



British Embassy
Via XX Settembre 80A 00187 Rome

Telex 61049 Telephone 4755.441

No Specialy (100)
Copy already
seen.

J R Young Esq

Your reference

WED

Our reference

FCO

WJ Young

1 September 1983

14 SEP 1983

SEARCHED	INDEXED	SERIALIZED	FILED

See Rog.

DE MITA'S DC

In my telegram number 366 of 8 August, I said we would write separately about the infighting within the DC which at the very last moment kept Craxi waiting an hour at the Quirinale for authority to announce his Ministerial team. Although I have not been able to write earlier, I think a report would be of use since - however wrong we and others got the election results - events since then have at least tended to bear out the assertion in my letter of 23 June to Andrew Wood that the DC's future is the most interesting question in Italian politics today. Busy Heads of Department can skip to paragraph 7; I don't know whether Roy Osborne's successor has yet arrived.

2. You will recall that De Mita was elected party secretary with the support of his own Base and - decisively - of the so-called PAF grouping (Piccoli, Andreotti, Fanfani). Piccoli was pushed upstairs to the party presidency, Fanfani became Prime Minister when Spadolini fell, but Andreotti obtained no reward and was excluded from the Foreign Ministry, on which he had set his heart, at the last moment. Forlani's minority got no posts in Fanfani's government. The only bow De Mita made in its direction was to appoint Mazzotta his vice-secretary, and as you will know from our reporting Mazzotta, who comes from Milan, spoke during the campaign in support of austerity and the needs of industry in terms which hardly matched the Forlani group's main preoccupation of preserving the centre-left formula and good relations with the PSI.

3. De Mita had to give ground to his party opponents after the DC's setback at the polls. He did so cleverly, but he may prove to have been too clever by half; discontent within the party continues to fester. By agreeing quite rapidly to a Craxi administration, he met one of the Forlani group's main criticisms of him, that he had been too rough on the PSI, and on Craxi personally, during the election campaign. By persuading Forlani to serve as Craxi's deputy, he drew his main opponent back into government. By making Bisaglia the DC floor leader in the Senate he may have brought another prominent minority faction leader halfway towards him. By putting Rognoni into the equivalent Chamber job, he has a faithful and powerful ally in an important position. By honouring

/Andreotti



Andreotti's claim to the Foreign Ministry he has secured a still more powerful (if in the longer term unreliable) ally.

4. Inevitably, De Mita has also made dangerous enemies in the process of selecting DC Ministers from among a surplus of aspirants. As we reported, the entry into Craxi's government of so many coalition party heavyweights left less room for previous DC Ministers who had done perfectly adequate jobs and resented their demotion or exclusion. Mannino (ex-Minister of Agriculture) is out completely, and busy trying to form a new faction in his native Sicily. Scotti, widely regarded as one of the ablest DC Ministers, was demoted from Labour to Civil Protection (earthquakes, firefighting): Andreotti, his erstwhile capo corrente, had to lean hard on him to accept, and he has since attacked De Mita for mishandling the election campaign, being too close to northern industrialists and so on. Gerardo Bianco was deposed as DC leader in the Chamber, failed to get a Ministry, and has accused De Mita of pursuing a vendetta against him in their native Avellino.

5. But the two most clamorous exclusions were those of Fanfani and Colombo, and they were responsible for the DC's last-minute tumult before Craxi could take office. Fanfani had said he would not take a Ministry himself provided that Interior, a key slot, went to one of his followers, Darida (formerly at Justice). Colombo rejected De Mita's offer of Agriculture with contempt, and De Mita would not give him the Treasury (held by one of De Mita's young protégés, Gorla), the only post Colombo would have been prepared to accept if he had to move at all.

6. As Craxi's call on Pertini drew nearer, the Forlaniani stepped up their campaign for more Ministerial posts. They accused De Mita of trying to pack his own men in (in fact, as Berlinguer pointed out in Parliament, the notorious Manuale Cencelli was once again rigorously respected); of leaving Forlani himself isolated in a non-executive post; and of not giving his followers any of the key Ministries in DC hands (Foreign Affairs, Interior, Treasury, Justice). To assuage the Forlaniani after Colombo's exclusion De Mita had to give Interior to Scalfaro, though the latter is not a fully signed up member of their faction. That meant demoting Darida; and by all accounts when the news was broken to Fanfani the latter slammed the telephone down. De Mita helped to make him Prime Minister but found it harder to unmake him gracefully.

