUR LAWS; MUCH ALSO TO THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE, SOME OF THE SPLENDOUR OF WHICH IS ILLUSTRATED IN THE 'GENIUS OF VENICE' EXHIBITION YOU HAVE COME TO SEE, AND OF WHICH YOU ARE PATRON. WE ARE PROUD TO HAVE SUCH A MAGNIFICENT COLLECTION OF VENETIAN ART ON DISPLAY IN LONDON, AND TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO IT FROM OUR OWN GREAT COLLECTIONS. ITALIAN CIVILISATION HAS BECOME A PART OF OUR LIVES,

WE WANT TO SHOW YOU SOME OF THE GLORIES OF <u>OUR</u> CIVILISATION

ONE OF THESE IS OUR PARLIAMENT, AND OUR PARLIAMENTARY
INSTITUTIONS.

You and WE SHARE THE INESTIMABLE BENEFIT OF LIVING

IN <u>FREE</u> SOCIETIES, WITH PROUD TRADITIONS.

I AM DELIGHTED THEREFORE THAT YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,

WHO OCCUPIED THE POSITION OF 'SPEAKER' IN THE ITALIAN

PARLIAMENT FROM 1969-76 WITH SUCH DISTINCTION, WILL

TOMORROW BE MEETING THE SPEAKER OF OUR PARLIAMENT,

BERNARD WEATHERILL.

CONFIDENTIAL VISIT BY PRESIDENT SANDRO PERTINI OF ITALY: 22 FEBRUARY GENERAL BRIEF Introduction 1. President Pertini is visiting the UK from 22-24 February as a guest of HMG. This will be the first official visit by an Italian President since the State Visit of President Saragat in 1969. The main purpose of his visit is to attend the Royal Academy's 'The Genius of Venice' exhibition, (Annex F) of which both he and The Queen are the patrons. Programme 2. President Pertini, who will be accompanied by Signor Andreotti, the Foreign Minister, will be welcomed at London airport on arrival at 10.00 am by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. At 11.45 there will be a Guard of Honour in the FCO quadrangle at which the Prime Minister will be present, to be followed by talks at No 10 beginning at 12.00 noon. These will be attended by Sir G Howe and Signor Andreotti, who will be holding their own meeting later in the day. The Prime Minister will host a lunch at No 10 in honour of President Pertini after the talks. A full programme is attached at Annex A. The Talks The Prime Minister last met President Pertini during the Anglo/Italian Summit in Rome on 27 January. As on that occasion there is no fixed agenda for the talks. President Pertini is a non-executive Head of State and there is no official business we need to discuss with him. Nevertheless in Signor Andreotti's presence it would be useful to exchange views on current international issues. 4. Following are subjects in which President Pertini is known to have an interest, and a suggested line for the Prime Minister to CONFIDENTIAL

take.

a) Lebanon and Arab Israel

The Italians attach importance to close consultations on Lebanon and will be interested in our views on the prospects for replacing the remainder of the MNF by UN forces. President Pertini caused some controversy in Italy in December by calling for a withdrawal of the Italian contingent. On the Arab Israel question we should seek Italian agreement that the Ten should respond positively to Egypt's efforts to modify US policy over Palestinian self-determination, and exchange views on whether recent developments (Arafat/Mubarak meeting and Arafat/Hussein talks) present any chance of breaking the deadlock.

b) East/West relations

The choice of Chernenko is evidence of the characteristic caution of the Soviet leadership; he is obviously a compromise candidate with little knowledge of foreign affairs or of economic policy. At his meeting with the Prime Minister Chernenko stuck closely to standard Soviet positions. It is important for the West to maintain a stable and consistent approach and we shall need to broaden the dialogue and establish recognition that the East and West have a common interest in achieving security at a lower level of weapons. But there should be no compromise on principles and we will continue to make clear our concerns in areas where we expect the East to adopt a new and more constructive approach. Progress will be gradual.

President Pertini will be interested to hear the Prime Minister's impressions of <u>Hungary</u>, particularly since the Italian Prime Minister and Andreotti will visit Budapest soon. The Hungarians are keen to conclude an agreement with the EC and there are sound political reasons for pressing ahead with this.

On Poland the Prime Minister might say that we believe it is time to re-engage Western influence and we shall build on the Ten's agreement to gradual resumption of official and technical talks.

c) INF/CDE

We welcome Italian participation in the modernisation of NATO'S INF (the first cruise missiles in Sicily are due to become operational in March). Despite Soviet withdrawal from the INF negotiations in November, the Russians must be brought to accept through continued Western resolve that it is in their security interest to agree to limit these and other weapons.

On CDE we believe that the West's decision to open at Foreign Minister level got the conference off to a good start and our co-ordinated and substantive approach has put the East of the defensive. Little progress can be expected until the Soviet Union has a clearer idea of what it wants.

d) Human Rights in Argentina (Only if raised by President Pertini)

We welcome the moves by the new Argentine Government to investigate the violations of human rights that took place during the military regime and are encouraged by their commitment to ensuring that those responsible for these abuses are brought to justice. Since the conflict we have not been in a position to make any formal approach on this question to the Argentine Government with any hopes of success and the relatives of UK nationals concerned have also preferred that we refrain from making such approaches. The Ten have made clear to the Argentines our concern to receive information of the fate of the many Community nationals who disappeared.

e) Terrorism

This subject may be on President Pertini's mind in light of the recent assassination in Rome of the Director General of the Sinai MFO (Multilateral Force and Observers). President Pertini believes that Italian terrorism has international links. The Prime Minister could say that we accept that there are a number of terrorist movements but we do not believe there is an international conspiracy among terrorist organisations. We are concerned about the tendency towards State supported terrorism. However, it is difficult to prove State connections with specific incidents. The UK has always

CONFIDENTIAL taken a firm line against international terrorism and we believe it is essential to ensure widespread international cooperation against terrorism. f) European Community President Pertini is known to be a strong supporter of Spanish and Portuguese accession and the Prime Minister could reassure him of our commitment to progress and to completion of the substantive part of the accession negotiations by 30 September 1984. The Prime Minister may also wish to make the following points to President Pertini: (i) The Community faces a serious crisis. It also has the opportunity to surmount its present difficulties and, by setting itself on a sound basis, to focus more on the developments we all wish to see - especially new policies including industrial collaboration, collective research and development in the new information technologies; completion of the internal market, etc; The Community must manage its economy as national (ii) governments have to: finance must determine expenditure, not expenditure finance; (iii) This means curbing surplus agricultural production through rigorous price restraint and guaranteed threshold for all products in surplus, for which economic outlets do not exist; It also means establishing a guideline for all EC (iv) expenditure, including agricultural expenditure - this should be embodied in the Community's budgetary procedures so that it binds the Council, the Commission and the Parliament; Britain, seventh on the Community GDP League, cannot go on being, with the FRG, a major net contributor to the Community budget. There cannot be an equitable settlement CONFIDENTIAL

unless there is solution to the problem of budget imbalances which 'lasts as long as the problem it was designed to correct'.

- 4. The following background material is attached:
 - a) Programme
 - b) Personality notes on:

President Pertini

Signor Andreotti

Signor Maccanico (Secretary General, Presidency.)

Signor Cagiati (Italian Ambassador)

- c) Political Background on Italy
- d) Lord Bridge's despatch 'Citizen Pertini'
- e) Background Note on the 'Genius of Venice' exhbition.

VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIGNOR SANDRO PERTINI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY

PROGRAMME

Wednesday 22 February

| meanestay 22 rest u | ary |
|---------------------|--|
| 1000 | Arrival, in military DC9, at London Heathrow, Southside Met by The Lord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty The Queen, The Lord Lyell and Government Representative and Ambassadors. Ceremonial Guard of the RAF Proceed to Hotal (Claridges) accompanied by police escort. Arrive Hotel 1045. |
| 1138 | Arrival of official suite at Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle |
| 1145 | Guard of Honour in FCO Quadrangle found by 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards and The Corps of Drums |
| 1200 | Talks with Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street |
| 1300-1430/45 | Lunch at 10 Downing Street hosted by Prime Minister Return to Hotel (1500) |
| 1615-1650 | Visit to Tate Gallery (35 minutes) |
| 1700-1745 approx | Visit Italian Institute of Culture, 39 Belgrave Square, to inaugurate exhibition of drawings by Longhi and meet young English students of Italian at the Institute |

Return to Hotel

2030-2230 approx

Dinner to commemorate Centenary of the Italian Hospital in London (Wembley Conference Centre). Black tie. (Organised by Lord Forte, Lady Thorneycroft and Viscountess Hambleden)

Thursday 23 February

| 1000-1020 | | Visit Italian Trade Centre, Piccadilly Exhibition of Murano Crystal |
|-----------|----|--|
| 1045-1215 | | Tour of London: Bond Street, Piccadilly, Trafalgar Square, Westminister, including Abbey |
| 1130 | | Covent Garden, pub Return to Hotel |
| 1300 | | Lunch with Her Majesty The Queen at Buckingham Palace Return to Hotel |
| 1615 | | Visit "The Times" |
| 1700-1745 | | Tea with the Speaker, Speaker's House (at which MPs from Anglo-Italian Parliamentary Group expected to attend) |
| 1930 | | Private dinner at Italian Embassy |
| (2100 | | Arrival of official suite at Royal Academy) |
| 2135 | Ž. | Attend the Genius of Venice Exhibition at the Royal Academy accompanied by Her Majesty The Queen. Black tie. |
| 2230-2300 | | Reception in Reynolds Room, Royal Academy |
| | | |

Friday 24 February

| 0900 | Visit Tower of London Coffee with the Governor |
|-----------|---|
| 1000-1030 | Call on Lord Mayor at Mansion House |
| 1100 | Meeting with Neil Kinnock MP, at Italian Embassy Visit Italian Embassy, meet staff |
| 1200 | Depart for private lunch at Hambleden |
| 1530 | Departure from London Heathrow, Southside. The Queen's Representative and Government Representative will bid farewell |

PERTINI, ONOREVOLE ALESSANDRO

President of the Republic (Socialist).

Born Stella (Savona) 1896. Graduated in Law and Social Sciences.

A Socialist from youth, he was condemned for anti-Fascist activities in 1925 and took refuge with Turati in France in the following year. He returned clandestinely to Italy but was arrested at Pisa in 1929. Remained in prison until August 1943 when he was liberated. Captured by the Germans, he escaped from the Regina Coeli prison in Rome and joined the Resistance in which he played a very prominent part, particularly in Genoa. Subsequently, received the highest award for bravery, the Gold Medal of the Resistance. Also holds the United State Silver Staff and the Croix de Guerre.

Deputy for Genoa in every post-war legislature until he became President, and a leading figure in the PSI. He held various positions in the party, but was always something of a loner. He opposed an electoral alliance with the Communists in the late 1940s, but also opposed the Socialists' entry into government with the DC in the 1960s. Elected President (Speaker) of the Chamber of Deputies in June 1968, a post which he filled with distinction until June 1976.

He was elected President of the Republic on 8 July 1978 with (in the end) the support of all parties of the five-party majority, though the DC had initially refused to support him or any other Socialist. He is the first Socialist ever to be

/elected

mixed. Exceptionally friendly to us. Awarded the GCB and Collar during the 1980 State Visit. Due to visit London and meet The Queen and Mrs Thatcher in February 1984.

ANDREOTTI, ONOREVOLE GIULIO

Minister for Foreign Affairs (Christian Democrat).

Born Rome 1919, and still lives in the centre of the city. Graduated in law. Served in the army for 12 months 1940-41, and was released for health reasons. He then made his mark in Catholic University politics and student journalism. He worked for a time in the Vatican library, where he was noticed by De Gasperi and taken up as a protegé. Was one of the founders of the DC newspaper ''Il Popolo'' during the clandestine period. Appointed a member of the DC National Council at the party's 1944 Congress in Naples. Member of the Constituent Assembly 1946-48 and a Deputy for Rome since 1948. Under-Secretary in the Prime Minister's office under De Gasperi and Pella, 1947-54; Minister of the Interior 1954; of Finance 1955-57: of the Treasury 1958; of Defence 1959-66; and of Industry 1966-68. DC group leader in the Chamber 1966-72. He was asked to form a government during the political crisis of August 1970 but failed because he was thought too close to the Socialists. Prime Minister of a minority DC government February to June 1972, and of a centre-right coalition June 1972 to July 1973. Minister of Defence under Rumor March 1974 to November 1974; Minister for the Budget, Economic Planning and Mezzogiorno under Moro November 1974 to. August 1976, when he formed a minority DC government without a parliamentary majority. In early 1978 the PCI were included for the first time ever in the parliamentary majority, supporting Andreotti's fourth government. In January 1979, the withdrawal of the PCI precipitated a crisis and Andreotti headed a caretaker government (his fifth) to prepare for elections. President of the Chamber's Foreign Affairs Commission from 1979 to 1983, he became Foreign Minister in the first Craxi Government (1983).

CONTRACTOR

/Andreotti

Andreotti is a supreme political tactician. In 1974 Andreotti let it be known that he was one of those Christian Democrats who could envisage a working relationship with the Communists. He was thus the right man for the DC to field as their Prime Ministerial candidate when, after the General Election of June 1976, a parliamentary majority could not be found for a DC-led government. He maintained this delicate balance with the Communists, allowing them to make the step forward in March 1978 from abstention to inclusion in the parliamentary majority. He retains respect from the PCI and is widely believed to be courting their support for the next Presidential elections. Above all, he is good at getting things done; this is a major reason for the success of his career (no Italian has wider political experience). He operates an enormous and efficient patronage system. He has also proved adroit enough to resist several attempts to implicate him in scandals - so far.

Andreotti remains a potent political force with a reputation as perhaps the most adroit and possibly the least scrupulous of DC leaders, with very close links to the Vatican. He almost became President of the DC party in late 1980, of the IPU in September 1982, and Foreign Minister in Fanfani's fifth government in November 1982. He used his position on the Foreign Affairs Commission to maintain his good contacts with many foreign leaders. He has his eye on the Presidency when Pertini goes.

Although physically unimpressive, with rather a hunch back, Andreotti is a witty and effective speaker, appearing regularly on television. He masters a brief quickly, does his homework thoroughly, and pushes his staff hard. Sometimes initially chilly, he improves on longer acquaintance and is generally

/very

very courteous. Friendly towards Britain. He paid an official bilateral visit to the UK in March 1962, and was in Britain for Prime Minister Craxi's working visit in September 1983. As Prime Minister, received Mr Heath on his visit to Italy in October 1972, and Mr Callaghan in September 1977; he also met Mr Pym in July 1982 in Rome. Married with three children. Speaks no English but quite good French. A devout Catholic who attends mass every morning and makes sure that his supporters know that he does. He is a prolific author, writes a weekly magazine column, and takes a keen interest in football (he is active in the management of AC Roma). He keeps a detailed diary, which is feared by his enemies and friends alike even though the published version is sanitised.

