



International Relations – Diplomacy

*Chair of History of Italian Foreign Policy*

**“The People’s President”: The Role of President Pertini in Italy’s  
Foreign Policy, 1978-1985**

SUPERVISOR

Prof. Antonio Varsori

CANDIDATE

Gianni Randelli

Student Reg. No. 656112

CO-SUPERVISOR

Prof. Lorenzo Castellani

Academic Year: 2024 – 2025

# Table of Contents

<b>I. Introduction.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>II. Pertini: “The People’s President” .....</b>	<b>4</b>
1. From Partisan to President.....	4
2. A Strong Personality.....	7
3. An Unconventional Approach.....	11
<b>III. Overview of the Role of the President in Italian Foreign Policy.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>IV. Pertini’s Role in Italy’s Foreign Policy: 1978 - 1980.....</b>	<b>21</b>
4. Looking Inwards.....	21
5. State Visit to the <b>Federal Republic of Germany</b> , 18 - 22 September 1979.....	23
6. State visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of <b>Yugoslavia</b> , 11 - 14 October 1979.....	33
7. Visit to the Democratic and Popular Republic of <b>Algeria</b> , 10 - 11 May 1980.....	38
8. State visit to the Kingdom of <b>Spain</b> , 26 - 31 May 1980.....	43
9. State visit to Italy by the President of the USA <b>Jimmy Carter</b> , 19 - 21 June 1980.....	47
10. State visit to the People’s Republic of <b>China</b> , 17 - 26 September 1980.....	52
11. State visit to Italy by <b>Queen Elizabeth II</b> of the United Kingdom, 14 - 17 October 1980.....	59
12. State visit to the <b>Hellenic Republic</b> , 20 - 24 November 1980.....	61
13. State visit to Italy by the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia <b>Cvijetin Mijatović</b> , 17 - 19 December 1980.....	63
<b>V. Pertini’s Role in Italy’s Foreign Policy: 1981 - 1982.....</b>	<b>65</b>
14. State visit to the <b>United Mexican States</b> (26 - 30 March 1981), the Republic of <b>Costa Rica</b> (30 March - 1 April 1981), and the Republic of <b>Colombia</b> (1 - 3 April 1981).....	65
15. State visit to Italy by <b>King Juan Carlos I</b> of Spain, 28 - 30 April 1981.....	69
16. State visit to the <b>Swiss Confederation</b> , 18 - 21 May 1981.....	71
17. State visit to the <b>Portuguese Republic</b> , 23 - 25 October 1981.....	72
18. State visit to Italy by President <b>Hosni Mubarak</b> of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 30 January - 1 February 1982.....	74
19. State visit to <b>Japan</b> , 7 - 15 March 1982.....	77
20. State visit to the <b>USA</b> , 24 March - 1 April 1982.....	81
21. State visit to Italy by the President of the USA <b>Ronald Reagan</b> , 7 June 1982.....	93
22. State visit to the <b>French Republic</b> , 5 - 9 July 1982.....	96
23. State visit to Italy by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany <b>Karl Carstens</b> , 25 - 27 October 1982.....	101

<b>VI. Pertini's Role in Italy's Foreign Policy: 1983 - 1985.....</b>	<b>103</b>
24. Visit to the <b>Council of Europe</b> (Strasbourg), 26 - 27 April 1983.....	103
25. Visit to Beirut (Republic of <b>Lebanon</b> ), 4 November 1983.....	105
26. State visit to the Hashemite Kingdom of <b>Jordan</b> , 26 - 28 November 1983.....	110
27. Visit to the <b>United Kingdom</b> , 22 - 24 February 1984.....	114
28. Visit to the <b>Holy See</b> (21 May 1984) and Visit by <b>Pope John Paul II</b> to the Quirinal (2 June 1984).....	116
29. Visit to the Arab Republic of <b>Egypt</b> , 16 - 19 February 1985.....	118
30. State visit to the <b>Argentine Republic</b> (9 - 11 March 1985), and State visit to the Argentine Republic and the Oriental Republic of <b>Uruguay</b> (21 - 23 May 1985).....	120
31. Visit to the <b>European Parliament</b> (Strasbourg), 11 June 1985.....	123
<b>VII. Conclusions.....</b>	<b>125</b>
Bibliography.....	128

## I. Introduction

“Ormai Pertini è un grande Illusionista: fa credere agli stranieri che esista un’Italia seria e affidabile.”

“At this point Pertini is a great illusionist: he makes foreigners believe that a serious and reliable Italy exists.”

These words were noted by Antonio Maccanico, secretary general of the president of the republic under Pertini, in his diary following a state visit to Greece in November 1980.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of this thesis will center around original elements and information obtained from the historical archives of the office of the Italian president of the republic along with other first and second-hand sources. The methodology will follow a chronological approach through the diaries maintained by Maccanico while he served at the *Quirinale* (the Quirinal Palace being a metonymy for the office of the Italian president of the republic), tracing all of the major visits and foreign policy endeavors embarked upon by Pertini. A chronological approach was chosen given the importance and weight of documentation contained within the archives, and therefore the need to organize research in a more systematic manner.

Firstly, the opening chapter will give a compendium of Pertini as the “people’s president”, focusing on his biography, his personality and his position on certain themes of international relevance to gauge elements that might have conditioned his approach to foreign policy. The following chapter will then provide an overview of existing literature concerning the role of the president in Italian foreign policy, and the evolution of such a role, given that this thesis hopes to impart an original contribution to this field of study. Subsequently, the main body of this thesis, as already outlined, will retrace Pertini’s term with an emphasis on his foreign visits and the reception of foreign heads of state, relying on archival sources. In both cases, focus will be given to state visits, and to a lesser extent official visits, rather than working or private visits, a total of 31.

The scope of this study will therefore be an attempt to analyze whether Pertini’s personal convictions, political history, and reputation allowed him to exert an influence on the conduct and perception of Italy’s foreign relations. According to Antonio Varsori, there was a growing, in

---

<sup>1</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 120.

hindsight erroneous, perception during the years of Pertini's presidency that Italy was gaining momentum as an important actor in the arena of international relations. This rang especially true before the worsening of the crisis of the "*Repubblica dei partiti*" (Republic of parties) in the closing years of the 1980s, in the timeframe betwixt the latter *anni di piombo* (years of lead, characterized by ideologically motivated terrorism) and the optimism derived from the relatively high economic growth that characterized the decade.<sup>2</sup>

Despite this, it will be important to evaluate if Pertini's foreign policy had concrete goals, or whether he used it to aggrandize himself and his reputation both domestically and abroad, or if the answer lies somewhere between these two judgments. Regardless, it can be safely assumed that his foreign policy outlook was based on a personal history that saw war, imprisonment, resistance and democracy, traversing the most delicate period of Italy since unification. The limited role that Italian presidents have historically played in foreign policy, with the exception of president Gronchi (1955-1962), was revolutionized by Sandro Pertini, a very image-conscious person whose desire to be seen by the people in a good light was reflected, by extension, on the country.

## II. Pertini: "The People's President"

### 1. *From Partisan to President*

Sandro Pertini was always intimately involved in the international vicissitudes of his time. Born Alessandro Giuseppe Antonio Pertini in the small Ligurian *comune* of Stella on the 25th of September 1896, like many other young men he experienced firsthand the breakdown of international relations that would characterize the first half of his life on earth.<sup>3</sup> Despite belonging to a family of wealthy catholic landowners, his adherence to socialism manifested itself from a young age, and was reinforced during his years as a high school student under philosophy professor Adelchi Baratono, who would eventually become a socialist member of the

---

<sup>2</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> **Di Mino**, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore.

chamber of deputies of the Kingdom of Italy before the rise of Mussolini to absolute power.<sup>4</sup> Enrolled in university, young Pertini's nascent socialist militancy was interrupted by the outbreak of the first world war. Italian socialists split between neutralists and interventionists, with socialists such as Benito Mussolini joining the latter group, while Pertini remained in the former along with the leadership of the party. This nonetheless did not prevent him from seeing action in the mountains of northeastern Italy, where he distinguished himself in combat and earned a silver medal for military valor which was, however, only granted in 1985 due to his being classified as a subversive socialist element and a pacifist.<sup>5</sup> Reconciling the paradox between being a socialist and a patriot, Pertini, as president, would comment: “love for humanity, which every chosen and free spirit cannot help but feel, does not exclude, but rather includes, love for the fatherland.”<sup>6</sup>

Following the establishment of fascism in Italy, Pertini's increasingly vociferous opposition to the regime resulted in his being sentenced to confinement in 1926, which he was able to evade by seeking refuge in France while escorting the founding father of Italian socialism, Filippo Turati. His stay in France was characterized by continued activism in the large community of Italian political exiles, first in Paris and finally in Nice. In the latter city he prepared a plan to assassinate Benito Mussolini by illegally entering Italy with a false Swiss passport. Although he was able to successfully reach Italy in 1929, in an attempt to meet and coordinate with other members of the plot in Pisa, Pertini was randomly recognized by a leading fascist from Pertini's home province of Savona.<sup>7</sup> What followed were 14 years of confinement, prison, torture and deprivations, as his health severely deteriorated, at times to the point where he was described as being in “dying condition.”<sup>8</sup> His circumstances notwithstanding, he continued his political activism. Freed in August 1943 following the fall of Mussolini, Pertini joined the Italian resistance, only to be imprisoned again in Rome the following October. In an ironic anecdote regarding his long experience with prison, Pertini described how, when confronted with the choice of breaking out either Pertini or his fellow socialist Saragat due to sudden difficulties, Pietro Nenni, leader of the PSI (*Partito Socialista Italiano*; Italian Socialist party), chose Saragat,

---

<sup>4</sup> Mathieu, Vittorio. 1957. “BARATONO, Adelchi.” Enciclopedia Treccani. 2023.

[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adelchi-baratono\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adelchi-baratono_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>5</sup> Di Mino, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> The daily worker. [volume] (Chicago, Ill.), 10 June 1933. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020097/1933-06-10/ed-1/seq-6/>.

as Pertini was used to being in prison anyway.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the daring escape attempt proved to be successful for both. Pertini rose to become one of the leaders of the partisan war waged by the Italian resistance, continuing the fight in the CLNAI (*Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale Alta Italia*; Committee of National Liberation for Northern Italy) in the north, still under fascist control. As part of the insurrectional committee of Milan, he famously proclaimed a general strike, inviting by radio, on the 25th of April 1945, German and Italian fascists to “surrender or perish” (*arrendersi o perire*).<sup>10</sup> 3 days later, on the 28th of April, the committee dispatched a group of partisans to capture Mussolini, intent on escaping to Switzerland, and execute him.<sup>11</sup> Importantly, when the new King of Italy, Umberto II, wished to return to Milan to participate in the victory parade, the Associated Press reported Pertini declaring: “let all men responsible for our ruin know that there is a Piazza Loreto [where Mussolini’s corpse was publicly exposed] in Milan.”<sup>12</sup>

With the end of the war and the establishment of the Italian Republic on the 2nd of June 1946, Pertini dedicated himself to journalism and political activity as member of parliament with the PSI. He was elected to the constituent assembly of the nascent republic (1946) and then senator (1948), member of the chamber of deputies (1953), and finally president of that chamber (1968), inaugurating then the custom of meeting periodically with young Italians from all over the country.<sup>13</sup> Elected president of Italy in 1978, he had already garnered a reputation for honesty, becoming a harbinger of change best exemplified by the return of non-DC (*Democrazia Cristiana*; Christian Democracy) governments since Ferruccio Parri in 1945.<sup>14</sup> His election was well received by the foreign media, with the *New York Times* describing him as having a “reputation for honesty, courage, dignity, informality, wit,” adding that “his integrity is unquestioned.”<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> **Grassi**, Gaetano. 1977. *Verso Il Governo Del Popolo. Atti e Documenti Del CLNAI 1943 - 1946*. Milano: Feltrinelli. <https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/bdl/bookreader/index.html?path=fe&cdOggetto=953#page/310/mode/2up>.