7. Does any of this matter? Division of the spoils always takes up an inordinate amount of time (and aggro) here. But these latest quarrels come after a damaging election setback and publicly voiced fears about the DC's future. Forlani has reminded Italians that other Catholic/centrist parties in France and more recently Suarez' Spain have disappeared without trace. Rhetoric no doubt, but it is hard to think of a moment since the war when the DC needed to speculate about becoming irrelevant. In the seventies they lost ground to the PCI, but at least two big parties were contesting power. The DC's present and more insidious worry is that their own coalition allies may whittle away their strength.



8. There is bound to be a lengthy process of self-examination. It will start within a fortnight at the Fiuggi "Festa dell'Amicizia", and will continue until the next DC congress, the date of which is itself an issue. De Mita would like it before Christmas; Piccoli, as party president, has replied frostily that there is no hurry and next spring will do. There are tactical considerations, notably the need to unite the party before next summer's European Assembly elections. But there are also personal factors: it is not obvious that De Mita would gain from an early congress, but as I said in the last paragraph of my letter of 23 June he is used to leading from the front and taking risks, and this may be no exception.

9. We plan to devote some time this autumn to reporting on the DC. Since Italians themselves cannot predict the party's future (and De Mita's) it won't surprise you to hear that views within the Embassy are divided. It is easier to list the questions than the answers. The questions are:-

- i) has social change in Italy set the conditions for an irreversible (if slow) DC decline? Could the party have improved on its vote if it had paid more attention to pensioners, shopkeepers, local grievances and clients in general in recent months? Or would the benefit have been outweighed by an increased protest vote against DC corruption and stagnation?
- ii) would Forlani's blander style have served the DC better? Or does the party need shaking up whatever the short term losses?
- iii) can the party be run by a powerful secretary (De Mita, Fanfani before him); or is it so fissile that collegiate decision-making is the only way forward? And if so, are the old faction leaders (Piccoli, Andreotti, Fanfani and so on) an asset or a liability? Will the younger DC generation ever come to power? (Scalfaro at Interior has been hailed as a new face. He is 65, and was first appointed a junior Minister nearly 30 years ago);
- iv) flowing from (i) above, perhaps the most basic question of all; should the DC acquire a clearer identity, like its opposite number in Germany, or should it continue to purport to be a classless, populist party?

10. As I am almost alone in the Embassy this week, I shall allow myself a personal view. This is that the DC was in trouble well before De Mita came to power, and that Forlani or someone like him would not have done much better. The party had lost control of the big cities, as well as of many regions. When the DC talk, in the local jargon, of their "central" and "mediating" role in Italian politics, they mean not only their primacy as the largest party but their ability to find enough junior partners in whatever direction to construct a ruling majority of which they remain the fulcrum. But the DC have not performed as the effective fulcrum of Italian politics since Moro's death, to the point where it is now fashionable to talk of the alternanza (not



"alternativa") of lay and DC Prime Ministers as a new unwritten code for government-forming. There is a loss of self-confidence which De Mita was trying to fight. The rules and practice of PR here dictate that with 35% or so of the vote a party is likely to retain power nationally or locally; with 25% or below it can be condemned to opposition. In that sense the DC's losses in June were important, and I do not agree with those English newspapers that belittled their significance.

11. I think De Mita has a chance of staying on, but at a price. The codeword would be collegiate government: more influence for the old guard, less unguarded speaking out, more attention no doubt to traditional constituencies, and less to the industrialists whom De Mita tried to woo. I doubt whether this will solve the DC's problems, and I wonder also whether Craxi will give them the opportunity to draw breath. While he obviously needs DC support, he should be pretty safe for the next few months.

12. One thing is certain. The party needs to do better at the European Assembly elections next summer, and in the various 1984-5 local and regional elections, if it is not to become demoralised. That makes this pre-congress period of particular interest. The factions and alliances may well reshape themselves; the "younger generation" (relatively) will no doubt vent their frustration once again. Despite the obvious tensions, there will be some pressure, I think, for consensus and a united front. The price remains to be seen. Possibly De Mita became secretary too soon, before the party's difficulties had generally sunk in. Whatever happens to him, he has at least had the merit of asking the difficult questions and of trying to provide solutions.