MACCANICO, ANTONIO

Secretary General of the Presidency.

Born in Avellino in 1924. He graduated in law from the University of Pisa in 1946 and became an official in the Chamber of Deputies in 1947 at the time of the Constituent Assembly. He remained there, working his way steadily up the official ladder, until 1978; in this period he was at various stages responsible for the work of the Commissions, for legal services in the Chamber, was the Vice Secretary General of the Chamber, and finally from 1976 was Secretary General. Until 1976 he was President of the Italian Association for Parliamentary Studies. He was also involved in the Brussels Ad Hoc Committee for preparing direct elections to the European Parliament. He became Secretary General of the Presidency in 1978. He is sympathetic to the Republican Party, but keeps this party affiliation carefully concealed.

Maccanico is able and hard working and usually accompanies Pertini on trips abroad. President Pertini regards him highly, not least because he is not just a yes-man and relies on him considerably at all official meetings. He speaks English.

CAGIATI, ANDREA

Ambassador in London.

Born in Rome in 1922. He graduated in Law from the University of Siena in 1944. He joined the Foreign Service in 1948 and after the usual period in the Ministry went to Paris in 1950. Vice-Consul in New York in 1953. In 1955 he returned to the Private Office of the MFA Under-Secretary. First Secretary (later Counsellor) in Athens 1957-60. Counsellor in Mexico City 1960-62. After a brief spell at the Italian Mission to the United Nations, he returned to the MFA to head the NATO Department from 1963-66. Appointed Ambassador in Bogota in 1968 but soon returned to the Ministry, working in the Diplomatic Institute (1971) and as Diplomatic Counsellor in the Prime Minister's Office (1972). Ambassador in Vienna, 1973-79. He replaced Ducci as Ambassador in London in January 1980.

As Ambassador in London he began by encouraging his staff to greater activity than some of them had shown under Ducci. He himself is always very prompt in carrying out his instructions, and if he errs it is by excess of zeal rather than the reverse. Able, sharp and ambitious, he defends Italian interests with energy. Despite social pretensions he now knows a good deal about Britain. Tall and impressive, but his haughty style is not always popular with visiting Italian Ministers. His wife is German; they make a handsome couple.

public sector deficit (at present 17% and threatening to rise to 20% of GDP in 1984 if firm corrective measures are not taken) and of reducing the inflation rate (1983 average of 15% against a 13% target). Reliance is being placed on growth in Italy's export markets to pull her out of the recession without the need for counter inflationary measures. Craxi's success in passing the budget before the end of the year (only the 4th time since 1948) was qualified by having to accept more modest cuts in public expenditure than envisaged. However, on 15 February, after an inconclusive round of pay talks with employers and unions, in which they failed to persuade the latter to accept controls on the wage indexation system (scala mobile), the Government introduced a package of anti-inflationary measures which included proposed, legislation on incomes policy. This last is expected to have severe reprecussions throughout Italian politics and to be opposed by the Communists in Parliament. 5. Italian foreign policy has taken on a higher profile under Craxi and Foreign Minister, Andreotti. Italy contributed a large contingent to the the Lebanese MNF, which although being scaled down after domestic pressure to withdraw (any serious incident affecting Italian troops would have created great difficulties for the government), has remained in reduced numbers after US and British redeployment, guarding the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps. The Mediterranean area to which Italy regards herself as a bridge is an important feature of Italian foreign policy, partly for geographical and historic

6. Despite indications that, like its predecessors, Craxi's coalition is finding it difficult to sustain its initial unity,

- 2 -

reasons but also because of her heavy reliance on energy

commitment to the stationing of Cruise missiles Comiso in

Sicily in 1984. The opposition never campaigned hard against

imports. Craxi has proved to be a firm Atlanticist

demonstrating Italy's steadiness as a NATO ally by his

deployment and the debate has proceeded without serious

domestic tension.

particularly over economic policy, there are as yet no signs of any major change in the political scene. Craxi has been stumbling rather than leading, which may suit many of his opponents. The DC are unlikely to take an initiative until after their party congress at the end of February. Other parties are also willing to wait until after their Congresses. Thanks to the balance of forces within the legislature the leader of the Socialists still enjoys a relatively strong position in that PSI support is essential for any parliamentary majority, which excludes the Communists and neofascists. 7. Urban terrorism by the Red Brigades and to a lesser extent by the extreme right, against which the security forces have had a number of successes, exists as a continuing, if now considerably diminished, threat. Organised crime is a growing problem. The 'black economy' continues to flourish and may account for as much as 20% of GDP. Many areas of Italy remain unaffected by what is decided in Rome. 8. Craxi visited London in September 1983. The last Anglo Italian Summit was held in Rome on 26/27 January when the Prime Minister led a delegation of five Ministers. President Pertini is visiting London (22-24 February) to attend the Genius of Venice Exhibition at the Royal Academy, accompanied by Andreotti. The Prince and Princess of Wales have now cancelled their October visit to Italy. Foreign and Commonwealth Office 17 February 1984 - 3 -



SUMMARY

CITIZEN PERTINI

- 1. President Pertini is to meet The Queen and the Prime

 Minister next month in London; and he will receive the

 Prince and Princess of Wales when they visit Italy later
 in the year. It may therefore be useful to review his
 achievement after almost six years as President (para 1).
- 2. A lifelong socialist and anti-fascist, Pertini played an active part in the resistance. A dedicated parliamentarian since the war, he only achieved high office in old age. His ability to represent the feelings of the ordinary citizen has earned him the rare title ''President of all the Italians'' (para 2).
- 3. Pertini assumed the Presidency during a period plagued by terrorism and political scandals, when the nation required a leader of integrity. He soon showed strong independence of mind. Outspoken criticism of the inadequacy of the Government's rescue services after the Campania earthquake earned him popular respect. He has taken a close interest in natural disasters (paras 3,4 and 5).
- 4. Pertini's insistence on high standards of morality in public life, and his own reputation for incorruptibility, have been important reasons for his popularity. He has made many visits overseas, including a visit to the Italian contingent in Beirut at some personal risk in 1983 (paras 6 and 7).



- 5. Pertini's spontaneous gestures, informality and concern for youth have all inspired real popular affection. But professional politicians have criticised him for excessive intervention in day-to-day political life, and for expressing embarrassing criticism of government policy. He has been protected by his national popularity (paras 8 and 9).
- 6. He has committed errors of political judgment. His vision is simple; and age has prevented him grasping detailed briefs or developing new ideas. But he has a claim to be Italy's most successful President. He has restored the prestige of the office, and shown other politicians what the people want to see in their leaders (paras 10 and 11).
- 7. The fierce competition now underway to succeed Pertini is a tribute to his achievement in the Presidency. He has shown that honesty and clear speaking are popular. The best memorial to him would be the adoption of a new style in the Presidency and in Italian political life (para 12).



BRITISH EMBASSY, ROME

25 January 1984

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP LONDON

Sir, CITIZEN PERTINI

President Pertini will pay his first official visit to London next month, to see the <u>Genius of Venice</u> exhibition at the Royal Academy. The Queen and the Prime Minister have invited him to lunch. He will receive the Prince and Princess of Wales when they visit Italy later this year. As he has now completed more than 5 1/2 years of his 7-year term as President of Italy, and because we will see a lot of him this year, it may be useful to review his achievement, which has been to change the way in which Italians regard their President.

