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FM ROME 281550Z JUN  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO. 304

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*Created* *RL* *69*  
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OF 28 JUNE 1983  
INFO PRIORITY EC POSTS, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UNDEL NATO  
INFO ROUTINE MADRID, LISBON  
INFO SAVING HOLY SEE, CONSULAR POSTS IN ITALY

LRD 01411  
RECEIVED  
29 JUN 1983  
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- B) DE MITA, THE DC SECRETARY, HAD MADE ECONOMIC RIGOUR THE WATCHWORD OF HIS CAMPAIGN, BUT MANY OF THE PARTY'S SUPPORTERS ARE MORE INTERESTED IN THE IMMEDIATE BENEFITS WHICH THE STATE CAN PROVIDE THAN IN LONG TERM PLANNING. SOME OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN AUSTERITY MAY THIS TIME HAVE VOTED REPUBLICAN.
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PSI 5.11.69  
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#### CONCLUSION

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ADVANCE COPY: SIR B HAYES, DTI  
BRIDGES

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FCO / WH  
WED

RS 230  
UNCLASSIFIED  
DEKBY 20000Z  
FROM ROME 200800Z JUN 83  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 303 OF 23 JUN

INFO PRIORITY EC POSTS, WASHINGTON MOSCOW UKDEL NATO

INFO ROUTINE MADRID AND LISBON

SAVING TO CONSULAR POSTS IN ITALY AND HOLY SEE (ACTIONED)

MYTELNO 300(NOTALL) : ITALIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS

1. THE RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS FOR THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ARE AS FOLLOWS (WITH 1979 FIGURES IN BRACKETS FOR COMPARISON).

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC) *	32.0 (38.3)	%	225 (262)	SEATS
COMMUNISTS (PCI)	29.9 (30.4)	%	198 (191)	SEATS
SOCIALISTS (PSI) *	11.4 (9.8)	%	73 (62)	SEATS
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (PSDI) *	4.1 (3.8)	%	23 (20)	SEATS
REPUBLICANS (PRI) *	5.1 (3)	%	29 (16)	SEATS
LIBERALS (PLI) *	2.9 (1.0)	%	16 (9)	SEATS
NEO-FACISTS (MSI/DN)	6.8 (5.3)	%	42 (30)	SEATS
RADICALS (PR)	2.2 (3.5)	%	11 (18)	SEATS
PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY (EXTREME LEFT) (DP)	1.5 (0.8)	%	7 (—)	SEATS
OTHERS	3.2 (3.2)	%	6 (22)	SEATS

2. SENATE RESULTS ARE VERY SIMILAR, ALTHOUGH THE PCI DID SLIGHTLY BETTER (30.0%).

3. THE TURNOUT WAS LOW BY ITALIAN STANDARDS: 89%, COMPARED WITH 90.6% IN 1979.

4. FULL STATISTICS FOLLOW BY BAG, AND COMMENT BY TELEGRAM.

BRIDGES

STANDARD  
WED  
ECO(i)  
CABINET OFFICE

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FM ROME 300600Z JUN

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO. 307

OF 30 JUN 83

INFO SAVING EC POSTS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, MOSCOW, MADRID LISBON:  
INFO SAVING HOLY SEE, CONSULAR POSTS IN ITALY

WRS 01411  
30 JUN 1983  
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NY TELNO. 304: ITALIAN GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

1. REACTIONS BOTH FROM POLITICAL LEADERS AND FROM THE PRESS HAVE NATURALLY DEPENDED ON THEIR POLITICAL PREFERENCES. THE INESCAPABLE FACT FOR ALL WAS THE SET-BACK OF THE DC. MOST PEOPLE EXPECT THAT THE NEXT ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE A FIVE PARTY COALITION OF DC, PSI, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (PSDI), REPUBLICAN (PRI) AND LIBERALS (PLI).

2. DE MITA (DC) WAS CLEARLY VERY MUCH SHAKEN BY HIS PARTY'S POOR SHOWING. HE CLAIMS THAT THE DC'S TACTICS WERE DECIDED COLLECTIVELY, AND IS THUS TRYING TO SHARE THE BLAME. HE HAS SPECULATED THAT HE HAD NOT HAD ENOUGH TIME TO EXPLAIN TO THE ELECTORATE HOW THE DC NEEDED MODERNISING TO FACE UP TO ITALY'S PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. HE HAS COMMENTED THAT THE DC WILL NO LONGER BE SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR MANAGING ITALY'S FUTURE. THROUGH THEIR PAPER (IL POPOLO), THE DC HAVE POINTED OUT THAT ITALY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REMAIN GRAVE AND HAVE CALLED FOR AGREEMENT ON A PROGRAMME TO DEAL WITH THEM. THIS AGREEMENT WOULD PRESUMABLY INVOLVE THE POTENTIAL MEMBERS OF A FIVE PARTY COALITION.

3. CRAXI (PSI) HAS DESCRIBED THE RESULT AS A VICTORY FOR THE PSI, AND CLAIMED THAT HIS PARTY HAD GAINED VOTES AND HAD THWARTED DE MITA'S PLAN TO IMPOSE A CONSERVATIVE SOLUTION TO ITALY'S PROBLEMS. THE PSI HAS RESERVED ITS POSITION ON FUTURE COALITION ARRANGEMENTS. THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP WILL MEET SHORTLY TO CONSIDER WHAT TO DO.

4. SPADOLINI (PRI) IS DELIGHTED WITH HIS PARTY'S PERFORMANCE. HE HAS CALLED FOR A FIVE-PARTY MEETING TO DISCUSS FUTURE POLICY. PROBLEMS SHOULD NOT BE PUT OFF UNTIL AFTER THE SUMMER.

5. BERLINGUER AND THE PCI ARE PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS, ESPECIALLY AS THEY WERE EXPECTING TO LOSE MANY MORE VOTES THAN THEY DID. HE CLAIMED THAT THE LEFT IN ITALY HAS EMERGED STRENGTHENED FROM THE ELECTIONS. NO-ONE BELIEVES THAT A PCI/LAY PARTY COALITION IS A REAL POSSIBILITY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

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6. THE NON-PARTY PRESS REACTED WITH UNANIMOUS SURPRISE TO THE DECLINE IN THE DC VOTE. FROM LA REPUBBLICA ON THE LEFT TO ILL GIORNALE NUOVO ON THE RIGHT, THERE ARE WIDESPREAD REFERENCES TO THE "COLLAPSE" OF THE DC. SOME SPECULATE THAT DE MITA MAY PAY THE PRICE AND BE FORCED TO RESIGN. EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DC DECLINE VARY. IL GIORNALE NUOVO ECHOES DE MITA'S POINT ABOUT HIS ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF THE PARTY AWAY FROM A TRADITIONAL CLIENT-ELIST ORGANISATION: SOME OF THE PARTY'S TRADITIONAL VOTERS MAY HAVE BEEN FRIGHTENED AWAY BY THE THE CHANGES. OTHERS SEE THE VOTE AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE DC'S COMPLACENCY AND POOR MORAL RECORD. THE INCREASE IN VOTES FOR THE MSI (NEO-FASCISTS) AND IN ABSTENTIONS IS ALSO SAID TO BE A SIGN THAT THE ELECTORATE IS FED UP WITH THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES AND THEIR BICKERING.

7. THE LEFT WING PRESS IS PLEASED WITH THE PCI'S STABILITY. LA STAMPA (INDEPENDENT CENTRE) POINTS OUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT THE PCI DID NOT GAIN VOTES, EVEN THOUGH THE DC WAS IN GRAVE DIFFICULTIES.

8. THERE IS SOME TALK OF SPADOLINI AS A POSSIBLE NON-DC PRIME MINISTER, BUT IT IS REALLY TOO SOON EVEN FOR THE ITALIAN PRESS TO SPECULATE ON THIS. THE PRESS SAYS THAT NEGOTIATIONS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT WILL BE DIFFICULT, BECAUSE ALL THE ISSUES THAT CAUSED DISSENSION IN THE PRE-ELECTION GOVERNMENT REMAIN UNSOLVED.

9. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVINGS ADDRESSEES EXCEPT HOLY SEE AND CONSULAR POSTS IN ITALY.

BRIDGES

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

FCO/WHITEHALL  
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ITALIAN  
ELECTION  
POINTS TO MAKE

WFS Mr Osborne  
Rank 5 - all 306

(51)

C.D. 38% lower vote  
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Mr Os  
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CABINET 30 JUNE:

ITALIAN GENERAL ELECTION

POINTS TO MAKE:

- (i) Final election results do not reveal as big a change in voting patterns as early predictions suggested. Nevertheless major setback for Christian Democrats. Italian electorate disillusioned with entrenched political privilege.
- (ii) Too early to predict shape of future Government, but renewed centre-left coalition likely, with Spadolini's Republicans participating again.
- (iii) Although a leftist, Communist-dominated coalition theoretically possible, political observers discount it. Socialists, vital to such a coalition, are opposed.
- (iv) Coalition negotiations will be difficult. New government may not be installed before September.
- (v) Assuming a renewed centre-left coalition, no reason to suppose major changes in Italian foreign or defence policies, including INF and Community. Uncertainty on the Italian political scene will inhibit their taking initiatives over the Falklands.

WFS 01611  
- 1 JUL 1983  
DJS

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BRIDGES

ADVANCED AS REQUESTED

FCO/WH

WED

## BACKGROUND NOTE

1. Christian Democrats' (DC) share of vote dropped by over 5%. Communists share held steady. Socialists, who precipitated Election, increased their share by 1.5% but fared less well than they expected. Smaller 'lay' Parties gained, most significantly Republican Party of former Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini which almost doubled its representation in Chamber of Deputies. Neo-Fascists vote rose by over 25%, but they will remain a marginal force. Full breakdown of voting figures in attached telegram.
2. The vote appears at first sight to reflect public disenchantment with DC privilege and inefficiency. Formation of a new coalition will be difficult and will take time. The DC will not be able to dictate terms. But they remain the major political force, and most likely outcome is a coalition of DC, Socialists and lay Parties on lines of previous Governments.
3. The Communists could in theory try to form a left-wing coalition. But the Socialists ruled out a coalition with them during the campaign, and fear PCI domination. With the Communists remaining in opposition, there is unlikely to be any significant effect on Italian Policies on INF (not an issue in the campaign) or the European Community.