Yours ever,

Tom

T L Richardson

cc: Mrs K Colvin
Research Dept
FCO

CALENDAR OF EVENTS (1983)

WR 0141
RECEIVED
14 SEP 1983
Office in
Responsible

103

September

- 1 - 18 Festa dell'Unità at Reggio Emilia. IO/Mr Culshaw
- 2 - 6 CINC RAF Support Command visit to Italy. AA
- 5 - 6 Informal Meeting of Agriculture Ministers in Athens.
- 5 - 6 EC Political Committee Meeting in Athens.
- 7 Embassy briefing of new British students at NATO Defence College. DA/H of C
- 7 - 9 EC Special Committee on Agriculture Meeting in Athens.
- 10 HMA attends opening of Blake and Dante Exhibition at Pescara.
- 10 - 18 Festa dell'Amicizia (DC) in Fiuggi. IO/Mr Culshaw
- 10 - 11 Informal Meeting of Finance Ministers in Greece.
- 11 - 16 Royal Navy Equipment Exhibition at Portsmouth. NA/Mr Morrice
- 12 Political Cooperation Ministerial Meeting in Athens.
- 12 New Philharmonia Orchestra Concert in Rome.
- 12 - 14 19th Executive Board of IFAD. Min. (FAO)
- 12 - 16 Official Visit by Military Attaché Group to V Corps, Italian Army. DA
- 16 Prime Minister Craxi visits London. H of C/Mr Culshaw
- 17 - 18 Visit by RA Band to Turin. DA
- 20 Sept. - English Watercolours Exhibition
31 Oct. in Rome.
- 19 - 20 Foreign Affairs Council in Brussels.

September (contd.)Officer
Responsible

20	Concert by RA band at Villa Wolkonsky.	DA
20 - 21	Special Foreign Affairs Council.	
24 - 25	Turin Air Show.	AA
24 Sept. 26 Oct.	- Promotion of British Goods in Standa stores.	Mr Culver
26	EC Political Committee Meeting in New York.	
26 - 27	Informal Meeting of Development Ministers in Greece.	
26 - 27	Agriculture Council in Brussels.	
27	EC Foreign Ministers' Dinner in New York.	
26 - 29	Official Launch of BL Maestro in Italy.	Mr Morrice
29 (provisional)	Messrs. Hannay, Unwin and Williamson visit Rome for EC discussions.	Mr Richardson
End	Call for tenders for Porta Pia project.	AO

October

Early	General Affairs (Internal Market) Council in Luxembourg.	
2 - 7	North Atlantic Assembly Annual Session in The Hague.	
3	Industry Council in Luxembourg.	
3	Visit to Rome by Captain Constant RN, Head of Attaché Section, MOD UK.	Defence Section
3 - 4	Possible visit by CINC Fleet to Italy.	NA
3 - 7	FAO Committee on Constitutional and Legal Matters: 43rd Session.	Min. (FAO)
6	Possible visit by Italian Foreign Minister to London.	

<u>October</u> (contd.)		<u>Officer</u> <u>Responsible</u>
6 - 11	Mr Channon (Minister of Trade) visits Rome (6-7) and Milan (10-11)	Mr Culver/ CS o/r
6 - 9	RCDS students visit Rome.	Defence Section
10 - 11	Visit to Italy by journalist from "British Business" (including interview with HMA).	Mr Culver
10 - 13	Special Foreign Affairs Council.	
10 - 19	FAO Committee on Fisheries.	Min. (FAO)
Between 10 and 12	Possible visit by PUS.	H of C/ Mr Culshaw
12	Political Cooperation Ministerial Meeting in Athens.	
13 - 14	Political Committee Meeting in Athens.	
13 - 16	Ship's visit to Palermo.	NA
17 - 18	Foreign Affairs Council in Luxembourg.	
17 - 18	Agriculture Council in Luxembourg.	
19	UNIDROIT Finance Committee Meeting.	Mr Northern/ Mr Culshaw
20 - 28	Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes: 16th Session.	Min. (FAO)
22 - 23	Foreign Ministers' Informal Weekend in Greece.	
24	UK Parliament resumes.	
24	Finance Council in Luxembourg.	
23 - 30	Visit to Rome by St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College Festival Orchestra and Choir.	
24 - 27	Visit by HMS Illustrious to Genoa/ La Spezia.	NA
24 - 28	Part Session of European Parliament (Budget).	
26 - 28	Sir H Layard Symposium in Venice.	