2. I attach a brief account of Pertini's career. It will be seen from this that Pertini is a life-long socialist and anti-fascist. He took an active part in the Italian resistance, and represented Genoa in every Parliament from the end of the war until he became President in 1982. He was the first socialist to be elected to that office: all his predecessors (except Einaudi, a Liberal, and Saragat, a Social Democrat) were Christian Democrats. His record before he became President was that of a dedicated parliamentarian and democrat, and he has only become remarkable in old age (he was elected to the Presidency at 82). His fitness and

/energy



energy, particularly when travelling, are extraordinary. Contrary to the general experience, his independence of mind seems to have increased with advancing years, as has his uncanny rapport with ordinary citizens: in a country where most politicians use convoluted jargon, he speaks simply and clearly. Nor has he hesitated over difficult choices, for example when giving politicians a mandate to form a Government. As a result he has become something of a legend in his own time, and is not regarded by the country as belonging to the suspect political class: again remarkable, since he has spent the last forty-odd years as a member of it. Indeed Pertini has become known as ''the President of all the Italians''. no mean achievement in a nation dominated by party, factional and regional interests.

The background to his election in 1978 is relevant. predecessor, Leone, had left in disgrace, obliged to resign because of the Lockheed scandal. There was a widely felt need for a man of undoubted integrity and popularity to restore the image of the Presidency. It was the turn of the lay parties to occupy that position (the PCI have never been considered eligible to provide a candidate for the Head of State). Historical circumstances meant that the Italian people needed reassurance: Pertini was elected in the year of ex-Prime Minister Moro's murder, when terrorism was at its worst. therefore seemed an ideal choice, with his plain language, pipe-smoking image, reputation for incorruptibility. political party had a strong reason to oppose him, and even within his own Socialist Party he had few enemies. His unusual relationship with the public at large, rare in Italian politicians except when acquired through patronage, has since then largely protected him from serious attack by other politicians.



- 4. The first key political event in his Presidency was his decision to give Craxi a mandate to form a Government after the 1979 elections. This was the first time that a non-Christian Democrat politician had received such a mandate. Craxi failed to form a Government, but the signal that Pertini would not automatically perpetuate DC occupation of Palazzo Chigi was important (I do not take seriously the claim of some cynical observers that Pertini disliked Craxi, a ''Socialist in short trousers'', and gave him the mandate knowing he would fail). In 1981, he enabled the Republican Party leader, Spadolini, whom he admired, to become Italy's first ''lay'' Prime Minister.
- 5. His reaction to the disastrous earthquake in Campania, in November 1980 added to his reputation. Pertini was quickly on the scene, and bitterly criticised the Government for the inadequacy of its rescue services. In an emotional television broadcast he insisted that those responsible for these deficiencies should be punished. Politicians protested; but the press noted that ''for the first time the Italian people feel that their views are being represented''. Since then Pertini has made a point of taking a close interest in natural disasters, usually travelling to the scene immediately; an enduring image is of him keeping vigil beside a well down which a small boy was trapped.
- 6. In 1981 he faced a challenge of a different kind when the P2 masonic lodge scandal broke, and it was partly Pertini's pressure behind the scenes which forced the resignation of so many of those involved (including three Ministers and innumerable military and Secret Service chiefs). Throughout his Presidency he has insisted on the need for high standards of morality in public life, and has bestowed

/his



his warmest praise on those who display this quality. There is no doubt that Pertini's own reputation for honesty, and his recognition of that quality in others, is an important reason for his popularity.

- 7. More recently Pertini has played a direct role in foreign affairs, where his role greatly exceeds that of a non-party figurehead. He visited the Italian MNF contingent in Beirut in November 1983, despite the personal risk involved, and has since raised a storm by calling publicly for their withdrawal. He was equally outspoken about the desaparecidos in Argentina, and the telegram of protest which he sent last year to the Argentine President caused some dismay to the Foreign Minister. But fortunately he kept his own counsel during the Falklands crisis in 1982.

 8. Pertini's spontaneous gestures have endeared him to the Italian people. His first action on assuming the Presidency
- Italian people. His first action on assuming the Presidency was to abolish much of the protocol surrounding the post. His technique is unusual, including walkabouts, broadcast New Year messages (delivered impromptu), and an unprecedented number of invitations, especially to parties of schoolchildren, to visit him at the Quirinale. All this has produced real affection for Pertini, which none of the potential rivals for his succession seem likely to inspire. He may also have been helped by the presence of a non-Italian Pope, leading many Italians to identify with him instead as a Father (or Grandfather) figure. Indeed, his name is now being considered for the Nobel Peace Prize. The absence of Signora Pertini, who hardly ever accompanies him in public, seems to matter little; and her occasional appearances, for example on the visit to China in 1980, have done Pertini more harm than good.



Among professional politicians, on the other hand, Pertini has made some enemies. The powers of the President include sending messages to the Houses, appointing officers of the State (including the Prime Minister), acting as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and presiding over the Supreme Defence Council, and presiding over the High Council of the Judiciary. He has taken all these roles very seriously, and has exploited many of his powers to the full. addition he has used interviews and broadcasts to express embarrassigg public criticism, often in very strong language, of policies which he thinks are wrong, appealing to the people over the head of his own government. He has therefore been much criticised for cultivating personal power, for excessive intervention in day-to-day political life, and in general for exceeding his constitutional responsibilities or at any rate past constitutional practice. There is something to this criticism, perhaps, but I do not think Pertini has done anything prohibited by the Constitution, and the national popularity of the President makes it difficult for his political critics in Rome to do much about it. 10. Pertini has certainly not been a saint. He has made his fair share of mistakes, such as the controversial decision to receive Arafat officially in 1982, or to attend a meeting of Catholic youth under the mistaken impression that it was non-political. He is given to adopting favourites: Prince Philip, the King of Spain, Mr Peter Nichols (the Times correspondent), the Pope (despite Pertini's own atheism), anyone connected with the resistance, and all things French (because of his years in exile there he speaks the language well). More seriously, Pertini's age has prevented him from grasping detailed briefs and obliged him to rely

/more



more on emotion, instinct and charm. His stock of ideas and knowledge - as opposed to his excellent intuitive grasp of people and situations - has not been replenished much since 1945. His deep-rooted pacifism (which is directed equally towards East and West) cannot be weakened by any argument about missile numbers. He also risks becoming a prisoner of his own image, and having his naïveté exploited. He sees issues in very simple terms, lacks tact and holds rigidly to his perceived ideas. He can also be distinctly mischievous at times. These are hardly the best qualifications for a man who might be called upon to take complex and painful decisions in times of crisis.

11. Nevertheless, Pertini has a good claim to be Italy's most successful President, with the possible exception of Einaudi. Throughout his Presidency he has upheld the themes of his inaugural address: pacifism, informality, Italian national potential, faith in youth, the government's duty to respond to natural disasters, integrity and the need to combat terrorism and organised crime. His numerous foreign visits have helped to enhance Italian prestige abroad and to restore the Italian people's pride in themselves. At home Pertini has seen his country through five very difficult years. He has done much to restore the prestige of the Presidency. His simple methods of communicating with the people have worked, and many politicians (especially in the DC party) would be wise to copy them.