<sup>11</sup> **Bisiach**, Gianni . 1992. “Testimoni Oculari - La Liberazione Di Milano.” Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana. <https://archivio.quirinale.it/aspr/gianni-bisiach/AV-002-000597/la-liberazione-milano-seconda-puntata#n>.

<sup>12</sup> Evening star. [volume] (Washington, D.C.), 11 May 1945. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1945-05-11/ed-1/seq-2/>.

<sup>13</sup> “Biografia.” 2002. Associazione Nazionale Sandro Pertini. 2002. <http://www.pertini.it/biografia.htm>.

<sup>14</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>15</sup> **Tanner**, Henry. 1978. “A President ‘for All Italians.’” *The New York Times*, July 10, 1978. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/07/10/archives/a-president-for-all-italians-sandro-pertini-man-in-the-news>.

## 2. A Strong Personality

Certain negative traits can be said to have formed an integral part of Sandro Pertini's character, other than more positive aspects which can be inferred from a study of his biography, such as his bravery, his uncompromising nature and his honesty (all elements which resonated with Italians at the time of his election as president): his impulsiveness and attention to image, which could very well be considered vanity.

Impulsiveness in that, as described by Maccanico, he made decisions “more with his heart than with his head,” and which he “acted upon immediately.”<sup>16</sup> In fact, entire passages in Maccanico's diary are filled with desperate attempts to prevent the president from acting in a way that could damage his reputation and that of his office. Despite this, Pertini's popularity among the Italian people remained high throughout his presidency. Often crossing the boundaries of his institutional role, unlike his predecessors, his term as president was marked by his personality, and he yet remains in the collective memory of many as “the most beloved president by the Italians”<sup>17</sup> and as the “*nonno nazionale*” (national grandfather).<sup>18</sup> Whether his informal approach was deliberate, or if it was simply a result of his personality, is debatable. Pertini was a product of the 20th century and its history, of both its tragedies and its victories, enabling him to act with wisdom as a “father figure” to the nation, especially at a time of great uncertainty.<sup>19</sup> Certain iconic moments of his presidency, such as the Italian victory at the 1982 World Cup in Spain, earned their place in the national mythos of the country, plastering his image while playing cards with the players on the return plane to Italy in the minds of all Italians.<sup>20</sup> While seemingly unrelated to Italy's political situation, it is important to note the weight Italians give to

---

<sup>16</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Repubblica.it. 2013. “Da Enrico de Nicola a Carlo Azeglio Ciampi: I 10 Presidenti Che Hanno Preceduto Napolitano.” La Repubblica. April 8, 2013.

[https://www.repubblica.it/speciali/politica/elezioni-presidente-repubblica-edizione2013/2013/04/08/foto/da\\_enrico\\_de\\_nicola\\_a\\_carlo\\_azeglio\\_ciampi\\_i\\_10\\_presidenti\\_che\\_hanno\\_preceduto\\_napolitano-56209430/1/](https://www.repubblica.it/speciali/politica/elezioni-presidente-repubblica-edizione2013/2013/04/08/foto/da_enrico_de_nicola_a_carlo_azeglio_ciampi_i_10_presidenti_che_hanno_preceduto_napolitano-56209430/1/).

<sup>18</sup> **Di Mino**, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore, p.7

<sup>19</sup> **De Cataldo**, Giancarlo. 2016. “Pertini, Il Nonno Che Volle Una Vita Spericolata.” La Repubblica. September 23, 2016.

[https://www.repubblica.it/cultura/2016/09/23/news/pertini\\_il\\_nonno\\_che\\_volle\\_una\\_vita\\_spericolata-148365659/](https://www.repubblica.it/cultura/2016/09/23/news/pertini_il_nonno_che_volle_una_vita_spericolata-148365659/).

<sup>20</sup> Corriere Della Sera. 1982. “L'Italia Ha Vinto Il «Mundial»,” July 12, 1982.

[https://www.corriere.it/Speciali/Extra/2006/Germania2006/diario/pop\\_primacorriere1982g.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/Speciali/Extra/2006/Germania2006/diario/pop_primacorriere1982g.shtml).

victories in sports such as football, as Antonio Gramsci, longtime leader of the PCI (*Partito Comunista Italiano*; Italian Communist Party) remarked: “And you, you pretend to make a revolution without knowing the results of *Juventus*?”<sup>21</sup> Additionally, as a testament to his impulsiveness, journalist Eugenio Scalfari remarked that “ceremonial formalities were completely unknown to him. He followed his character, the motions of his feelings without any calculation of political expediency or compromise,”<sup>22</sup> while also commenting that Maccanico was instrumental in containing and curbing his excesses and his exuberance, which could damage the affection he had cultivated with the people and abroad. Describing Pertini towards the end of his term, journalist Enzo Biagi asserted that “the first citizen does not have a clear temperament, but summer, thunderstorms and sudden clearings.”<sup>23</sup> Justifying his strong yet exuberant character, Pertini asserted: “all men of character, have a bad character.”<sup>24</sup>

The second negative attribute highlighted, his obsessive attention towards his own image, is well documented. Pertini went as far as declaring it himself. In a conversation regarding the tragedy of Aldo Moro’s kidnapping, Pertini believed that, had he found himself in the same situation, he wouldn’t have written letters from captivity as Moro did, as he couldn’t have endured the personal intrusion of jailers reading his letters, remarking that, unlike Moro: “I have no faith in the afterlife and so the only thing that matters to me is to preserve my image.”<sup>25</sup> Pertini’s desire to appear seemed most evident during the events surrounding the death of six-year old Alfredo Rampi, who had fallen in an artisanal well in the small *frazione* of Vermicino, close to Rome. The affair was a watershed moment for that country, as the nascent broadcasting media industry televised the dramatic event on all networks, bringing it to nationwide attention. Famously, the arrival of Pertini on the scene distracted the public and the media’s attention from Alfredo, as the “camera lenses followed the president and his entourage.”<sup>26</sup> Journalist Indro Montanelli would later harshly criticize Pertini for this event,

---

<sup>21</sup> **Di Michele**, Stefano. 2014. “Giocare Sulla Sinistra.” @Ilfoglio\_it. Il Foglio. June 25, 2014. <https://www.ilfoglio.it/articoli/2014/06/25/news/giocare-sulla-sinistra-74406/>.

<sup>22</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> **Di Mino**, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore, p.4.

<sup>25</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> **Barra**, Luca. 2021. 10 giugno 1983: Vermicino e la prima tv del dolore. Il Mulino, 4 (Supplemento), p.75. [https://cris.unibo.it/bitstream/Barra-Mulino-10giugno201983.Vermicinoelaprimatvdel20dolore\\_cover.pdf](https://cris.unibo.it/bitstream/Barra-Mulino-10giugno201983.Vermicinoelaprimatvdel20dolore_cover.pdf)

among others, highlighting his desire to be the center of attention: “He vented his presidentialism in declamatory participations in the episodes that most raised public commotion such as the affair of the child who plunged into a burrow, where he [Pertini] also seemed to want to lower himself.”<sup>27</sup> This perhaps lends to the thesis that his primary political motivation was, in fact, a question of public perception to his image rather than concrete goals. Pertini was a pioneer of the use of television in Italian politics, undoubtedly bringing greater prestige to himself and the office which he represented. He was perfectly at ease interacting with this medium, entering into the intimacy of Italian homes through the television set and breaking with official protocol not only in terms of optics, often freely speaking his mind while seated in an armchair rather than reading a speech while seated at a desk, but also in terms of language and the topics being discussed, which often harkened back to his personal experience. Television, which had made contact with the highest office in the Italian state a daily occurrence, forever mutated the relationship between citizens and the president, increasing his popularity and visibility.<sup>28</sup>

Of essence in a study concerning the role in foreign policy of Pertini is the way in which he was viewed abroad. Following his election, the American Embassy transmitted a biography of the newly-elected president, with characterizations mirroring the adjectives described above, albeit more bluntly. Reportedly, Pertini was a lone, independent spirit who preferred domestic life to social life, was loyal to his own ideals and skeptical of institutions. Privately, his manner of speech was direct, serious and simple, harboring great affection for young people and intense aversion to intellectuals. He was also unceremoniously described as possessing mediocre intelligence, highly emotional, stubborn, self-righteous and susceptible to flattery. Despite these flaws, he was also hailed as a man with an “admirable past, impeccable moral standards and unshakable liberal ideals [...], diamond hard integrity, unquestionable honesty.”<sup>29</sup> Another important report formulated by the American Embassy, titled “The Foreign Policy Idealist”, described their view of Pertini’s foreign policy at the time of his election. It noted that Pertini, as other politicians of his time, had had “relatively little contact with the world outside Italy, either in terms of culture or travel,” and that he was “poorly informed on world affairs” of which he generally only had limited interest, especially with regard to East-West affairs, the Sino-Soviet

---

<sup>27</sup> Montanelli, Indro. 2001. “Pertini, Una Vita Piena Di ‘Gesti.’” Corriere.it. Corriere della Sera. April 13, 2001. [https://www.corriere.it/solferino/montanelli/01-04-13/01\\_spm](https://www.corriere.it/solferino/montanelli/01-04-13/01_spm).

<sup>28</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e Ridolfi, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, pp. 276-279.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 183-184.

rivalry and Africa. The report asserted that “what interest he has in the outside world is essentially an extension of his domestic political concerns,” such as human rights, civil liberties and social justice.<sup>30</sup>

Pertini as a character, despite his flaws, was solidly rooted in his impressive past experiences, making him witness to the radical transformations which had created the office he would eventually hold between 1978 and 1985. His experiences during the war had earned him the moniker “*presidente partigiano*” (partisan president), famously sung by Toto Cutugno in his song “*L’Italiano*.”<sup>31</sup> Pertini became an emblem for the Italian nation, fulfilling his role as head of state, and therefore, of the people, representing “something new in the presidency of the Republic, a great paradox given his age.”<sup>32</sup> As noted in a secret 1984 CIA report regarding communist participation in the Italian government, “Pertini wants to be remembered as the president who brought the entire worker’s movement into the leadership of the country.”<sup>33</sup> Despite many Italians not identifying themselves with his socialist ideals, Pertini’s ability as a figure of authority, rooted in his experiences in the Italian resistance during the second world war and his common touch, was near-universally recognized by the people, and widely recognized abroad, lending prestige to the entire Italian nation.<sup>34</sup> In fact, he remarked in his inaugural address that he would not trade liberty with socialism.<sup>35</sup> This perceived impartiality endeared him to the segments of the population that most feared the election of a socialist president of the Republic. Lending to this belief, which predated the beginning of Pertini’s term as president, Indro Montanelli described, in a 1963 *Corriere della Sera* article, how “one does not have to be a socialist to love and esteem Pertini. Whatever he says or does, he smells of cleanliness, loyalty and sincerity.”<sup>36</sup> However, in 2001 Montanelli also remarked: “culturally, Pertini did not exist. Of

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.186.