/November

<u>November</u>		<u>Officer Responsible</u>
1 - 3	FAO Council: 84th Session	Min. (FAO)
5 - 24	FAO Conference: 22nd Session	Min. (FAO)
7 - 11	British Trade and Technology Week in Padua.	Mr Culver
8 - 11	Visit by Mr Raison, Minister for Overseas Development, to Rome.	Min. (FAO)/Chancery
9	Anglo-German Summit.	
9 - 11	Special Foreign Affairs Council.	
?13	Remembrance Day Ceremony.	Miss Atherton
14 - 15	Agriculture Council in Brussels.	
14	Finance Council in Brussels.	
14 - 15	Political Committee Meeting in Athens.	
15	Cooperation and Development Council in Brussels.	
15 - 18	Annual Assembly of Atlantic Treaty Association in Rome.	Mr Culshaw
17	London Chamber of Commerce Seminar on Italy (in London).	Mr Culver
22	Budget Council in Brussels.	
22	Political Cooperation Ministerial Meeting in Brussels.	
23	Meeting of Council of Europe Political Directors in Strasbourg.	
25 - 26	Conference of EC Parliamentary Speakers in Rome.	Mr Culshaw
28	British Institute of Florence: British Governors' Meeting in London.	Mr Culshaw
28	Informal Meeting of EC Culture Ministers at Delphi.	
28 - 29	Foreign Affairs Council.	
28 Nov. - 1 Dec.	WEU Parliamentary Assembly.	

HMA'S MOVEMENTSSeptember

- 4 HMA and Lady Bridges return from leave.
- 10 Visit to Pescara for opening of Blake and Dante Exhibition.
- 16 Possible visit to London.
- 19 Visit to Naples (NATO Briefing).
- 25 Possible visit to Turin Air Show (Red Arrows).

October

- 3 - 4 Visit to Genoa.
- 6 Possible visit to London.
- 13 - 14 Possible visit to Palermo.
- 24 - 26 Visit to Genoa (HMS Illustrious).

November

- 6 - 9 Visit to Padua (British Commercial Week).
- 28 - 29 Meeting of British Governors of the British Institute in Florence in London.

ANNEX OF STAFF MOVEMENTSSeptember

- 1 - 2 Visit by NA to Sicily.
- 1 - 9 Mr and Mrs Mansfield on leave.
- 1 - 11 Mr Culshaw on leave.
- 1 - 16 Mrs Cesarini on leave.
- 2 - 6 AA accompanying CINC RAF support command on visit to Italy.
- 2 Sept. - Mr Ferguson (Comms.) to Rome for relief
31 Oct. duties.
- 4 - 19 NA to UK for RN Equipment Exhibition.
- 5 - 16 Mr Ibbotson on leave.
- 5 Sept. - Mr Ellam on leave.
28 Oct.
- 5 - 18 AA on leave.
- 8 Mr and Mrs J Easton (AO) arrive Rome.
- 12 Miss Mackintosh on leave.
- 12 - 16 DA to Northern Italy for visit by
Military Attaché Group to V Corps, Italian
Army.
- 12 Mr and Mrs G Fitz Herbert (Minister) arrive
Rome.
- 12 - 16 Mr M Richardson on leave.
- 12 - 30 Head of Chancery on leave.
- 17 Mr and Mrs Evans depart Rome.
- 18 Mr Culshaw/Mr Nelson visit Festa dell'Unità
at Reggio Emilia.
- 17 - 18 AA to Remembrance Ceremony at Gorizia.
- 17 - 18 DA to Turin for visit of Royal Artillery Band.
- 19 Visit by DA and HMA to CINCSOUTH, Naples.
- 19 Mr Reeve departs Milan.
- 19 - 30 Miss Stanley on leave.

September (contd.)

- 20 NA visits Naples for ship's visit.
- 21 Mr Burges-Watson (Minister Commercial and Consul General) arrives Milan.
- 22 - 23 NA visits Genoa and La Spezia to arrange ship's visit.
- 24 - 25 AA visits Turin Air Show.
- 26 Mr Morrice returns from leave and duty tour.
- 26 - 27 NA visits Naples for ship's visit.
- 26 Sept. - Mr Northern to Florence for language
21 Oct. training.
- 27 - 28 Probable visit by DA to Italian Para Brigade.
- 28 Sept. - Agriculture Attaché on visit, hosted by
1 Oct. Coldiretti, to Trentino/Alto Adige.

October

- 1 Mr B Evans (Agriculture Attaché) arrives Rome.
- 3 - 4 Mr Shave (Milan) visits Rome.
- 3 - 21 Mrs Gregory on leave.
- 7 Mr Ibbotson departs Rome.
- 10 - 11 AA to Pisa with RCDS students.
- 11 - 14 Miss McIntosh on leave.
- 13 - 17 NA to Palermo for ship's visit.
- 24 - 27 NA to La Spezia/Genoa for ship's visit.
- 24 Oct. - AA on leave in UK.
4 Nov.
- 24 Oct. - Mr Culver to Florence for language
25 Nov. training.
- 26 Miss Eddie departs Rome.
- 31 Oct. - NA to Naples for ship's visit.
1 Nov.
- Late Oct. Miss L McGregor arrives at post.

/November

November

- 20 Mr F Doherty (1st Sec./Inf) arrives Rome.
- 24 Mr A Batchelor arrives Rome to replace
Mr Cottam.
- 28 Mr Nelson departs Rome.



British Embassy
Via XX Settembre 80A 00187 Rome

Telex 61049 Telephone 4755.441

Mr Christopher
Mr Spicardi

Byzantium in 2000
gain. I would put
9 (ii) as the basic
question.

Your reference
Our reference
Date

1 September 1983
rejuvenate
policies,
image as leadership.
De Mita was right
but did not give
himself enough time.
He simply exposes the DC's flaws.

J R Young Esq

WED

FCO

-7 SEP 1983

See Rob.

DE MITA'S DC

In my telegram number 366 of 8 August, I said we would write separately about the infighting within the DC which at the very last moment kept Craxi waiting an hour at the Quirinale for authority to announce his Ministerial team. Although I have not been able to write earlier, I think a report would be of use since - however wrong we and others got the election results - events since then have at least tended to bear out the assertion in my letter of 23 June to Andrew Wood that the DC's future is the most interesting question in Italian politics today. Busy Heads of Department can skip to paragraph 7; I don't know whether Roy Osborne's successor has yet arrived.

2. You will recall that De Mita was elected party secretary with the support of his own Base and - decisively - of the so-called PAF grouping (Piccoli, Andreotti, Fanfani). Piccoli was pushed upstairs to the party presidency, Fanfani became Prime Minister when Spadolini fell, but Andreotti obtained no reward and was excluded from the Foreign Ministry, on which he had set his heart, at the last moment. Forlani's minority got no posts in Fanfani's government. The only bow De Mita made in its direction was to appoint Mazzotta his vice-secretary, and as you will know from our reporting Mazzotta, who comes from Milan, spoke during the campaign in support of austerity and the needs of industry in terms which hardly matched the Forlani group's main preoccupation of preserving the centre-left formula and good relations with the PSI.

3. De Mita had to give ground to his party opponents after the DC's setback at the polls. He did so cleverly, but he may prove to have been too clever by half; discontent within the party continues to fester. By agreeing quite rapidly to a Craxi administration, he met one of the Forlani group's main criticisms of him, that he had been too rough on the PSI, and on Craxi personally, during the election campaign. By persuading Forlani to serve as Craxi's deputy, he drew his main opponent back into government. By making Bisaglia the DC floor leader in the Senate he may have brought another prominent minority faction leader halfway towards him. By putting Rognoni into the equivalent Chamber job, he has a faithful and powerful ally in an important position. By honouring



Andreotti's claim to the Foreign Ministry he has secured a still more powerful (if in the longer term unreliable) ally.

4. Inevitably, De Mita has also made dangerous enemies in the process of selecting DC Ministers from among a surplus of aspirants. As we reported, the entry into Craxi's government of so many coalition party heavyweights left less room for previous DC Ministers who had done perfectly adequate jobs and resented their demotion or exclusion. Mannino (ex-Minister of Agriculture) is out completely, and busy trying to form a new faction in his native Sicily. Scotti, widely regarded as one of the ablest DC Ministers, was demoted from Labour to Civil Protection (earthquakes, firefighting): Andreotti, his erstwhile cap corrente, had to lean hard on him to accept, and he has since attacked De Mita for mishandling the election campaign, being too close to northern industrialists and so on. Gerardo Bianco was deposed as DC leader in the Chamber, failed to get a Ministry, and has accused De Mita of pursuing a vendetta against him in their native Avellino.

5. But the two most clamorous exclusions were those of Fanfani and Colombo, and they were responsible for the DC's last-minute tumult before Craxi could take office. Fanfani had said he would not take a Ministry himself provided that Interior, a key slot, went to one of his followers, Darida (formerly at Justice). Colombo rejected De Mita's offer of Agriculture with contempt, and De Mita would not give him the Treasury (held by one of De Mita's young protégés, Goria), the only post Colombo would have been prepared to accept if he had to move at all.

6. As Craxi's call on Pertini drew nearer, the Forlaniani stepped up their campaign for more Ministerial posts. They accused De Mita of trying to pack his own men in (in fact, as Berlinguer pointed out in Parliament, the notorious Manuale Cencelli was once again rigorously respected); of leaving Forlani himself isolated in a non-executive post; and of not giving his followers any of the key Ministries in DC hands (Foreign Affairs, Interior, Treasury, Justice). To assuage the Forlaniani after Colombo's exclusion De Mita had to give Interior to Scalfaro, though the latter is not a fully signed up member of their faction. That meant demoting Darida; and by all accounts when the news was broken to Fanfani the latter slammed the telephone down. De Mita helped to make him Prime Minister but found it harder to unmake him gracefully.

7. Does any of this matter? Division of the spoils always takes up an inordinate amount of time (and aggro) here. But these latest quarrels come after a damaging election setback and publicly voiced fears about the DC's future. Forlani has reminded Italians that other Catholic/centrist parties in France and more recently Suarez' Spain have disappeared without trace. Rhetoric no doubt, but it is hard to think of a moment since the war when the DC needed to speculate about becoming irrelevant. In the seventies they lost ground to the PCI, but at least two big parties were contesting power. The DC's present and more insidious worry is that their own coalition allies may whittle away their strength.



8. There is bound to be a lengthy process of self-examination. It will start within a fortnight at the Fiuggi "Festa dell'Amicizia", and will continue until the next DC congress, the date of which is itself an issue. De Mita would like it before Christmas; Piccoli, as party president, has replied frostily that there is no hurry and next spring will do. There are tactical considerations, notably the need to unite the party before next summer's European Assembly elections. But there are also personal factors: it is not obvious that De Mita would gain from an early congress, but as I said in the last paragraph of my letter of 23 June he is used to leading from the front and taking risks, and this may be no exception.

9. We plan to devote some time this autumn to reporting on the DC. Since Italians themselves cannot predict the party's future (and De Mita's) it won't surprise you to hear that views within the Embassy are divided. It is easier to list the questions than the answers. The questions are:-

- i) has social change in Italy set the conditions for an irreversible (if slow) DC decline? Could the party have improved on its vote if it had paid more attention to pensioners, shopkeepers, local grievances and clients in general in recent months? Or would the benefit have been outweighed by an increased protest vote against DC corruption and stagnation?
- ii) would Forlani's blander style have served the DC better? Or does the party need shaking up whatever the short term losses?
- iii) can the party be run by a powerful secretary (De Mita, Fanfani before him); or is it so fissile that collegiate decision-making is the only way forward? And if so, are the old faction leaders (Piccoli, Andreotti, Fanfani and so on) an asset or a liability? Will the younger DC generation ever come to power? (Scalfaro at Interior has been hailed as a new face. He is 65, and was first appointed a junior Minister nearly 30 years ago);
- iv) flowing from (i) above, perhaps the most basic question of all; should the DC acquire a clearer identity, like its opposite number in Germany, or should it continue to purport to be a classless, populist party?

10. As I am almost alone in the Embassy this week, I shall allow myself a personal view. This is that the DC was in trouble well before De Mita came to power, and that Forlani or someone like him would not have done much better. The party had lost control of the big cities, as well as of many regions. When the DC talk, in the local jargon, of their "central" and "mediating" role in Italian politics, they mean not only their primacy as the largest party but their ability to find enough junior partners in whatever direction to construct a ruling majority of which they remain the fulcrum. But the DC have not performed as the effective fulcrum of Italian politics since Moro's death, to the point where it is now fashionable to talk of the alternanza (not



"alternativa") of lay and DC Prime Ministers as a new unwritten code for government-forming. There is a loss of self-confidence which De Mita was trying to fight. The rules and practice of PR here dictate that with 35% or so of the vote a party is likely to retain power nationally or locally; with 25% or below it can be condemned to opposition. In that sense the DC's losses in June were important, and I do not agree with those English newspapers that belittled their significance.

11. I think De Mita has a chance of staying on, but at a price. The codeword would be collegiate government: more influence for the old guard, less unguarded speaking out, more attention no doubt to traditional constituencies, and less to the industrialists whom De Mita tried to woo. I doubt whether this will solve the DC's problems, and I wonder also whether Craxi will give them the opportunity to draw breath. While he obviously needs DC support, he should be pretty safe for the next few months.

12. One thing is certain. The party needs to do better at the European Assembly elections next summer, and in the various 1984-5 local and regional elections, if it is not to become demoralised. That makes this pre-congress period of particular interest. The factions and alliances may well reshape themselves; the "younger generation" (relatively) will no doubt vent their frustration once again. Despite the obvious tensions, there will be some pressure, I think, for consensus and a united front. The price remains to be seen. Possibly De Mita became secretary too soon, before the party's difficulties had generally sunk in. Whatever happens to him, he has at least had the merit of asking the difficult questions and of trying to provide solutions.

Yours ever,
Tom

T L Richardson

cc: Mrs K Colvin
Research Dept
FCO

AUGUST 1983

THE FIRST CRAXI GOVERNMENT

PRIME MINISTER	CRAXI On. Bettino	(PSI)
Under-Secretary	AMATO On. Giuliano	(PSI)
VICE PRIME MINISTER	FORLANI On. Arnaldo	(DC-Forl)
MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO		
THE REGIONS	ROMITA On. Pierluigi	(PSDI)
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	GASPARI On. Remo	(DC-Dor)
RELATIONS WITH PARLIAMENT	MAMMI' On. Oscar	(PRI)
CIVIL PROTECTION	SCOTTI On. Vincenzo	(DC-And)
EC POLICY	FORTE On. Francesco	(PSI)
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH	GRANELLI Sen. Luigi	(DC-Base)
THE SOUTH	DE VITO Sen. Salverino	(DC-Forl)
Under-Secretaries	LAMORTE On. Pasquale	(DC)
	QUARANTA Sen. Enrico	(PSI)
ECOLOGY	BIONDI On. Alfredo	(PLI)
FOREIGN AFFAIRS	ANDREOTTI On. Giulio	(DC- And)
Under-Secretaries	FIORET On. Mario	(DC - Zac)
	RAFFAELLI On. Mario	(PSI)
	AGNELLI Sen. Susanna	(PRI)
	CORTI On. Bruno	(PSDI)
INTERNAL AFFAIRS	SCALFARO On. Oscar Luigi	(DC-Fan)
Under-Secretaries	CIAFFI On. Adriano	(DC-Zac)
	CORDER On. Marino	(DC-Fan)
	BARSACCHI Sen. Paolo	(PSI)
	COSTA On. Raffaele	(PLI)
GRACE AND JUSTICE	MARTINAZZOLI On. Fermo Mino	(DC-Zac)
Under-Secretaries	BAUSI Sen. Luciano	(DC)
	CARPINO On. Antonio	(PSI)
	CIOCE Sen. Dante	(PSDI)
BUDGET	LONGO On. Pietro	(PSDI)
Under-Secretaries	AIARDI On. Alberto	(DC-Forl)
	VIZZINI On. Carlo	(PSDI)

FINANCE
 Under-Secretaries
 VISENTINI On. Bruno (PRI)
 BORTOLANI On. Franco (DC)
 CAROLI On. Giuseppe (DC - Zac)
 LOMBARDI Sen. Domenico (DC - P.N.)
 SUSI On. Domenico (TSI)

TREASURY
 Under-Secretaries
 GORIA On. Giovanni (DC - And)
 FRANZANI On. Carlo (DC - Zac)
 MANFREDI On. Manfredo (DC - Dor)
 NONNE On. Giovanni (PSI)
 RAVAGLIA On. Gianni (PRI)

DEFENCE
 Under-Secretaries
 SPADOLINI Sen. Giovanni (PRI)
 BISAGNO On. Tommaso (DC - And)
 CICCARDINI On. Bartolo (DC - Prop)
 SIGNORI Sen. Silvano (PSI)
 OLCESE On. Vittorio (PRI)

EDUCATION
 Under-Secretaries
 FALCUCCI Sen. Franca (DC - Forl)
 AMALFITANO On. Domenico (DC)
 DAL CASTELLO On. Mario (DC)
 MARAVILLE Sen. Fabio (PSI)
 FASSINO Sen. Giuseppe (PLI)

PUBLIC WORKS
 Under-Secretaries
 NICOLAZZI On. Franco (PSDI)
 TASSONE On. Mario (DC)
 GORGONI On. Gaetano (PRI)

AGRICULTURE
 Under-Secretaries
 PANDOLFI On. Filippo Maria (DC - Dor)
 ZURLO On. Giuseppe (DC)
 SANTARELLI On. Giulio (TSI)

TRANSPORT
 Under-Secretaries
 SIGNORILE On. Claudio (PSI)
 GRASSI BERTAZZI Sen. Nicolb (DC - Zac)
 SANTONASTASO Sen. Giuseppe (DC)
 MELILLO On. Savino (PLI)

POSTS & TELECOMMUNICATIONS
 Under-Secretaries
 GAVA On. Antonio (DC-Dor)
 AVELLONE Sen. Giuseppe (DC)
 REINA On. Giuseppe (PSI)
 BOGI On. Giorgio (PRI)

INDUSTRY
 Under-Secretaries
 ALTISSIMO On. Renato (PLI)
 ORSINI On. Bruno (DC-Fan)
 SANESE On. Nicola (DC-Base)
 ZITO Sen. Sisilio (PSI)

LABOUR
 Under-Secretaries
 DE MICHELIS On. Gianni (PSI)
 BORRUSO On. Andrea (DC-Dor)
 LECCISI On. Pino (DC)
 CONTI FERSINI Sen. Gianfranco (PSDI)

FOREIGN TRADE
 Under-Secretaries
 CAPRIA On. Nicola (PSI)
 MAZZOLA Sen. Francesco (DC-Dor)
 FRANDINI Sen. Giovanni (DC-Fan)

MERCANTILE MARINE
 Under-Secretaries
 CARTA Sen. Gianuario (DC)
 CERAMI Sen. Giuseppe (DC)
 GIAMPAGLIA On. Alberto (PSDI)

STATE HOLDINGS
 Under-Secretaries
 DARIDA On. Clelio (DC-Fan)
 GIACOMETTI Sen. Delio (DC-Dor)
 MEOLI Sen. Delio (PSI)

HEALTH
 Under-Secretaries
 DEGAN On. Costante (DC-Dor)
 CAVIGLIASSO On. Paola (DC)
 ROMEI Sen. Carlo (DC)
 DE LORENZO On. Franco (PLI)

TOURISM & ENTERTAINMENT
 Under-Secretary
 LAGORIO On. Lelio (PSI)
 FARAGUTI On. Luciano (DC-FN)

CULTURE & ENVIRONMENT
 Under-Secretary
 GULLOTTI On. Antonino (DC-Zac)
 On. Giuseppe (PRI)

AFFILIATION TO A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT CORRENTE IS
INDICATED WHERE KNOWN

- ZAC = Area ZAC
- FN = FORZA NUOVA
- AND = ANDREOTTIANO
- DOR = DOROTEI
- PROP = PROPOSTA
- FORL. = FORLANIANO
- FAN = FANFANIANO