12. It is too soon to draw conclusions about the lasting effect which Alessandro Pertini will have on Italy: he has over a year of his Presidency still to run. One effect alread noticeable is to increase competition for the office to which he has added distinction, and the contest in July 1985 (both

/Houses



Houses of Parliament voting together for a single seven-year term) will certainly be interesting. I suspect that many Senators and Deputies will want a less strong-minded and a safer, quieter personality next time. And if the much-discussed ideas for constitutional reform ever reach the stage of detailed debate, the possibility of reducing the Presidential term to five years is quite likely to feature among the more serious proposals. The possibility of direct Presidential elections on the US model, which has also been discussed, is much less likely to find favour in Parliament. Pertini has unquestionably shown that honesty and clear speaking are popular, and there will be a general desire among ordinary Italians to see his example repeated: although they may not have much confidence that it will be. It will be an important test of the constitutional process here to see if the general wish can be translated into practice. No doubt there will be innumerable streets and piazzas up and down the country named after Alessandro Pertini, but the adoption of a new style in the Presidency, and in Italian political life generally, would be much the best memorial to him. 13. I am sending copies of this despatch to HM Ambassadors in other EC Posts, in Washington, to the Holy See, UKRep Brussels and UKDEL NATO.

> I am Sir Yours faithfully

Bridges

Bridges

THE GENIUS OF VENICE 1500-1600

- 1. The Exhibition, which is under the joint patronage of Her Majesty The Queen and the President of Italy, opened on 25 November 1983. It was due to close on 11 March 1984. Because of the enormous public support (more than 250,000 visitors to date) the Royal Academy of Arts hope to extend the showing by a further week to 18 March.
- 2. The Genius of Venice Exhibition, sponsored jointly be the Sea Containers Group and by Venice Simplon-Orient Express Limited, comprises more than 300 works of art paintings, drawings, prints and sculptures. These include masterpieces by the greatest artists of the age Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese.
- 3. Certain pictures on the exhibition have been singled out for special notice, including Titian's 'The Flaying of Marsyas' (on loan from Czechoslovakia), Veronese's 'Venus and Adonis' (from Madrid) and the Giorgionesque masterpiece, 'The Judgement of Solomon' (National Trust, Kingston Lacy, Dorset).
- 4. Public interest is reflected in the high average daily attendance of 3259 visitors and in the success of the new Academy education department. Collections of slides have been available for the first time and have sold well. The Adult and Children's Acoustiguide has been listened to by about 8% of all visitors to the exhibition, twice the usual percentage for exhibitions in the United Kingdom.

Catalogues, costing £7.90 each, have been bought by one in six of the visitors to the exhibition. This is an unusually high percentage. The series of Exhibition conferences organised jointly by the Royal Academy and the Inner London Education Authority have been oversubscribed. By the end of the exhibition, 8 half-day and one full-day conferences will have been attended by over 7000 children from 74 educational institutions. Nearly 7000 children from 280 schools and over 4000 students from 140 colleges of higher education have visited the Exhibition. Visitors to the Exhibition may also see in the Academy's Private Rooms a display of photographs and architectural drawings entitled 'The Spirit of Venetian Civilisation', organised by the Italian State Tourist Office, London, and the Regional Tourist Board of the Veneto. To coincide with the Exhibition, the Royal Academy of Arts has organised six concerts of Venetian music exploring the impact of Venice on musical life during the two hundred vears 1500-1700. The setting for the Exhibition has been designed by Mr Alan Irvine. Foremost among scholars who have contributed towards the preparation of the Exhibition and the catalogue are: Professor John Hale of University College, London /formerly

formerly Chairman of the Trustees of the National Gallery;
Professor Francis Haskell, Professor of the History of
Art at the University of Oxford; Mr Charles Hope of
the Warburg Institute; and Professor John Steer,
Birkbeck College, University of London.

Cultural Relations Department 14 February 1984



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

A2.C. 2.

20 February 1984

Visit of President Pertini: Attendance at No 10 Talks on 22 February

When we spoke on the telephone this afternoon I undertook to let you have the Italian Embassy's proposals for attendance at the Prime Minister's talks with President Pertini on 22 February.

The Italians have proposed that the following should attend:

President Pertini Signor Andreotti Signor Maccanico (Secretary-General, Presidency) Ambassador Cagiati Signor Attolico (Diplomatic Adviser, Presidency)

We propose that on our side, in addition to the Prime Minister and yourself, the Foreign Secretary and Lord Bridges should attend. Interpreters will also be present on each side.

You wer, Rets Ridalts (P F Ricketts) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street

VISIT OF HIS EXCELLENCY SIGNOR SANDRO PERTINI PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY 22-24 FEBRUARY 1984 ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN 22 February Arrival When the aircraft has landed, a representative of the British Airports Authority will escort the greeting party from the VIP Suite to the tarmac. The Italian Ambassador will board the aircraft and accompany the President and the Foreign Minister (with their Interpreters) to the tarmac where the following will welcome them: The Lord Lyell, Lord in Waiting to Her Majesty The Queen The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs The Lord Bridges, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome Brigadier Alan Cowan, Secretary, Government Hospitality Gp Cpt Anthony O'Neill, Government Hospitality Escort Officer Wing Commander Max Higson, Government Hospitality Escort Officer The party will proceed to the VIP Suite by way of the red carpet. The remainder of the official suite and the unofficial party will then disembark and proceed directly to the VIP Suite where the President will present the members of his official suite to the greeting party. Transport Cars are provided for the President and the members of his official suite throughout the visit and seating plans are shown at Annex 1. Interpreters The President and Foreign Minister will each be accompanied by their own interpreters : Signora Isabella Randone and Signorina Cristina di Pietro. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office have engaged the services of Mr A Lawrence, who will interpret for the Prime Minister, and Mrs L Lawrence, who will interpret for the Secretary of State on the following occasions: Mr Lawrence 22 February Guard of Honour Talks with the Prime Minister Lunch with the Prime Minister /23 February

23 February Lunch at Buckingham Palace (to interpret for His Excellency Signor Gullotti) Mrs Lawrence 22 February Talks with the Prime Minister (for the Secretary of State) Foreign Minister's talks with the Secretary of State Guard of Honour The procedure is indicated at Annex II. Separate programme for His Excellency Signor Antonio Gullotti on 22 February Visit to Italian Institute of Culture 1200 Private Lunch 1645 approx Return to Italian Institute of Culture evening Private Engagement 23 February 0900 - Private Visit to Royal Academy 1000 Visit to Madison Gallery 1100 Return to Hotel Thereafter, the Minister of Culture will follow the President's programme until his departure at 0815 hours on Friday 24 February. flight BA502. The Hounslow Suite has been reserved. Participation of official suite in the President's programme 22 February Guard of Honour; Tate Gallery All members of the official suite The Lord Bridges Talks with the Prime Minister The following will also be present: United Kingdom Italy Private Secretary His Excellency Signor Andreotti Secretary of State Signor Maccanico His Excellency the Italian Ambassador The Lord Bridges Mr Jenkins -2-/Lunch