<sup>31</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 188.

<sup>33</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Communist Participation in the Italian Government?. EUR M 84-10022. 1984. [https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC\\_0001144724.pdf](https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0001144724.pdf).

<sup>34</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1978. “Giuramento e Messaggio del Presidente della Repubblica.” July 9. [https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per\\_a\\_insediamento.html](https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per_a_insediamento.html).

<sup>36</sup> **Montanelli**, Indro. *Corriere Della Sera*. 27 October. “L’Italia Ha Vinto Il «Mundial»,” October 27, 1963, p.3. [https://archivio.corriere.it/Archivio/interface/view\\_preview.shtml#!/NzovcGFnZXMv](https://archivio.corriere.it/Archivio/interface/view_preview.shtml#!/NzovcGFnZXMv).

socialism, he had never read a text,”<sup>37</sup> which perhaps made him a better candidate for the position of “president of all italians.”<sup>38</sup>

Pertini’s positive perception abroad lended to his stature as the “people’s president,” a president that did not reside in the Quirinal palace and lived of modest means.<sup>39</sup> This was most famously on display during his visit to the US in March-April 1982. Considered a “friend of America”, he was presented by the press as a man loved by his people.<sup>40</sup> Maccanico went further, most certainly conditioned by his close personal relationship with him, and described him as the “embodiment of what people love and dream of: cleanliness, clarity, dedication to the public good.”<sup>41</sup>

### 3. *An Unconventional Approach*

Importantly, Pertini was first among Italian political personalities in what Varsori describes as a “rediscovery of patriotism” following the end of the second world war, his past as a soldier and then partisan being crucial in stressing the concept that the *patria* (fatherland) belonged to everyone, not just fascists.<sup>42</sup> Frequent appeals to the ideals of Italian resistance made it a leitmotif throughout his presidency, and although he embodied the link between the struggle for liberation and the contribution of socialist culture to the birth of the Republic, as Scroccu writes: "Pertini knew he was a party man, but it was a role he quickly shed once elected president; he remained a man of one party, that of the Resistance, because the Republic he represented could not be separated from the resistance struggle."<sup>43</sup> Stressing this line gave Pertini the opportunity to reaffirm the value of the armed forces in building democracy (including abroad) and promoting patriotism, with Scroccu describing Pertini’s as a "tricolour" socialism

---

<sup>37</sup> **Montanelli**, Indro. 2001. “Pertini, Una Vita Piena Di ‘Gesti.’” Corriere.it. Corriere della Sera. April 13, 2001. <https://www.corriere.it/solferino/montanelli/01-04-13/01.spm>.

<sup>38</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1978. “Giuramento e Messaggio del Presidente della Repubblica.” July 9. [https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per\\_a\\_insediamento.html](https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per_a_insediamento.html).

<sup>39</sup> **Di Mino**, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechchi Editore.

<sup>40</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell’Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 421.

<sup>41</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 92-93.

<sup>42</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell’Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>43</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 94.

characterized by the convergence of political militancy and civic patriotism.<sup>44</sup> Conceivably, the Italian victory at the 1982 world cup was not the reason patriotism in Italy was “rediscovered,” but rather Italian participation in the UNIFIL mission in Lebanon (1982-1984), which translated into an increased (positive) attention of both the media, and the national treasury, to military matters, together with a “reassessment of the concept of ‘fatherland’ and its emblems, including the national anthem and flag, terms and symbols that in the previous decades had often been associated with right-wing political forces.”<sup>45</sup> Crucially, this change in the perception of the army (as more professional and ideologically neutral) led to its rediscovery, by the Italian political class, as an instrument of Italian foreign policy.<sup>46</sup>

Pertini championed an inclusive approach to politics both foreign and domestic. His presidency coincided, at least initially, with the *compromesso storico* (historic compromise) between the Christian Democracy (DC) and the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which began its decline with the assassination of DC party leader Aldo Moro in May 1978.<sup>47</sup> Pertini’s approach anchored him firmly within the western alliance in the midst of resurgent cold war tensions (especially after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979), while also being open to dialogue with the Soviet Union, as he was most of all dedicated to the maintenance of peace, having been witness to the destruction of war. In fact, despite his proven loyalty to the western bloc during his tenure as president, in 1949 Pertini had voted against Italy's entry into NATO, declaring that “we [the socialists] are against the Atlantic Pact, first of all because this pact is an instrument of war”, fearing Italy adhering to the treaty would influence Italian domestic policy and lay the basis for potential future conflicts.<sup>48</sup> In 1978 the American Embassy reported on this fact, stating that he had greatly advocated for neutralism, as other early European socialists did, in an attempt to find a middle way between the Soviet Union and the United States, although this position shifted over the years in recognition of NATO as essential for Western security and European cooperation as being in the interests of Western Europe.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 427.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> “Compromesso Storico.” 2010. Enciclopedia Treccani.

[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/compromesso-storico\\_\(Dizionario-di-Storia\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/compromesso-storico_(Dizionario-di-Storia)/).

<sup>48</sup> **Di Mino**, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore, p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p.186

Importantly, Pertini's presidency also coincided with the ongoing crisis of the political parties in Italy, which would ultimately culminate with the fall of the "First Italian Republic" in 1992.<sup>50</sup> While this characterization of the effects of *Tangentopoli* and the dissolution of all political parties that had formed the Italian political landscape is inexact, as no major institutional change occurred in Italy as had happened with the fall of the Fourth French Republic in 1958,<sup>51</sup> according to Maccanico the crisis was a major hindrance for Italian foreign policy as a whole.<sup>52</sup>

Furthermore, as previously outlined, Pertini greatly advocated for human rights, for example in apartheid South Africa, against South American dictatorships or against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.<sup>53</sup> He was especially vehement in calling for a campaign against hunger, which was not limited to the endorsement of efforts by *Radicali* politician Marco Pannella, especially in Africa.<sup>54</sup> During his seven-year term the fight against world hunger repeatedly took center stage and was reiterated in speeches, certainly influenced by his experience with hunger in prison during his anti-fascist militancy.<sup>55</sup> In fact, during his inaugural address in 1978, Pertini famously declared: "Italy, in my opinion, must be in the world as a bearer of peace: empty the arsenals of war, the source of death, fill the granaries, the source of life for millions of human creatures who are struggling with hunger."<sup>56</sup> These efforts were concurrently carried out abroad. For example, Pertini stated in a speech to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1983: "In one year millions of human beings die of hunger. This massacre of innocent people weighs like a curse on the conscience of every statesman, just as it does on mine."<sup>57</sup> Often underlined was the paradox of spending significant resources on armaments while allowing millions to go hungry.<sup>58</sup> Pertini's frequent calls for peace,

---

<sup>50</sup> **Oreste**, Massari. La parabola dei partiti in Italia: da costruttori a problema della democrazia in "Democrazia e Diritto" 3/2009, pp. 23-46, DOI: 10.3280/DED2009-003003. <https://disp.web.uniroma1.it/s/Lapaboladeipartiti.pdf>.

<sup>51</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>52</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>53</sup> "Biografia." 2002. Associazione Nazionale Sandro Pertini. 2002. <http://www.pertini.it/biografia.htm>.

<sup>54</sup> **Arconti**, Laura, and **Turco**, Maurizio. 2016. *Marco Pannella, Il Partito Radicale, La Nonviolenza*. Reality Book, p. 176. <https://www.partitoradicale.it/wp-content/uploads/2016libro-marco-pannella-la-nonviolenzatesto.pdf>

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1978. "Giuramento e Messaggio del Presidente della Repubblica." July 9. [https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per\\_a\\_insedimento.html](https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per_a_insedimento.html).

<sup>57</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1983. "Speech made to the Assembly Wednesday, 27 April 1983." <https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/Speeches/Speech-XML2HTML-EN.asp?SpeechID=174>

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

which were not limited in association to the efforts in combating world hunger, also complemented Italian diplomatic efforts in the Mediterranean, in particular in the Israel-Palestine conflict, among other international points of contention.<sup>59</sup>

With regard to Europe, Pertini was a firm believer in the idea of a united continent, as he declared during the last official state visit of his tenure as president at the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1985, which will be expounded upon in the latter portion of this thesis.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, his imprisonment on the island of Santo Stefano coincided with that of Altiero Spinelli, considered one of the founding fathers of the European Union who was present during Pertini's visit, on the nearby island of Ventotene.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, Pertini's new year's speech in 1978 stressed the importance of the first European elections ever to be held in the coming year, 1979: "The nations of Europe [must] persuade themselves that they are bound to the same destiny, and if there is a firm solidarity between them I believe that Europe will know a better tomorrow and it will be able to carry out mediation and peace between the two superpowers."<sup>62</sup> Crucially, this excerpt is revealing of Pertini's hopes to ensure lasting peace in Europe through further integration and the creation of a "third way" parallel to that of the US-USSR rivalry thereby creating a real European foreign policy.

His relationship with the Vatican, especially Pertini's personal rapport with Pope John Paul II, was good as there was mutual respect given their shared ideal conviction in their respective faiths (Pertini's in socialism, Wojtyla's in his religion), and their common toil to free their respective countries during the second world war.<sup>63</sup> In fact, Pertini, in an attempt to resonate with their common struggle, declared in a speech during his official visit to the Vatican in 1984 "our deep sympathy for your glorious homeland, Poland, united with my country by

---

<sup>59</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>60</sup> **Stabile**, Alberto. 2025. "Pertini E Il Sogno Di Ventotene: 'L'Europa Deve Essere Unita.'" *La Repubblica*. March 20, 2025. [https://www.repubblica.it/dossier/cultura/cinquanta-anni-di-repubblica/2025/03/20/news/pertini\\_manifesto\\_ventoten\\_e\\_europa\\_unita\\_1985\\_stabile\\_50\\_anni\\_repubblica/](https://www.repubblica.it/dossier/cultura/cinquanta-anni-di-repubblica/2025/03/20/news/pertini_manifesto_ventoten_e_europa_unita_1985_stabile_50_anni_repubblica/).

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1978. "Messaggio di Fine Anno 1978." <https://presidenti.quirinale.it/elementi/237242#:~:text=lo%20ripeto%20qui%20a%20voi.stanno%20lottando%20contro%20la%20fame>

<sup>63</sup> **Acciavatti**, Alessandro. 2016. *Oltretevere. Il Rapporto Tra I Pontefici E I Presidenti Della Repubblica Italiana Dal 1946 a Oggi*. Segrate: Edizioni Piemme.

centuries-old destiny of struggle and suffering for national independence and freedom.”<sup>64</sup> Some foreign newspapers went as far as declaring the two to be friends.<sup>65</sup> Importantly, as the American Embassy noted at the time of his election, Pertini was the first Italian President to have been married in a civil ceremony alone. However, in spite of his atheism, he was not anticlerical.<sup>66</sup> Despite successful attempts by both Pertini and the pope to maintain good relations between the two countries, tensions did, at times, arise, keeping in line with Italian political tradition. The president’s socialist political beliefs rendered him acutely aware, and led him to consider vital, the importance of the issue of separation between state and church, which were to have well-defined limits.<sup>67</sup> Thus, when the pope exhorted christians to greater political unity ahead of the 1985 regional elections, Maccanico described Pertini as being “very irritated with the pope for his speech.”<sup>68</sup> Despite this, their photo together on the mountains of Trentino in 1984 is one of the emblems of the Pertini presidency, and the president greatly respected the faith of millions of Italians, likely in part due to his mother’s fervent devotion to catholicism.<sup>69</sup>

In concluding this overview of the “people’s president”, it has become apparent to note that Pertini was a complicated character. While some, as Maccanico did in the opening entry of his diary (3rd of November 1978), chose to focus on the fact that Pertini had been “revealed a man of great temperament and style, loved by the people,”<sup>70</sup> others could not overlook that he “was considered an uncomfortable, grumpy, temperamental, often unconventional character.”<sup>71</sup> What can be postulated with a degree of certainty is that Pertini was able to give newfound legitimacy to the office of the President of the Italian Republic, both domestically and on the

---

<sup>64</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1984. “Discorso del Presidente della Repubblica Italiana, On. Sandro Pertini, a Sua Santità Giovanni Paolo II.” 21 May.

[https://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/secretariat\\_state/fonti/documents/rc\\_seg-st\\_presidente-pertini\\_it.html](https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/fonti/documents/rc_seg-st_presidente-pertini_it.html)

<sup>65</sup> *Observer-Reporter*. 1984. “Pope John Takes to the Ski Slopes,” July 17, 1984.

[https://books.google.it/books?id=BYxiAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA10&dq=Pertini&article\\_id=1209,2434172&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiSgrfQ0\\_ONAxURgf0HHWIZMXkO6AF6BAgEEAM#v=onepage&q=Pertini&f=false](https://books.google.it/books?id=BYxiAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA10&dq=Pertini&article_id=1209,2434172&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiSgrfQ0_ONAxURgf0HHWIZMXkO6AF6BAgEEAM#v=onepage&q=Pertini&f=false).

<sup>66</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p.184

<sup>67</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 540.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>71</sup> **Mammarella**, Giuseppe and **Cacace**, Paolo. 2011. *Il Quirinale. Storia politica e istituzionale da De Nicola a Napolitano*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, p. 174.

world stage, despite a “deficit in the credibility and authority of the ruling classes and the country as a whole.”<sup>72</sup>

### III. Overview of the Role of the President in Italian Foreign Policy

There has been a recent surge in academic interest concerning the specific role of Italian presidents in the broader undertakings of the country’s foreign policy.<sup>73</sup> It may therefore be useful to review some of the existing literature and analyze the figure of the Italian president as an institution of republican Italy in an effort to, more importantly, ascertain the degree to which Pertini’s tenure marked a departure from the behaviour usually associated with the role.

The office of president of the republic was officially established with the 1948 Italian Constitution. Among other domestic political functions, according to article 87 of the Constitution the president is the head of state, and represents national unity serving as a guarantor of the constitution.<sup>74</sup> The role of the president is, therefore, largely ceremonial and representative, as they exist to an extent as figureheads, although a debate exists among Italian constitutionalists. However, in matters of foreign policy article 87 also assigns the president three functions: accrediting and receiving diplomatic officials, ratifying international treaties on the subjects determined by article 80 prior to parliamentary authorization (treaties of a political nature, requiring arbitration or a legal settlement, entailing a change of borders, spending or new legislation), and declaring a state of war (following parliament’s approval), given the president’s role as head of the armed forces.<sup>75</sup> These attributions of power give the president of the republic a role in foreign policy which extends beyond their position as head of state.

It is also important to emphasize the implicit powers of the president to influence the government's actions, whether *ex ante* through the appointment of the prime minister, or through the “power of expression.” The “power of expression” (*potere di esternazione* in Italian) refers to the ability, not expressly codified in the Italian Constitution of presidents, to publicly manifest

---

<sup>72</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 17.

<sup>73</sup> **Mastio**, Michele, e **Tebaldi**, Mauro. 2004. *Le esternazioni del capo dello stato fra prima e seconda repubblica, un'indagine politologica*. Associazione per Gli Studi E Le Ricerche Parlamentari, Seminario 2003, Torino: G.Giappichelli Editore, pp. 243-80.

<sup>74</sup> Italia. *Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*. 1948. Roma: Gazzetta Ufficiale, art. 87.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, artt. 80, 87.

thoughts and opinions, even outside the formal channels, though with limits related to the neutral and non-interfering nature of the office given the customary necessity not to impede the regular activities of the government and parliament.<sup>76</sup> According to Mauro Tebaldi and Michele Mastio, starting with (and especially through) Pertini the use of this tool began to be used with increasing frequency by presidents, sparking a debate regarding its degree of legitimacy. Their study applied quantitative and empirical methods to the socio-political investigation of public statements made on four of the largest national newspapers by four presidents of the republic (Pertini, Cossiga, Scalfaro, and the first two years of Ciampi). Perhaps reflecting the private nature of the man, Pertini was the president with the least number of public declarations, despite his status as pioneer in this sense. It is important to note that amongst the presidents studied, Pertini had the highest percentage of declarations relating to foreign policy, 25% of the total, unlike his successors who chose to mostly express their opinion on domestic politics. The authors ascribed this deviation to the numerous international events at the turn of the 1980s which led to a shift in geopolitical power relations. It can be therefore reasonably concluded that the nature of Pertini's interactions with the written press, skewed more towards foreign policy, indicated a greater role by Pertini, or at least an attempt to obtain more influence in this sense.<sup>77</sup>

Giovanni Orsina details the evolution of the role Italian president as a “guarantor,” a position that, since the late 1970s, has been reinforced by the development of technocratic institutions, public but not political bodies that answer to the head of state, and by the multiplication of other institutions in need of coordination. It must be noted that prior to Pertini, President Giovanni Gronchi also attempted to carve out a greater role for the office of the Italian president. In fact, he was often accused of promoting a “creeping” presidentialism.<sup>78</sup> The change that has been taking place since Pertini (and Gronchi) in the role of president of the republic has led to a growing independence from political parties and an emphasis on the individual characteristics of the head of state, elements in which Pertini excelled. He was also in many ways ahead of the curve in the growing significance of the ability of political figures to present themselves as models of ethics and morality as a means of legitimization and influence in order

---

<sup>76</sup> “Esternazione.” n.d. In *Enciclopedia Treccani*. <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/esternazione/>.

<sup>77</sup> **Mastio**, Michele, e **Tebaldi**, Mauro. 2004. *Le esternazioni del capo dello stato fra prima e seconda repubblica, un'indagine politologica*. Associazione per Gli Studi E Le Ricerche Parlamentari, Seminario 2003, Torino : G.Giappichelli Editore, pp. 243-80.

<sup>78</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p.186

to be able to alter existing frameworks, and the concurrent relative decrease in the importance of applicable political and administrative skills. This resurgence of morality in politics was generally more easily addressed, and sometimes encouraged such as in Pertini's case, by "guarantor" presidents, who merely needed to distance themselves from institutions facing mounting attacks on their legitimacy, by denouncing their malfunctioning and calling for reforms. According to Orsina, "explicitly critical positions towards the institutions, often expressed in moralistic tones" characterized Pertini and at least two of his successors, Cossiga and Scalfaro.<sup>79</sup> Despite this, awareness that the former partisan was motivated by a strong belief in democracy justified, to some, actions and declarations which may have been on the limits of constitutionality.<sup>80</sup>

Maurizio Ridolfi challenges the dogmatic view which sees the president of the republic as a merely neutral guardian of the constitution, arguing that the role and the unpredictable or exceptional circumstances that may arise during a mandate make the president an active player in both domestic and international politics. For example, the trips abroad of presidents demonstrate the extent to which the image of the head of state is inseparable from the very history of a nation and its people, as a representation of the perception of the Republic. In this sense, Pertini embarked, through his travels abroad, on a journey to "restore the legitimacy and credibility of the Republic, while the country, prey to terrorism, confronted with the symptoms of corruption of its party system, was going through both an economic and moral crisis."<sup>81</sup> Determining whether this journey was successful or merely a question of perceptions will be of paramount importance. Crucially, Ridolfi links the extent to which Pertini exerted a role in Italy's foreign policy to the especially high popularity he attained relative to other presidents, a link which the president was acutely aware of.<sup>82</sup>

As has already been established, Pertini's leadership style was markedly different from that of his predecessors, enabling him to have a greater role in foreign policy, with some

---

<sup>79</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e Ridolfi, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, pp. 409-418.

<sup>80</sup> Tedesco, Federica. 2018. *Il Presidente Della Repubblica Pertini: Un Leader Morale Nella Crisi Dello Stato Democratico*. Tesi, LUISS. [https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192\\_TEDESCO\\_FEDERICA\\_Federica%20Tedesco,%20Tesi%20SP,%202017-2018,%20PDF.pdf](https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192_TEDESCO_FEDERICA_Federica%20Tedesco,%20Tesi%20SP,%202017-2018,%20PDF.pdf).

<sup>81</sup> Ridolfi, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne*. 2019. *Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

assertions that he imposed his own personality at the expense of the other powers of the state<sup>83</sup> being rejected by others, such as Giuseppe Mammarella and Paolo Cacace, who maintained he respected the limits dictated by his office.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, the political context in which he would begin his presidency may have granted him more room to maneuver in the complex intricacies of Italian politics. In fact, the CIA considered Pertini as having “a reputation for being his own man.”<sup>85</sup> In assessing the possible contenders of the 1978 election, American sources were certain that, due to the crises which gripped Italy at the time, and which will later be expanded upon, the election would go far beyond the mere “choice of a man” and could instead have a “decisive effect” on the complex dynamics of Italian politics, while only later did the possibility of a “layperson” (i.e. non-DC politician) being elected president become clearer.<sup>86</sup> When Pertini’s name began to be considered, the *New York Times* commented that he had been “the first serious candidate to be named.”<sup>87</sup> His election surprised and initially worried the government in Washington, which had noted a rather cold past attitude by the 81-year-old socialist, along with his scant relations with the local Embassy, and initial reporting out of the Moscow Embassy that Soviets held a positive view of Pertini’s victory.<sup>88</sup> However, the Embassy in Rome noted that “despite his closeness to certain communist leaders, [Pertini was actually] distant from the party”, and in fact harbored hostility toward the Soviet Union due to its foreign policy and political system.<sup>89</sup>

Despite the Italian presidency being traditionally viewed as a largely symbolic and ceremonial institution, Pertini's election signaled an openness for presidents to take more concrete stances on issues. The highly visible and outspoken presence which he cultivated and projected mutated and improved the perception of the role of the president of the Italian Republic. Furthermore, socialist politician Pietro Longo spoke of Pertini's “forgivability”, commenting on the understanding that both the public and the political class saw no hidden

---

<sup>83</sup> **Tedesco**, Federica. 2018. *Il Presidente Della Repubblica Pertini: Un Leader Morale Nella Crisi Dello Stato Democratico*. Tesi, LUISS. [https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192\\_TEDESCO\\_FEDERICA\\_Federica%20Tedesco.%20Tesi%20SP.%202017-2018.%20PDE.pdf](https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192_TEDESCO_FEDERICA_Federica%20Tedesco.%20Tesi%20SP.%202017-2018.%20PDE.pdf).

<sup>84</sup> **Mammarella**, Giuseppe and **Cacace**, Paolo. 2011. *Il Quirinale. Storia politica e istituzionale da De Nicola a Napolitano*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.

<sup>85</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p.181.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-182

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187

agenda in his actions.<sup>90</sup> Confirming an expectation signaled by the American Embassy at the time of his election, Pertini's upstanding character did much to improve the wounded prestige of his office following the corruption scandal that had engulfed his predecessor. Additionally, the Embassy believed that, "as a symbol of personal integrity and incorruptibility," Pertini would help "restore the self-esteem of the Italian people." It was likewise expected that, given what the Washington Post had described as a "landslide victory" achieved along with widespread media and press support, Pertini would have "a basis on which to build an area of authority and influence for the presidency greater than that enjoyed by his predecessors."<sup>91</sup> The support of the media, and in particular television, was another important factor which provided a shift in the role of Italian presidents, as Edoardo Novelli asserts. With the transition into the information age the presidency was able to "establish a direct and exclusive relationship with the people, acquiring the authority to represent them and communicate with them directly," thereby increasing its authority.<sup>92</sup> The ability to more easily address the general public, through the customary practice of the president's power of expression, allowed for a much easier dissemination of the political wishes of presidents, as through the people politics could effectively be influenced, granting greater power to the president including in matters of foreign policy. Additionally, the effectiveness of informal powers of expression is dependent upon the president's ability to showcase charisma and rhetorical skills, which was certainly a boon for Pertini.<sup>93</sup>

As Giovanni Mario Ceci asserts, the American Embassy in its initial analysis of Pertini also correctly predicted that he would be a "strong and independent" head of state, meaning that, unlike what had often been the case in the past, he would break free of presidential conventions that saw the officeholder as a largely ceremonial figurehead "subordinate in all matters to the political parties." Therefore, given the shifting winds of Italian politics initiated by the watershed event of Aldo Moro's murder, and Pertini's own strong convictions, Pertini would be

---

<sup>90</sup> **Tedesco**, Federica. 2018. *Il Presidente Della Repubblica Pertini: Un Leader Morale Nella Crisi Dello Stato Democratico*. Tesi, LUISS.  
[https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192\\_TEDESCO\\_FEDERICA\\_Federica%20Tedesco.%20Tesi%20SP.%202017-2018.%20PDF.pdf](https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192_TEDESCO_FEDERICA_Federica%20Tedesco.%20Tesi%20SP.%202017-2018.%20PDF.pdf)

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p.188

<sup>92</sup> **Novelli**, Edoardo. 2006. *La Turbopolitica. Sessant'anni di comunicazione politica e di scena pubblica in Italia 1945-2005*, Milano: Rizzoli, p. 168.

<sup>93</sup> **Mastio**, Michele, e **Tebaldi**, Mauro. 2004. *Le esternazioni del capo dello stato fra prima e seconda repubblica, un'indagine politologica*. Associazione per Gli Studi E Le Ricerche Parlamentari, Seminario 2003, Torino : G.Giappichelli Editore, pp. 243-80.

remembered as an active (both in terms of his involvement and his activism on certain issues such as peace and world hunger), rather than passive, president.<sup>94</sup>

A “citizen of the world,” through his energetic and enterprising presidential style Pertini made his voice heard at all times when Italy’s national interests and international credibility were at stake.<sup>95</sup> The next three chapters will systematically and chronologically go into depth on Pertini’s foreign trips and visits by foreign heads of state and government through the use of archival sources in an effort to determine whether his initiatives had any significant role on Italian foreign policy as a whole.

## IV. Pertini’s Role in Italy’s Foreign Policy: 1978 - 1980

### 4. Looking Inwards

Pertini’s election to the office of president on the 8th of July 1978 occurred amidst a tense period of political and institutional crises. The previous president Giovanni Leone had resigned 6 months before the end of his term under accusations, later found to be false, that he had taken bribes from Lockheed for the purchase of military transport planes. The office of the presidency was therefore subject to a degree of delegitimization.<sup>96</sup> The situation had further been destabilized by the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, which ended just over a month prior to Leone’s resignation with the killing and dramatic discovery of the body of the DC statesman close to both his, and the PCI’s, party headquarters.<sup>97</sup> Pertini’s election, given his opposition to any form of negotiation with the Red Brigade terrorists that had kidnapped and murdered Moro, partly in memory of his years in captivity, raised a few eyebrows.<sup>98</sup> His victory was secured on the tenth day and sixteenth round of voting with 832 out of 995 votes, 82.3 percent of eligible voters, the most of any Italian president in history.<sup>99</sup> The US ambassador to Italy, Richard N. Gardner,

---

<sup>94</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 188.

<sup>95</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L’image de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l’étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>96</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 276.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 171

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>99</sup> Sergio Mattarella, *66% Dei Voti: Nono in ‘Classifica’ Tra I 12 Presidenti*. 2015. Ilfattoquotidiano.it. Il Fatto Quotidiano. 2015.

bluntly described it as “a time of unprecedented uncertainty and delicacy in Italian politics.”<sup>100</sup> There were serious concerns regarding the Italian situation in the summer of 1978, both in Italy and abroad, especially in the USA. *Time* described what appeared to be the stumbling of one crisis to the next: “just as the Moro crisis ends, Leone generates a new one.”<sup>101</sup>

The kidnapping of Aldo Moro had compounded the gravity of the Leone situation. In the eyes of the Americans, for example, the upcoming presidential election had appeared to have been complicated to the point where it would be nearly impossible to make accurate predictions. The Embassy, the CIA and the media all observed that the situation could have gone very differently. In their opinion, Moro had been the only “serious contender” for the Quirinal, as reported by the *New York Times*, given that he had been behind the orchestration of the fourth Andreotti government (one that would enjoy PCI support) which was to undergo a vote of confidence on the 16th of March, the morning of his kidnapping.<sup>102</sup>

American concerns, however, were primarily focused on Moro rather than the presidential election. According to Varsori, these were shared by both the media and the government, as institutions in Washington feared the Italian state's inability to defend the most prominent figures in politics, a concern shared by the British, represented in Italy by Sir Alan Campbell, who noted the inefficiencies of law enforcement and security apparatuses, but who was nevertheless impressed by the rallying of the vast majority of the country's political forces and of the general population.<sup>103</sup> Varsori also recounts the reaction of the French ambassador to Italy, François Puaux, who noted in a memorandum that the crisis was a crystallization of economic difficulties and the failure to resolve existing social problems and divisions within the political class, noting, however, that the Italian population had other points of reference besides the state (the church, family, political parties), and therefore possessed a strong capacity to adapt, in addition to the fact that, as a “Mediterranean country,” economic activity had never been

---

<https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/01/31/sergio-mattarella-gli-undici-predecessori-presidente-repubblica/1386414/&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1754073684531917&usg=AOvVaw10XdCDCu-YvfPusnP7rDWJ>

<sup>100</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 171.

<sup>101</sup> **Labich**, Kenneth. 1978. “Italy: An Honest Man Resigns.” *TIME*. June 26, 1978. <https://time.com/archive/6849986/italy-an-honest-man-resigns/>.

<sup>102</sup> **Tanner**, Henry. 1978. *President of Italy Resigns in Scandal*. The New York Times, June 16, 1978. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/06/16/archives/president-of-italy-resigns-in-scandal-leone-linked-to-lockheed-case.html>.

<sup>103</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell’Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 394-395.

based on an efficient central administration but on the shadow economy, lessening the risk of a vicious cycle whereby political crises could fuel a major economic crisis potentially leading to a worsening in the “years of lead.”<sup>104</sup>

The Moro crisis undoubtedly overshadowed the controversy surrounding Leone’s resignation. However, perhaps given the instability of the domestic situation in Italy, Pertini’s foreign undertakings struggled to materialize at the very beginning of his term. Despite a private visit to Pope Paul VI in his Gandolfo Castle residence on the 3rd of August 1978, 3 days before his death, and another private visit to Pope John Paul II at the Vatican on the 24th of October 1978, the first official state visit undertaken by Pertini would only come the following year, between the 18th and 22nd of September, in the German Federal Republic.<sup>105</sup>

##### *5. State Visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, 18 - 22 September 1979*

The choice of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as the first official state visit made by Sandro Pertini was in many ways symbolic. The invitation came from a letter written by then-President Walter Scheel and delivered on September 20, 1978, by the West German ambassador, congratulating the Italian president on his moving inaugural speech.<sup>106</sup> The visit had originally been scheduled for March 1979, but was subsequently postponed to September of the same year, by which time Karl Carstens had been elected president (July 1st 1979). The postponement was announced in February 1979, justified by the embassy in Bonn due to circumstances related to the ongoing Italian government crisis, which would see the fall of the fourth Andreotti government in March due to the withdrawal of support from the PCI. According to the diplomat responsible for informing the FRG government, this reason was fully understood by President Scheel, although it was not possible to find suitable dates prior to the German

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>105</sup> **Cacioli, Manuela e Curti, Laura** (a cura di). 2013. *Viaggi All'estero Dei Presidenti Della Repubblica Italiana E Visite in Italia Di Capi Di Stato Esteri (1948-2006)*. Segretariato Generale della Presidenza della Repubblica, Archivio Storico. Roma: Tipografia Grasso Antonino.  
[https://archivio.quirinale.it/discorsi-bookreader/altre-pubblicazioni/Viaggi\\_all\\_estero\(1948-2006\).html#page/58/mode/2up](https://archivio.quirinale.it/discorsi-bookreader/altre-pubblicazioni/Viaggi_all_estero(1948-2006).html#page/58/mode/2up)

<sup>106</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, lettera scritta dal presidente RFT Walter Scheel al presidente Pertini, 20/09/1978.

presidential elections owing to previous commitments.<sup>107</sup> It is important to note that the visit coincided with the 30th anniversary of the entry into force of the Basic Law, the German constitution, which cemented the democratic character of the country, something that was certainly very dear to Pertini given his past struggles for the values it represented.<sup>108</sup> The event began to be widely reported in the German press in the weeks before his arrival, as evidenced in a September 17 telegram from the Embassy in Bonn by diplomat Orlandi Contucci, who stressed the local press's emphasizing of Pertini's domestic popularity, and their view that the event was not "routine," but rather fundamental in determining the trajectory of the complex relationship between Italy and Germany. However, the telegram also reports a press article noting that the lack of bilateral issues would likewise mean that the president's visit with leading FRG representatives would mainly be "informative" in nature.<sup>109</sup> Pertini's visit was in return for the one made to Rome by the then Federal President Gustav Heinemann in March 1973. The last visit to Germany by an Italian president had been that of Saragat in July 1965, 14 years prior. The Quirinal's diplomatic advisor's office highlighted the decidedly more regular and frequent meetings between the heads of government of the two countries (there had been three in 1978 and 1979), due to the agreement reached in 1978 to mirror existing practices that existed between West Germany, Great Britain and France. The development of this custom was considered particularly appropriate for ensuring greater coordination between European partners in EEC policy.<sup>110</sup> Additionally, the MAE (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) stated in a document sent to the Quirinal that a state visit in the context of increasing bilateral exchanges between the two countries would help cement the existing friendship, facilitating talks on the many issues on the agenda.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, tel. n. 790217/0036 ambasciata Bonn del diplomatico Corrado Orlandi Contucci, 17/02/1979.

<sup>108</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>109</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, tel. n.885450 ambasciata Bonn del diplomatico Corrado Orlandi Contucci, 17/09/1979.

<sup>110</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>111</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, sintesi MAE per le conversazioni politiche generali in occasione della visita del presidente della repubblica nella RFG, 1979.

Pertini arrived in Bonn on the 18th of September, meeting president Carstens in the Hammerschmidt Villa, the press commenting on the apparent lack of sobriety which usually characterizes German citizens, as they lined on the streets to greet President Pertini. The atmosphere surrounding the first meeting was described very favorably by the German president, who declared: “Pertini has won our hearts.”<sup>112</sup> What surprised his counterparts most were the remarks made by the Italian president, who seemed to have a masterful ability in mentioning issues that were closest to the hearts of the West German population. Firstly, because he spoke about Germany's tragic past, which left a painful mark on him, as his brother Eugenio was murdered by the Nazis and was buried in Flossenbürg concentration camp (Bavaria), where the president would conclude his visit.<sup>113</sup> The German press prior to his arrival there hoped that it would be “a gesture so that the memory of the atrocities of fascism no longer constitutes a source of resentment between the two peoples.”<sup>114</sup> The president had also received a warm welcome upon his arrival in West Germany from the League of German Anti-Fascists, which emphasized that many former resistance fighters perished in the same camp as his brother Eugenio and for the same values that Pertini dedicated a portion of his life to.<sup>115</sup> In an interview with the German newspaper *Die Welt*, Pertini confirmed this: “I feel no resentment toward the Germans, who are not to blame for the crimes of Nazism.”<sup>116</sup> He also emphasized this point during his toast to his German counterpart at the honorary lunch, believing that “nothing can be built on resentment, either morally or politically.”<sup>117</sup> Secondly, of particular significance for the host country in that historical context, Pertini was known to have expressed favourable views on the idea of German reunification. On a personal level, as personal as the statement of a head of state can be, he repeated his hope that Berlin would once again become a united city, although like Carstens he

---

<sup>112</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>113</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>114</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, tel. n.885450 ambasciata Bonn del diplomatico Corrado Orlandi Contucci, 17/09/1979.

<sup>115</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>116</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.

<sup>117</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, discorso Pertini colazione in suo onore RFG, 18/09/1979.

recognized that this goal could only be achieved in a context of détente and peace.<sup>118</sup> Pertini's visit to the western half of the city preoccupied the MAE. Secretary-general Francesco Malfatti di Monte Tretto, conversing with Soviet Ambassador Nikita Rjiov, was made aware of Soviet thinking that such a visit would have been in contradiction with the four-party agreement of September 3, 1971, since West Berlin was not administered by Bonn and could not take part in the FRG's international relations except for matters relating to its status and security. However, Malfatti replied that Rome considered the program for the President of the Republic's visit to the FRG to be in the norm, as Pertini was not the first and would certainly not be the last head of state to visit West Berlin, and in any case, the program for the visit had already been finalized and therefore could not be subject to change.<sup>119</sup> Despite these concerns, Pertini traveled to Berlin on the 19th, and met with many of the city's leading political personalities, visiting the Berlin wall and many sites that remained as a testament of the dark years of Nazi rule, such as the Ploetzensee Prison memorial. Pertini was particularly struck by the wall near the Brandenburg Gate, but was unable to express his emotions in words, saying, "You can imagine how I feel, but I can't say it. I'm not just any citizen. I see what you see," while wistfully pointing out a bird flying across the wall: "it's a blackbird, it's free, it can fly here and there." He repeatedly broke protocol, which he considered a "stratijacket," nonetheless endearing himself to Mayor Stobbe, who was impressed by his knowledge of the German socialist tradition.<sup>120</sup> His presence caused great excitement in the FRG, to the point where his interview with *Die Welt* was titled after a strong statement he had made: "If Rome were divided, I would fight for its unity."<sup>121</sup> Carstens greatly appreciated Pertini's statements regarding his hope to see a united Germany, and publicly acknowledged this fact. As expected, Soviet authorities protested President Pertini's visit to Berlin. However, this did not prevent the Italian flag from being displayed on the balcony of the Allied Control Council headquarters, of which the Soviets are also members.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.

<sup>119</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, appunto del segretario generale di un incontro con l'ambasciatore sovietico, 6/08/1979.

<sup>120</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>121</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.

<sup>122</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

In June Bavarian President Franz-Josef Strauss had informed his Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he expected Pertini's visit to extend beyond the brief stop in Flossenbürg to Munich as well, given the importance and intensity of economic and cultural relations between the *land* and Italy.<sup>123</sup> This materialized with a trip to the city on the 20th and 21st of September, and a meeting between Strauss and Pertini in which European political cooperation, prospects for increased German investment in southern Italy, and Italian emigration were discussed. On the latter point, Strauss remarked on the Bavarian government's policy of establishing Italian schools to prevent Italian children from losing all contact with Italian culture and language, which would make them feel uncomfortable upon their return, a policy differing from the view of the federal and Italian governments, as well as EEC directives. Additionally, a visit by the Italian president at the MAN factory aroused great emotion amongst the 1500 Italians working there when Pertini spoke “not as president of the republic but rather as head of the family of Italians, with the spirit of a brother who understands the nostalgia you feel for the country you had to leave behind.” Even greater emotional stress was levied by the trip to Flossenbürg concentration camp, on the 22nd of September, a place where 3,412 Italians, but also more than 5,200 Bavarian anti-Nazis had died, and in which Pertini aimed to pay homage to his brother Eugenio’s memory rather than to evoke the past. Pertini also met with Franz Schöttner, a German citizen sharing in his grief as father was also murdered in the camp, who maintained regular correspondence with the president until at least 1983.<sup>124</sup> The visit was somber and private, but had a strong emotional and moral impact, as Pertini had stated: “the fact that my brother died in Flossenbürg, and knowing that his ashes are there, creates a bond, one more reason to feel spiritually connected to Germany. I hope I have been understood.”<sup>125</sup>

As with all of the president's visits abroad, the archives of the Presidency of the Republic contain a wide range of documentation designed to inform him of the status of bilateral relations and the topics of greatest interest to be discussed with counterparts during the visit. Regardless of the turmoil caused in Italian public opinion by Nazi war criminal Herbert Kappler's escape from

---

<sup>123</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, appunto per il PdR del consigliere diplomatico, 29/06/1979.

<sup>124</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, lettera del cittadino RFG Frank Schöttner, 30/06/1983.

<sup>125</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne*. 2019. *Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

the Celio Military Hospital in August 1977, the office of the diplomatic advisor considered relations between the two countries to be “satisfactory,” including within the EEC, particularly through joint efforts in the fight against political terrorism. Another important issue noted by the Quirinal was that of East-West relations, with Germany acting as standard-bearer, increasingly playing a driving role in Europe through the policy of détente developed with the *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy), starting with former chancellor Willy Brandt, especially within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).<sup>126</sup> In fact, Ridolfi asserts that despite an international climate affected by a resurgence of the Cold War (with the end of the first detente following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979), and dominated by the "euromissile" crisis, Pertini pushed the Italian government to show more dynamism, as the Germans did, on the international level and in favour of European integration.<sup>127</sup> The Italian Foreign Ministry recognized a federal government that was aware of the risk to peace and security in relations with the Soviet Union, acknowledging their desire to move within the Atlantic framework, thus rejecting plans to abandon the American nuclear umbrella and entrust the defense of Europe to Franco-German cooperation. Bonn therefore declared itself willing to accept the installation of American theater nuclear weapons on federal territory, which later came to be known as euromissiles, in response to the Soviet installation of new similar missiles in Eastern Europe, only if the other European NATO countries behaved in a similar manner.<sup>128</sup> On September 1, 1979, Italian Prime Minister Cossiga had summoned Maccanico to inform him of the “need to convince Pertini of the urgency of a positive response to the American request to install tactical atomic weapons.” Maccanico suggested that it should be the Germans to raise this issue during the state visit, and he remained convinced, as noted in his diary on September 23, that Chancellor Schmidt made a breakthrough and succeeded in convincing the president to support the project, confirming to the German leader Italy's willingness to participate in the initiative.<sup>129</sup> Importantly, Pertini's opinion on the matter was essential in determining the fate of

---

<sup>126</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>127</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine di La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>128</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, sintesi MAE per le conversazioni politiche generali in occasione della visita del presidente della repubblica nella RFG, 1979.

<sup>129</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 76.

the proposal in Italy, and therefore in the FRG as well.<sup>130</sup> The issue undoubtedly highlighted Italy's importance as a decisive force in foreign policy given its centrality in the wider maneuverings aimed at contrasting a Soviet Union now judged to be “strangling” the West.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, it proved to be an opportunity to redeem the country's absence from the Guadeloupe conference in January 1979 between the leaders of the four major Western bloc countries (USA, FRG, Great Britain, and France), which had caused great resentment in Rome,<sup>132</sup> and was once again made known to the West German leadership by Pertini during his visit, who lamented that other European countries did not seem to realize Italy's importance in the international arena.<sup>133</sup> West Germany's dynamism in this aspect of international politics was therefore viewed very favorably by Rome, given the objective importance of these relations not only for Italian security, but also for European and global security. The Italians deemed the FRG to be an international actor that had by now fully recovered its strength after the second world war and was deploying its international action with increasing commitment.<sup>134</sup> However, there was concern that, on the issue of human rights and humanitarian cooperation, very dear to Pertini, Bonn might favor a certain tactical retreat hiding behind the logic that insisting on this issue could compromise the further development of the process of cooperation with the Warsaw Pact in other areas, namely security, that were more pressing for the FRG.<sup>135</sup> In a meeting at Gymnich castle with Carstens and CDU (German Christian Democrats) leader Helmut Kohl on the first day of the visit, Pertini stated that “we must fight vigorously, beyond the limits of what is possible” for human rights.<sup>136</sup>

With regard to Pertini's declared aspiration, during his inaugural speech, to “empty the arsenals of war” and “fill the granaries,”<sup>137</sup> the office of the diplomatic advisor reported that the

---

<sup>130</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 403.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402

<sup>133</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>134</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, sintesi MAE per le conversazioni politiche generali in occasione della visita del presidente della repubblica nella RFG, 1979.

<sup>135</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>136</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>137</sup> **Pertini**, Alessandro. 1978. “Giuramento e Messaggio del Presidente della Repubblica.” July 9. [https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per\\_a\\_insedimento.html](https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per_a_insedimento.html).

disarmament initiatives taken up to that point between the two blocs had proven to be completely inadequate, stalling in an endless series of international meetings, advising that an increase in joint efforts between Italy and West Germany, given the overlapping interests, might prove useful. Importantly, success in this direction might entail a freeing up of “resources that could be used to tackle the problem of world hunger.”<sup>138</sup> Conceivably, this might have influenced Pertini’s acceptance of the euromissiles initiative. Perhaps a testament to the importance in matters of foreign policy of Pertini’s visit to Germany, not entirely due to his person but rather the opportunity presented for discussion between other government officials on the sidelines, a meeting between foreign ministers Malfatti and Genscher at the Brühl castle led to public declarations regarding the necessity of diplomatic talks to obtain detente, despite there being ongoing discussions in private regarding the euromissiles initiative, which would have certainly entailed a worsening in East-West tensions.<sup>139</sup>

Other matters of international relevance were to be brought up during the visit, especially with regard to the Middle East and Africa. In the case of the former, there was interest in obtaining the German point of view, given their increasing attention to the region, due to recent visits by Foreign Minister Genscher in the region, and the recent consultations with Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan in Bonn.<sup>140</sup> This materialized on the second day of the visit, September 19th, with a meeting between Pertini and German Foreign Minister Genscher in Gymnich Castle.<sup>141</sup> In the latter case, discussion on African matters emerged in the form of an “exchange of ideas” on Namibia (a former German colony), in the context of ongoing peace negotiations between the Namibian liberation movement and South Africa and on the Rhodesian question, in an effort to aid in promoting stability in the south of the continent.<sup>142</sup> Importantly, exchanging ideas and obtaining information from their German counterparts may have aided the Italians in

---

<sup>138</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>139</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>140</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

<sup>141</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>142</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

making determinations for the formulation of their own foreign policy in these two regions. On their part, the Germans recognized, during a meeting on the 19th between Pertini, chancellor Schmidt and SPD (German socialists) president Brandt, that Italy, so deeply embedded in the Mediterranean, had brought Europe closer to Africa and the Middle East, and that its role was therefore very important for the whole of Europe and for Germany in particular.<sup>143</sup>

With regard to European integration, which was very dear to Pertini and undergoing rapid change with the first elections to the European Parliament in June of that year, it became necessary to address and resolve the problem of the “factors of divergence” in Community policies, such as the common agricultural policy (CAP) and tariff concessions to other Southern European countries that were candidates for future European enlargement (i.e. Spain) in order to prevent the emergence of possible tendencies toward non-alignment and thus of potentially dangerous situations in the region.<sup>144</sup> Also important were trade issues such as an increase in orders for the Italian aeronautical industry in return for the purchase of Airbus aircraft (25% German-owned at the time)<sup>145</sup> by Alitalia, useful support for Italy's efforts to create the Monte Croce tunnel between Italy and Austria to facilitate trade with Central Europe (an initiative that clearly stalled as negotiations continue to this day)<sup>146</sup>, and the need for a bilateral agreement on defense cooperation. Other important issues were cultural exchanges and social issues related to the large Italian community in the FRG, for which the Italians hoped to leverage the significant degree of participation in local administrative life and the “proof of maturity” given by the local community during the European elections.<sup>147</sup> Receiving a delegation of Italian immigrants on the 19th, Pertini reminded them that he too had been an emigrant and therefore understood their problems very well, especially with regard to the inclusion of Italian workers in political life, who had long been demanding the right to vote in local elections, and their inclusion in the labor

---

<sup>143</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>144</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, sintesi MAE per le conversazioni politiche generali in occasione della visita del presidente della repubblica nella RFG, 1979.

<sup>145</sup> “Early Days (1967-1969) | Airbus, a Leading Aircraft Manufacturer.” 2011. Airbus.com. 2011.  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20110705195621/http://www.airbus.com/company/history/the-narrative/early-days-1967-1969/>.

<sup>146</sup> **Lazzari, Riccardo**. 2025. “Il Traforo Di Monte Croce Carnico Sembra Essere La Scelta a ‘Minor Impatto Ambientale.’” UdineToday. July 30, 2025.  
<https://www.udinetoday.it/cronaca/traforo-monte-croce-scelta-sostenibile.html>.

<sup>147</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.

force due to their limited knowledge of the local language. Pertini was able to obtain, during the visit, assurances from the German side that everything necessary would be done to facilitate the integration of the Italian community.<sup>148</sup>

In West Germany, Pertini emphasized Italy's particular importance to NATO as a link with the Middle East, North Africa, and even Yugoslavia, which, as will be seen, is reflected in the President's upcoming state visits.<sup>149</sup> The German press agreed that the visit had been a psychological success, improving relations between Italy and Germany. Pertini succeeded in his aim of erasing the shadows of the past “with his humanity and genuine character,” and, as a German television commentator affirmed, “Germans owe Pertini a debt of gratitude because never before had an Italian shown such understanding for Germany's past and present.” When asked if he would visit the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to counterbalance his trip to the FRG and Berlin, he replied that he would be ready if invited, although he remarked that he could not be a “globetrotter.”<sup>150</sup> A meeting between the Italian president and the head of the GDR would eventually occur in April 1985, with Erich Honecker traveling to Rome to meet with President Pertini.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, Pertini succeeded in the challenge of representing Italy at a difficult time marked by terrorism at home, a damaged image and a much diminished international influence, by drawing continued parallelisms between the two countries,<sup>152</sup> firstly in the struggles that led to their unification, and secondly the “unfortunate” regression in the first half of the 20th century, recalling that in difficult times Germany had helped Italy financially and that Italy, for its part, had provided the hard work of hundreds of thousands of workers.<sup>153</sup> In the *Die Welt* interview, he also confided that “what makes Italy particularly vulnerable to terrorism is its geographical location as a ‘bridge’ between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. To

---

<sup>148</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>149</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.

<sup>150</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>151</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Udienze, busta n. 721, appunto riepilogativo rapporti Italia-RDT MAE, 1985.

<sup>152</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>153</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, discorso di risposta del Signor Presidente della Repubblica al discorso del Presidente della Repubblica Federale di Germania, 18/09/1979.

destabilize democratic Italy would be to blow up this bridge.”<sup>154</sup> Pertini’s first state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany was charged with symbolism due to the special relationship that bound the two countries, emerging both as a diplomatic and very personal engagement that reaffirmed Italy’s position as a cornerstone of cold war politics. In his diary Maccanico noted that “the president's resounding success combined great political acumen with a wealth of charm and humanity, which amazed the Germans.”<sup>155</sup>

#### 6. State visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 11 - 14 October 1979

Pertini's state visit to Yugoslavia, in return for President Josip Tito’s visit in 1971, was originally scheduled for April 1979, but was postponed for the same reasons as the previous visit to West Germany (fall of the IV Andreotti government in March and elections in June). However, Pertini still considered it a priority regardless of the visit to Bonn, as he apparently believed the visit would be necessary to mark a certain “rebalancing,” and it was therefore rescheduled for October 11-14.<sup>156</sup>

Maccanico’s diary describes Pertini’s visit, which included the cities of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, as less successful than the one in West Germany. “Despite endearing himself to the people,” he writes, “he made two mistakes: a speech for Tito that was too blatantly laudatory and a disastrous press conference.” This led to the decision, which Maccanico considered necessary, to stop holding press conferences during trips abroad.<sup>157</sup> In the speech mentioned by Maccanico, Pertini emphasized the importance of Italian-Yugoslav friendship for Europe and, in particular, for balance and peace in the Mediterranean Basin. He also referred to Giuseppe Mazzini's “Slavic Letters” (1857), which “clearly predicted that the independence movement of the South Slavs would be the most important, after the Italian one, for the future of Europe,” drawing a parallel, as he did in Germany, between the common destinies of the two nations, both veterans of Habsburg occupation. Speaking of World War II, he asserted that

---

<sup>154</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.

<sup>155</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 76-77.

<sup>156</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, scambio di lettere consigliere diplomatico e ambasciatore d'Italia a Belgrado, 15/06/1979-7/07/1979

<sup>157</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 77.

Italians, like Croats and Slovenes, were also subject to fascist oppression, and that starting in 1943, tens of thousands of Italian soldiers stationed in Yugoslavia joined the Yugoslav partisans in the war of liberation, in addition to frequent contacts between the CLNAI (of which Pertini was a member) and Tito's partisans, for which he praised Tito in an almost adulating manner as a partisan admired by Pertini himself. He then gave a special mention to the Italian-speaking minority in Yugoslavia (greatly reduced in number by the actions of Tito's partisans) and to their desire to keep their Italian culture intact. During the visit, the delegations agreed to implement policies aimed at promoting the conditions of their respective minorities in the two countries, Italians in Yugoslavia and Slovenians in Italy.<sup>158</sup> Importantly, an Italian social club was established in the city of Zara in Dalmatia, a city that belonged to the Kingdom of Italy until the end of the conflict and had a predominantly Italian population, under the impulse of Pertini's visit to the country.<sup>159</sup> Returning to foreign policy issues dear to Pertini, he praised Tito for his denunciation of the evils of hunger during the meeting of non-aligned countries in Havana in September and during the International Monetary Fund conference in early October in Belgrade and also urged greater cooperation in matters related to the Adriatic sea, both for its economic and ecological significance.<sup>160</sup>

In more concrete terms, Pertini's visit saw an initial brief 10-minute conversation with Tito on the 11th, dedicated to more formal pleasantries, followed by extended talks that included the respective delegations. Meetings were also held between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two countries.<sup>161</sup> These talks saw an exchange of opinions on the development of détente, particularly the full implementation of the provisions of the 1975 Helsinki final act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), and on the recent talks in Havana between non-aligned countries dedicated, according to the Yugoslavs, to the elimination of the

---

<sup>158</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, telegramma destinato all'ambasciata di Bonn riguardo comunicato congiunto Italia-Jugoslavia, 5/10/1979.

<sup>159</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera del signor Sereno Detoni al consigliere diplomatico del PdR riguardo il circolo italiano in Zara, 22/12/1979.

<sup>160</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, risposta del PdR al brindisi del presidente della repubblica socialista federativa di Jugoslavia, 11/10/1979.

<sup>161</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, appunto del cerimoniale diplomatico della repubblica MAE per il Quirinale, 3/10/1979.

policy of force, exploitation, and any kind of domination.<sup>162</sup> The MAE particularly appreciated the “model” developed by Yugoslavia in terms of international relations with “non-alignment,” as it believed they could play a moderating role in international relations.<sup>163</sup> Greater cooperation in the field of defense was considered, contrary to the idea that détente would entail limitations on conventional weapons. According to a letter sent by the CEO of the Italian aeronautical company Augusta, during the visit of the President of the Republic to Yugoslavia, it was considered likely that the Yugoslav side would mention Italian-Yugoslav cooperation in the field of defense, especially with regard to a possible purchase of Augusta A109 helicopters, for which there had already been an expression of interest from Belgrade.<sup>164</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear from the archives that the hopes nurtured for an initiative in this direction did not materialize during the visit.

Additionally, bilateral relations between the two countries were judged by the MAE to be developing satisfactorily, placing particular emphasis on the Treaty of Osimo, signed in 1975, which had definitively established the borders between the two countries in the Free Territory of Trieste, settling a question which had been undermining relations between the two countries. In fact, there was a belief that the friendly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia could serve as a good example of neighborliness, especially between two countries that had been at odds during the last war.<sup>165</sup> In order to find, as Moro stated, “something in favor of the Triestines,” during the negotiations for the Treaty of Osimo, various solutions were considered: a joint international airport, a joint venture in tourism using refugees' assets, or an industrial “free zone” straddling the border. The latter proposal, which met with the most success in Rome, was intended as a center of investment attraction and industrial development which, with the aid of the EEC, would have benefited Trieste, the largest nearby urban center. Despite this, the industrial free zone was

---

<sup>162</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, telegramma destinato all'ambasciata di Bonn riguardo comunicato congiunto Italia-Jugoslavia, 5/10/1979.

<sup>163</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, possibili argomenti di conversazione per la visita in Jugoslavia MAE, 1979.

<sup>164</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera di Augusta al consigliere diplomatico del Quirinale, 27/09/1979.

<sup>165</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, intervista alla rivista “start” di Zagabria, 4/10/1979.

heavily contested from its inception by the Triestines, and talks broke down.<sup>166</sup> During Pertini's visit, there was concern not only because, according to some, there was a risk of giving a wrong impression of Yugoslavia, a state that remained totalitarian and dictatorial, but also because of the risk of a resumption of negotiations regarding the industrial hub on the border.<sup>167</sup> The MAE believed that the Italian public had understood the advantages deriving from the settlement of the dispute between the two countries and that the opposition that emerged in Trieste against the industrial free zone concerned only that one aspect of Osimo, which had otherwise been accepted.<sup>168</sup> The people of Trieste ultimately rejected the idea for the zone out of fear of environmental degradation to the area and an excessive influx of Yugoslav immigrants, which would have increased the Slavic minority.<sup>169</sup>

An important historical document relating to this visit is the Italian-language newspaper of Fiume, “La Voce del Popolo.” It reports a message, following the visit of President Pertini, from the Italian ambassador to Belgrade, Alberto Cavaglieri, on the development of trade relations between the two countries, which at that time were reaching an all-time high (nearing \$2 billion). Importantly, according to him, “the reduction of the Yugoslav deficit is also in Italy's interest and is a necessary prerequisite for further increase in trade.” On the Yugoslav side, Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade Metod Rotar praised the initiatives launched for cooperation in investments, licenses, and patents, and in sectors such as tourism, thanks to the contacts made during Pertini's visit, recalling that at the end of the 1970s, Italy was in second place for exports and third for imports for the country.<sup>170</sup>

In an interview with the Zagabrian magazine “*Start*,” Pertini declared that he had had “the honor of meeting in the prison of Pianosa and in the confinement of Ponza and Ventotene,

---

<sup>166</sup> Maccotta, G. Walter. 1993. *Osimo Visto Da Belgrado*. Rivista Di Studi Politici Internazionali 60, no. 1 (237): 55–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43785618>.

<sup>167</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, deliberazione comitato unione monarchica italiana di Trieste, 9/10/1979.

<sup>168</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, possibili argomenti di conversazione per la visita in Jugoslavia MAE, 1979.

<sup>169</sup> Maccotta, G. Walter. 1993. *Osimo Visto Da Belgrado*. Rivista Di Studi Politici Internazionali 60, no. 1 (237): 55–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43785618>.

<sup>170</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, supplemento economico del quotidiano “la voce del popolo”, 28/12/1979.

Slavic anti-fascists, with whom I established relationships of great and mutual sympathy.”<sup>171</sup> Conceivably, this caused some resentment domestically, given the fraught history that had characterized the border in the last years of the war, which saw the murder and disappearance of many Italian citizens and the forced relocation of others. There were many appeals calling on Pertini not to forget the “martyrs of the *foibe*” (*foibe* being a local word for karst sinkholes where local Italians were thrown in alive or their bodies made to disappear in 1943-1945), especially from relatives of the victims and from politicians within the MSI-DN (*Movimento Sociale Italiano – Destra Nazionale*; Italian Social Movement - National Right), a far-right part.<sup>172</sup> Somewhat cynically, there exists a news clipping inside the archival file relating to Pertini’s previous visit to the FRG, lacking any useful information to verify the date and newspaper, containing an appeal from a Gorizian woman asking if the same privilege granted to the president to visit his brother in Flossenbürg could be extended to her and others like her to travel to Yugoslavia to pay homage to relatives who were thrown into the *foibe* (with the annotation “several tons of corpses”) “by your friend” Tito<sup>173</sup> In fact, during a press conference held in West Germany, Pertini recalled his friendship with Marshal Tito, to whom he was bound by “memories of a long and uncompromising joint struggle against fascism.”<sup>174</sup> Such requests were numerous, another telegram from the “association of deportees of Yugoslavia, families of the fallen, missing and patriotic fighters Gorizia,” stated: “as you were fortunate enough to be able to place a flower on your brother's grave in Germany, we ask you to intervene with the Yugoslav president so that the relatives of Italian deportees in Yugoslavia may be granted the same opportunity.”<sup>175</sup> Responding to the telegram, the Quirinal promised to make sure that the issue would be “kept in mind with a view to discussing it with the relevant Yugoslav authorities in

---

<sup>171</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, intervista alla rivista “start” di Zagabria, 4/10/1979.

<sup>172</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, articolo “non dimenticare i martiri delle foibe titine” del “secolo d’Italia”, 6/10/1979.

<sup>173</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, ritaglio di giornale di un appello al presidente di Maria Relli Rossi.

<sup>174</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.

<sup>175</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, telegramma associazione deportati Jugoslavia famiglie caduti dispersi e combattentistiche patriottiche Gorizia, 9/10/1979.

connection with the state visit.<sup>176</sup> The visit also sparked renewed interest in exhuming the bodies of some Italian soldiers who died in the border areas during the past conflict. Unfortunately, as in the case of the body of Bersagliere Fabio Argenti, the searches conducted by the Yugoslav authorities were unsuccessful.<sup>177</sup>

Pertini's visit to Yugoslavia in October 1979, meant to be followed by two visits in Greece and Turkey which however did not materialize, was decidedly more controversial than the one to West Germany, although Tito's death in May 1980 (whose funeral Pertini attended) would turn the page on Italo-Yugoslav relations, leaving the painful memories associated with relations between the two countries further into the past.

### *7. Visit to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, 10 - 11 May 1980*

Pertini's state visit to Algeria, which began 2 days following Tito's funeral, was described by Maccanico as one to a country that was "poor, serious, problematic, but with competent political leadership, in particular President Chadli Bendjedid."<sup>178</sup> The visit, despite not taking on the character of a state visit, was significant given that it was the first to Algeria by an Italian president, and came almost 9 years after the visit of the last Italian political representatives, then Foreign Minister Moro and Prime Minister Colombo (who would again travel to Algeria with Pertini as foreign minister in 1980), in June 1971.<sup>179</sup> Pertini was keen to let the Algerian government representatives know that he admired the tenacity and sacrifice that had gone into the painful process of national independence, and that parallels existed between his own life experience and political activism and that of the figures who had led Algeria to independence from France in 1962. It was his hope that their shared experiences and motivations would lead to greater bilateral cooperation and cooperation between their respective geopolitical groups. The

---

<sup>176</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera n. 1726 associazione deportati Jugoslavia famiglie caduti dispersi e combattentistiche patriottiche Gorizia, 12/10/1979.

<sup>177</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera n. 1342 destinata al signor Felice Ceccarelli, 13/06/1980.

<sup>178</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 102.

<sup>179</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1827 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 14/05/1980.

Algerians showed particular appreciation for the frankness of Pertini's approach towards them. They reaffirmed the moral value of non-alignment, which they considered significant in terms of balance and coordination at the international level, providing considerable “cover” abroad for the independent development needs of the countries that adhere to it, something they anticipated in informal diplomatic talks during Tito’s funeral. The cover would also help in the formulation of original contributions to resolving international crises, preventing the great powers from exploiting disagreements between Third World countries and even waging war through proxies.<sup>180</sup> The Italian position in this regard had already been made clear by Pertini on numerous occasions, the last of which occurred during the visit of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere in Rome in March 1980, during which the Italian president took a defensive stance regarding the Italian position in Africa, which was described as “not neo-colonialist.”<sup>181</sup> The Arabic-language newspaper *Al-Scia’b* commented that “Italian-Algerian relations are distinguished by being free from any impurity of neo-colonialism. Rome clearly has no imperialist ambitions, unlike some second-rate great powers [...] and is more willing to treat emerging countries as equals.”<sup>182</sup> In fact, throughout the 1980s Italy's position in terms of development cooperation bucked the trend, given that while other donor countries reduced their commitments, Italian financial resources dedicated to cooperation increased rapidly until they reached levels comparable to those of other Western countries, partly in an attempt to gain greater political and economic influence in developing countries.<sup>183</sup>

Other topics of international importance were discussed: India's position in its rapprochement with the Soviets, seen by the Algerians as a genuine promotion of its own interests given the de facto alliance that the crisis in Afghanistan had created between the US and Pakistan, with the active benevolence of China, which worried New Delhi; the situation in Palestine, where the Algerians were convinced of the need to involve the Palestinians themselves

---

<sup>180</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, elementi per gli appunti del consigliere diplomatico, 05/1980.

<sup>181</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 93.

<sup>182</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1827 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 14/05/1980.

<sup>183</sup> **Polito**, Fiorenzo. 2024. “I Molti Volti Degli Anni Ottanta Nella Cooperazione Allo Sviluppo. Nuovi Paradigmi, Riforme E Ascesa Delle Ong.” In *L'Italia Repubblicana E Gli Aiuti Internazionali*, edited by Silvia Salvatici and Annalisa Urbano, 179–200. Firenze: Firenze University Press.

in the peace process, which meant that the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel had to fail (since rejected the notion of a Palestinian state per se, but rather granted Palestinian “autonomy”), emphasizing that it was in Europe's interest to promote stability in the Arab world and prevent the Middle East crisis from continuing to be a source of instability and tension in international relations. With regard to Euro-Arab relations, the Algerian President stated that Italy deserved a special place, given its affinities with the Arab world, which “are real and not merely rhetorical.” The Algerians also expressed themselves candidly on the Iranian question, suggesting that the United States and the West in general were failing to perceive correctly the events unfolding in Iran, which could not be explained in rational terms but rather on the basis of local psychological factors. They argued that the newly formed local institutions should be allowed to run their course, which would require patience. Additionally, Algiers remarked on how it would be in the West's interest not to exploit the internal disorder in Iran given the necessity of containing the USSR on the almost 1700km border.<sup>184</sup>

Undoubtedly, one of the main items on the agenda during the visit was the ongoing construction of the Trans-Mediterranean natural gas pipeline from Algeria to Sicily through Tunisia. Discussions between the respective state-owned energy companies, ENI in Italy and Sonatrach in Algeria, had begun in the early 1970s under the impulse of ENI, which pursued a sub-sea pipeline to bring Algerian gas across the Mediterranean. