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 ACTION PLAN

MIPT: ANDREOTTI 83

1. ANDREOTTI IS SUMMED UP WELL IN THE LPR (PAGES 16-17). HIS MINISTERIAL RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF. DESPITE NOT HAVING SERVED AT THE FARNESINA BEFORE, HE IS WELL KNOWN ABROAD AND WILL NOT TAKE LONG TO MASTER HIS PORTFOLIO. YOU SHOULD FIND HIM A STIMULATING COLLEAGUE: HIS INTELLECTUAL POWERS ARE UNDIMINISHED AND HIS FAMOUS DRY WIT AS SHARP AS EVER: HE RECENTLY LIKENED PEACE MARCHERS TO TOMATOES, GREEN WHEN YOUNG BUT RED WHEN RIPE. HE IS ALSO A TOUGH NEGOTIATOR AND A WILY TACTICIAN.
2. ANOTHER OF ANDREOTTI'S MAXIMS IS THAT POWER TIRES OUT THOSE WHO DO NOT HAVE IT. HE HAS WANTED THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SINCE 1979, AND AT TIMES USED HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE TO EMBARRASS COLOMBO. HE HAS AT LAST EXACTED THE PRICE OF HIS TACTICAL SUPPORT FOR DE MITA AT THE 1982 DC CONGRESS, WHICH HE TOOK CARE TO REAFFIRM AFTER THE DC'S ELECTORAL SETBACK IN JUNE. HE WILL ENJOY BEING BACK ON CENTRE STAGE, AND MAY CALCULATE THAT CRAXI'S INEXPERIENCE WILL MAKE HIS OWN ROLE MORE IMPORTANT. LIKE OTHER TOP DC POLITICIANS HE HAS ONE EYE ON THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC AFTER PERTINI, AND THE FARNESINA CAN BE A GOOD LAUNCHING PAD. POTENTIAL RIVALS LIKE FANFANI (WHO OPPOSED ANDREOTTI'S ENTRY INTO HIS GOVERNMENT LAST DECEMBER) AND COLOMBO ARE FOR THE MOMENT LESS WELL PLACED. ANDREOTTI THEREFORE HAS AN INTEREST IN THE CRAXI GOVERNMENT'S SURVIVAL.
3. ANDREOTTI'S STYLE IS TO RELY ON A FEW INTIMATES, AND WE EXPECT SOME CHANGES AMONG TOP MFA OFFICIALS. THE CHOICE OF UNDER SECRETARIES (JUNIOR MINISTERS) WILL ALSO BE SIGNIFICANT, ALTHOUGH LIKE COLOMBO ANDREOTTI IS LIKELY TO KEEP ALL THE KEY DOSSIERS IN HIS OWN HANDS. HE WILL WANT TO CUT A DASH, BUT MAY BE RELUCTANT TO TRAVEL AS INCESSANTLY AS HIS PREDECESSOR BECAUSE OF HIS WEB OF INTERESTS IN ROME.
4. ANDREOTTI'S PERFORMANCE AS FOREIGN MINISTER WILL BE AFFECTED BY HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THREE GROUPS: THE VATICAN, THE PCI AND THE AMERICANS. THE FIRST SHOULD BE A MAJOR ASSET: NO TOP CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT IS CLOSER TO THE VATICAN HIERARCHY OR BETTER INFORMED ABOUT THE POPE'S INTENTIONS. WITH THE PCI ANDREOTTI HAS ENJOYED GOOD RELATIONS SINCE HIS THREE YEARS AS PRIME MINISTER (1976-9), DURING WHICH THEY WERE BROUGHT CLOSER TO GOVERNMENT THAN EVER BEFORE. HE WILL BE ANXIOUS TO RETAIN THEIR SUPPORT, WHICH IS IMPORTANT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. WITH CRAXI AS PRIME MINISTER THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF CONSULTING THEM OVER POLICY, LEAST OF ALL FOREIGN POLICY, BUT ANDREOTTI MAY ADJUST HIS PRESENTATION OF SOME ISSUES (SUCH AS CENTRAL AMERICA OR THE HORN) TO TAKE

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ACCOUNT OF PCI SENSITIVITIES. FINALLY, THE AMERICANS KNOW ANDREOTTI WELL AND RESPECT HIS ABILITY, BUT HAVE ALWAYS HAD DOUBTS ABOUT HIS HANDLING OF THE PCI. THEY MIGHT HAVE PREFERRED SOMEONE MORE MALLEABLE AND LESS AMBITIOUS AT THE FARNESINA. ANDREOTTI IS NOT AS OVERTLY PRO-AMERICAN AS HIS GREAT RIVAL, FANFANI, AND IT WILL BE SIGNIFICANT WHETHER OR NOT HE MAKES AN EARLY EFFORT TO GET CLOSE TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION.

5. IN POLICY TERMS I DO NOT EXPECT ANY MAJOR CHANGE FROM ANDREOTTI,

ALTHOUGH HIS EMPHASIS MAY DIFFER FROM COLOMBO'S. HE TAKES A CLOSE INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TRAVELLED THERE WHEN PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION: LAST YEAR HE PLAYED A PROMINENT PART IN ARAFAT'S CONTROVERSIAL VISIT TO ROME FOR THE IPU MEETING. THE MFA BELIEVE HIM TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE ITALY/MALTA TREAT OF NEUTRALITY. HE IS KEEN ON FOSTERING ITALIAN LINKS WITH THE THIRD WORLD, INCLUDING LATIN AMERICA, BUT WAS NOT (NOT) ONE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO TOOK AN UNHELPFUL LINE DURING THE FALKLANDS CRISIS. ON INF, HE IS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE SOVIET THREAT AND HAS BEEN A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF THE NATO DOUBLE DECISION: HE WILL NO DOUBT ARGUE THAT EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IF THEY FAIL I EXPECT HIM TO PROVE AS ROBUST AS SPADOLINI OVER INSTALLATION AT COMISO. IN THE LONGER TERM HE MAY WELL TAKE AN INTEREST IN IMPROVING EAST -WEST RELATIONS. HE IS LESS STEEPED IN THE COMMUNITY THAN COLOMBO, AND CERTAINLY DOES NOT (NOT) HAVE THE LATTER'S DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF THE BUDGET DOSSIER: BUT HE WILL ARGUE THE ITALIAN CASE WITH JUST AS MUCH TENACITY. WE MUST ENSURE THAT HE HEARS OUR ARGUMENTS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, AND I AM GLAD THAT YOU HAVE INVITED HIM TO LONDON IN OCTOBER.

6. FCO PSE ADD UKDEL NATO TO INFO ADDRESSEES OF MIPT.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO OTHER EC POSTS.

RICHARDSON

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