Lunch at 10 Downing Street The following are also invited: All members of the official suite (Except His Excellency Signor Gullotti and Minister Cortese de Bosis) The Lord Bridges Italian Institute of Culture All members of the official suite. The Lord Bridges 23 February Italian Trade Centre, Sightseeing Tour All members of the official suite except His Excellency Signor Gullotti and Minister Cortese de Bosis The Lord Bridges Luncheon with Her Majesty The Queen The following are also invited: His Excellency Signor Andreotti His Excellency Signor Gullotti Signor Maccanico His Excellency The Italian Ambassador Signora Cagiati The Lord Bridges Ambassador Guidi is invited to lunch with members of the Household at Buckingham Palace. Visit to The Times, Speaker's House His Excellency Signor Gullotti Signor Maccanico His Excellency the Italian Ambassador Ambassacor Guidi Minister G Attolico Minister Cortese de Bosis Minister Jacobucci The Lord Bridges "Genius of Venice Exhibition" at Royal Academy See Annex III attached. Her Majesty's Tower of London, Mansion House, Italian Embassy and The Manor House, Hambleden Signor Maccanico /His -3His Excellency The Italian Ambassador Ambassador Guidi Min G Attolico Min Jacobucci The Lord Bridges Foreign Minister's talks with the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs on 22 February The following will also be present: United Kingdom Italy Private Secretary His Excellency The Italian Ambassador The Lord Bridges Ambassador La Rocca Mr Jenkins Mr Egerton Min B Attolico Note-Taker Miss J H W Reid Visits Section Protocol Department Foreign and Commonwealth Office 17 February 1984 -4ANNEX I

CAR PLAN

22 February

LONDON AIRPORT TO CLARIDGE'S

Presidential Car

His Excellency President Pertini
Signor Maccanico
Special Branch Officer

Police Car

Special Branch Officer
2 Italian Security Officers

Car A

Ambassador Guidi

Min.G Attolico

Group Captain O'Neill

Signor Jovine

Italian Security Officer

Car 2His Excellency Signor AndreottiHis Excellency the Italian AmbassadorSpecial Branch Officer

Police Car Special Branch Officer Italian Security Officers

Car 3

His Excellency Signor Gullotti
Signora Gullotti
Dr Cheli
Interpreter
Wing Commander Higson

Car 4

Ambassador La Rocca
Min.B Attolico
Lord Bridges
Col Pedrazzini

Car 5

Min Cortese de Bosis
Signora de Bosis
Min Jacobucci
Interpreter

CLARIDGE'S TO FCO QUADRANGLE

Presidential Car

His Excellency President Pertini
Signor Maccanico
Special Branch Officer

Police Car Special Branch Officer 2 Italian Security Officers

Car A Ambassador Guidi Min.G Attolico Gt Cpt O'Neill Signor Jovine Italian Security Officer His Excellency Signor Andreotti Car 2 His Excellency The Italian Ambassador Special Branch Officer Ambassador La Rocca Car 4 Min. B Attolico Lord Bridges Col Pedrazzini Wing Commander Higson Car 5 Min. Jacobucci 2 Interpreters Cars 4 and 5 will be available between midday and 1300 hours for Ambassador La Rocca, Ambassador Guidi, Min B Attolico, Min.G Attolico and Min Jacobucci, who are not attending the talks at No 10 Downing Street. NO 10 DOWNING STREET TO CLARIDGE'S Presidential Car) Police Car As on previous journey Car A Car 2 Ambassador La Rocca Car 4 Min.B Attolico Lord Bridges Car 5 Min. Jacobucci Wing Commander Higson Interpreter CLARIDGE'S TO TATE GALLERY AND ITALIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE As on journey from Claridge's to FCO Quadrangle ITALIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE TO CLARIDGE'S ITALIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE TO FCO As on previous journey. -2-

CLARIDGE'S TO WEMBLEY AND RETURN As on journey from Claridge's to FCO Quadrangle 23 February CLARIDGE'S/ITALIAN EMBASSY/ITALIAN TRADE CENTRE/SIGHTSEEING AND RETURN TO CLARIDGE'S As on journey from Claridge's to FCO Quadrangle CLARIDGE'S TO BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND RETURN His Excellency President Pertini Presidential Car Signor Maccanico Special Branch Officer Police Car Ambassador Guidi Car A Gp Cpt O'Neill | Interpreter Car 2 His Excellency Signor Andreotti His Excellency the Italian Ambassador Car 3 His Excellency Signor Gullotti Mr Lawrence 1 Interpreter ITA 1 Lord Bridges. and Signora Cagiati CLARIDGE'S TO HEATHROW AIRPORT Car 2 His Excellency Signor Andreotti Ambassador La Rocca Car 4 Min, B Attolico Wing Commander Higson Security Officer CLARIDGE'S TO THE TIMES, SPEAKER'S HOUSE AND RETURN TO CLARIDGE'S Presidential Car His Excellency President Pertini Signor Maccanico Special Branch Officer Ambassador Guidi Car A Min.G Attolico Gp Cpt O'Neill Interpreter -3-

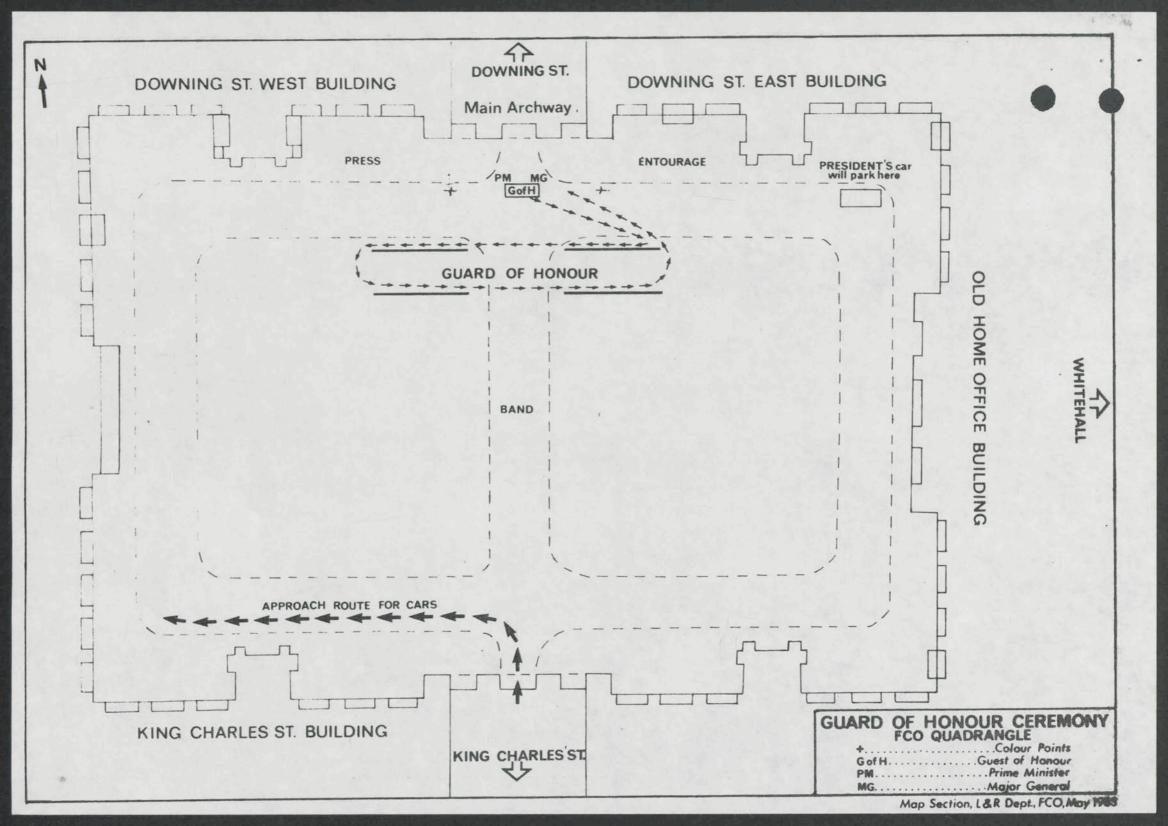
His Excellency Signor Gullotti Car 3 His Excellency The Italian Ambassador Lord Bridges Interpreter Min.Cortese de Bosis Car 5 Min. Jacobucci CLARIDGE'S TO ITALIAN EMBASSY Presidential Car His Excellency President Pertini Signor Maccanico Special Branch Officer Ambassador Guidi Car A Min.G Attolico Gp Cpt O'Neill His Excellency Signor Gullotti Car 3 Signora Gullotti Lord Bridges Min.Jacobucci Car 5 Dr Cheli Wing Commander Higson ITALIAN EMBASSY TO ROYAL ACADEMY AND RETURN TO CHARIDGE'S Presidential Car As on previous journey His Excellency the Italian Ambassador ITA 1 Signora Cogiati Gp Cpt O'Neill Ambassador Guidi Car A Min, G Attolico Wing Commander Higson His Excellency Signor Gullotti Car 3 Singora Gullotti Interpreter Min Jacobucci Car 5 Min Cortese de Bosis Signora de Bosis

Dr Cheli

24 February CLARIDGES TO HEATHROW AIRPORT Car 3 His Excellency Signor Gullotti Signora Gullotti Dr Cheli Wing Commander Higson CLARIDGE'S TO THE TOWER, MANSION HOUSE, ITALIAN EMBASSY, HAMBLEDEN AND HEATHROW AIRPORT Presidential Car As Previously Ambassador Guidi Car A Min . G Attolico Gp Cpt O'Neill His Excellency The Italian Ambassador Car 4 Lord Bridges Security Officer Car 5 Min. Jacobucci Interpreter -5-

- 1. A Guard of Honour found by 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards under the command of Major Adam Drummond with the Regimental Colour, the Band of the Irish Guards and the Corps of Drums of the Battalion, will be formed in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle on Wednesday 22 February at 1145 hours to greet His Excellency Signor Sandro Pertini, President of the Republic of Italy. Embassy staff and other spectators are requested to arrive not later than 1100 hours.
- At 1135 hours, the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, will arrive in the Quadrangle; he will be met to the east of the dais by Major-General James Eyre, Major-General Commanding the Household Division. He will be accompanied by the Brigade Major, Lt Col R J S Wardle, Brigade Major of the Household Division. At 1138 hours, the members of the official suite will arrive at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle by car via King Charles Street. They will alight from their cars just beyond the dais (ie to the east of the latter) where they will be received by The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe. They will remain near the Colour points on the east side of the Main Archway (see diagram attached). The cars will proceed to the east of the King Charles Street Archway and await the arrival of the President and his party. As soon as these cars have entered the Quadrangle, the cars of the official suite should proceed to park in the south west corner of the Quadrangle.
- 3. At 1142 hours, the Prime Minister will arrive at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle through the Main Archway; she will be met at the Archway by Major General James Eyre. The Major General will then escort the Prime Minister to the right (west) of the dais where she will receive the President.
- 4. At 1145 hours, the President will arrive at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office via King Charles Street.
- The Prime Minister will welcome him and present Major General Eyre who will escort the President to his place on the dais. The Prime Minister will then take up a position on his right and behind the dais, and the Major General will take up his position on the left and behind the dais. After the Guard Commander has presented his Guard of Honour to the President, the Major-General will accompany the President and the Guard Commander on the inspection. The President's A.D.C. will follow them. The Prime Minister should remain in the vicinity of the dais with the Brigade Major until the inspection is completed and the Major-General has accompanied the President back to the dais. The President will introduce his Minister/Advisers to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister will then escort the President to No 10 Downing Street. Those participating in the plenary talks will follow. Those members of the official suite not participating in the talks will be escorted to their cars.

6. Meanwhile the Major-General and the Brigade Major will have taken their leave of the President and will authorise the dispersal of the Guard of Honour once the President has departed for No 10 Downing Street. Wet Weather Programme In the event of wet weather, the Parade will not be cancelled. The programme will continue as scheduled up to the point where the inspection of the Guard of Honour should begin. If there is heavy rain at that point in the programme, and the President does not wish to inspect the Guard of Honour, the Prime Minister should lead the President to No 10 Downing Street.



ANNEX III GENIUS OF VENICE EXHIBITION AND RECEPTION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY PROGRAMME AND ARRANGEMENTS 2030 -Guests arrive, are received by Sir Hugh Casson, 2100 hours President of the Royal Academy, and Lady Casson, and proceed to the Galleries where refreshments will be served (Note: serving will be discontinued at 2125 hours and resume after the Royal and Presidential parties have passed through the Galleries) Arrival of the Hon Eustace Gibbs, Vice Marshal of 2100 hours the Diplomatic Corps, and Mrs Gibbs Arrival of The Rt Hon Baroness Young, Minister of 2110 hours State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Dr Young Received by the President of the Royal Academy, Lady Casson and the Hon Eustace Gibbs Arrival of the Italian official suite, 2115 hours Received by the President of the Royal Academy, Lady Casson, the Rt Hon Baroness Young and the Hon Eustace Gibbs His Excellency Signor Gullotti, Minister of Culture, will remain with the receiving party. Mr Gibbs will escort the other members of the official suite and Dr Young to the Vestibule Arrival of Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness 2130 hours The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, and Royal suite. Met on the kerb by the President of the Royal Academy, and Mr Piers Rodgers, Secretary of the Royal Academy. Presentation of Receiving Line in Entrance Hall: Lady Casson His Excellency Signor Gullotti The Rt Hon The Baroness Young Mr Peter Greenham, Keeper of the Royal Academy Mr Roger de Grey, Treasurer of the Royal Academy Mr Frederick Gore, Chairman of the Exhibition Committee Mr James B Sherwood, President, Sea Containers Group Arrival of His Excellency Signor Sandro Pertini, President 2135 hours of the Republic of Italy and Presidential Party. Met on the kerb by the President of the Royal Academy and the Secretary of the Royal Academy. Met in the Entrance Hall by Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness the Prince Philip. Presentation of Receiving Line, as above. /2140 hours

Royal and Presidential Party ascend stairs 2140 hours and enter Exhibition In Gallery 1 the President of the Royal Academy will present the scholars accompanying Her Majesty The Queen, President Pertini and His Royal Highness The Prince Philip: Prof. John Hale Prof. Francis Haskell Prof John Steer Other scholars on the Steering Committee will also be presented The tour of the Exhibition by the Royal and Presidential parties will proceed in the following order : Her Majesty The Queen Group 1 President Pertini His Royal Highness The Prince Philip President of the Royal Academy Rt. Hon Sir Philip Moore Group II The Countess of Airlie Lt.Col Blair Stewart-Wilson His Excellency Ambassador Guidi President's ADC Mr P Rodgers His Excellency Signor Gullotti Group III The Rt. Hon The Baroness Young Members of Italian and British suites Other members of the Steering Committee At the conclusion of the reception, the President will be accompanied to the foyer by Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, the President of the Royal Academy and Lady Casson. Groups II and III will follow. The President and his party will depart. Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, the President of the Royal Academy and Lady Casson will bid farewell. Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip and the Royal party will depart. The President of the Royal Academy and Lady Casson will bid farewell. /The

The Italian official suite will depart.

The Rt Hon The Baroness Young, the Hon Eustace Gibbs, the President of the Royal Academy and Lady Casson will bid farewell.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 February 1984

Jen John.

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Visit of President Pertini of Italy

I enclose briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting with President Pertini at 12.00 noon on 22 February, and a speaking note which the Prime Minister might draw on in proposing the President's health at lunch afterwards.

President Pertini will be visiting the UK as a guest of HM Government and will attend the "Genius of Venice" exhibition at the Royal Academy on the evening of 22 February. He will be accompanied at his talks with the Prime Minister by the Italian Foreign Minister, Signor Andreotti. My Secretary of State and HM Ambassador at Rome, Lord Bridges, will also attend.

Lord Bridges has recently written a despatch on "Citizen Pertini" in preparation for this visit. The despatch is at Annex D of the enclosed brief. The Prime Minister may find it helpful as background.

Lu ur da

(R B Bone) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 February, 1984

VISIT OF PRESIDENT PERTINI OF ITALY

Thank you for your letter of 7 February. The arrangements you propose for attendance at the Prime Minister's talks with President Pertini are acceptable.

A. J. COLES

R.B. Bone, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office

M

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Agree to the attendance Fore at you talk with heident

London SW1A 2AH

7 February, 1984

Visit of President Pertini of Italy

In your letter of 4 July 1983 you confirmed that the Prime Minister would be willing to host a lunch for President Pertini after their talks at 1200 on 22 February.

President Pertini is coming here to attend the Genius of Venice Exhibition at the Royal Academy. He will be accompanied by Signor Andreotti, the Foreign Minister. The Italians have told us that they would like Signor Andreotti to be present at the President's talks with the Prime Minister. (For constitutional reasons when the Italian President has talks with the Head of Government of another country he is normally accompanied by a member of the Italian Government). We hope the Prime Minister will agree to this, and also to Sir Geoffrey Howe's suggestion that he also attend the talks, accompanied by Lord Bridges. President Pertini would also be accompanied by his Secretary General, Avv. Maccanico.

(R B Bone) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street MALY: Visit by Pres. Pertini: June 83.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office London SW1A 2AH 3 February 1984 Dear Caroline, You have made a provisional appointment in the diary for the Prime Minister to receive President Pertini of Italy with a Guard of Honour at 1145 hours on Wednesday 22 February in the FCO Quadrangle. I am writing to inform you that this appointment can now be confirmed. The Guard of Honour will follow the usual form and a rehearsal will take place on 16 February at 0930 hours. A member of the Press Office may wish to come. (Alison Walters) Assistant Private Secretary Mrs Caroline Ryder 10 Downing Street

President Pertini of Italy: Visit: 22 February

Do you wish to have a briefing meeting for this visit?

er.

Nr. Myder.

No.

A. J. C. 5

5 January, 1984.



From the Private Secretary

8 December 1983

Visit of President Pertini

Thank you for your letter of 28 October.

The Italian Ambassador rang today to ask whether the Prime Minister would accept return hospitality during President Pertini's visit. I explained to Signor Cagiati that it was not our normal custom for the Prime Minister to accept return hospitality during such visits, even those from our closest friends, and I regretted that she would not be able to do so on this occasion.

EACOES

Roger Bone Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 October 1983

Jan John.

Visit of President Pertini

In your letter of 11 October to me, you asked for advice on whether the Prime Minister should attend a dinner to be given by the Italian Ambassador for President Pertini.

It is our understanding that it is not normally the Prime Minister's practice to accept return hospitality from a guest of H M Government, which is what President Pertini will be. Although acceptance of the invitation would be undoubtedly welcome to President Pertini, we see no overriding reason to vary the practice on this occasion.

(R B Bone)

Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street Holy: visit of besident koline June 83.



From the Private Secretary

11 October 1983

The Sor

Visit of President Pertini

In my letter of 4 July I conveyed the Prime Minister's wish to offer President Pertini lunch on 22 February and asked whether this event could be fitted in to the President's programme. I assume that this presents no difficulty since the Italian Ambassador told me today as a matter of fact that the President was being given lunch by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Cagiati also raised with me the possibility of the Prime Minister attending a dinner for the President either on 22 February, when I understand over a thousand members of the Italian community are being entertained to dinner at Wembley, or on 23 February, when the Ambassador envisages a small dinner at his Embassy. I am not at all sure that the Prime Minister will wish to take up this suggestion but I should be grateful for any advice you wish to offer.

A.J. COLES

Roger Bone, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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From the Private Secretary

4 July 1983

Visit by President Pertini of Italy

Thank you for your letter of 30 June.

The Prime Minister agrees in principle that President Pertini should receive an official invitation to visit the United Kingdom. She would be prepared to receive him for a talk but also believes that she should offer the President a meal. One possibility would be to hold an hour's talks from 1200-1300, followed by lunch, on 22 February. I should be grateful to know whether this fits the remainder of the President's programme.

I am copying this letter to Sir Robert Armstrong and Sir Philip Moore.

A. J. COLES

Roger Bone, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.





When would we do lund:

M 4.

John
The above is no longer a nember of this office, albert temperaturely. Could we not move Perturi to 12-1 on 22/2 and then give him linch.

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Prime Minito

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9.30 an Welnerdy, 22

February?

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

30 June 1983

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Italian Ambassad

The Italian Ambassador consulted Sir Philip Moore earlier this year about the possibility of involving The Queen in a planned visit to London by President Pertini. The main purpose behind such a visit would be to enable President Pertini to attend the Venice Exhibition at the Royal Academy. The Exhibition opens on 22 November 1983 and will continue into 1984.

We now know that The Queen has agreed to accompany President Pertini to the Exhibition on 23 February 1984. Her Majesty will also offer him luncheon. President Pertini is not on the list of those who might be invited as Guests of Government in 1984 and we see no reason to invite him as such. But we think he ought to come as an official guest, and we hope that the Prime Minister would be willing to receive him for up to an hour's talk. President Pertini has never been invited to Britain, but in the judgement of our Ambassador at Rome he would very much like to receive an invitation.

I should be grateful if you could let me know whether the Prime Minister can agree that President Pertini should receive an official invitation for his visit from HMG. Although we cannot yet tell what President Pertini's programme will be (it need not include all the usual elements of an official visit), or how long he will remain in London, it would be helpful to know whether the Prime Minister would be prepared in principle to receive him.

/In view

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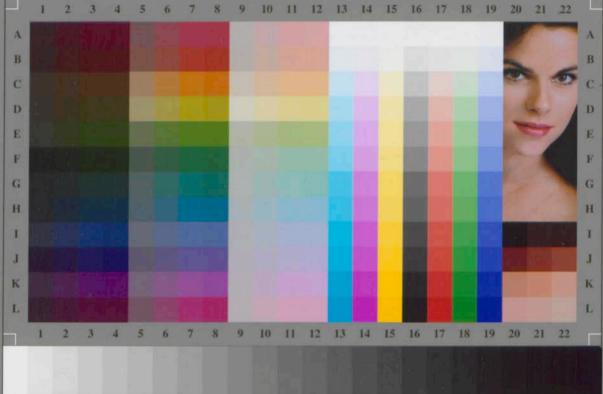
In view of the interest of members of the Royal Visits Committee, I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretary to Sir Robert Armstrong and to Sir Philip Moore.

Tue on

(R B Bone) Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street 30 MIN 1983





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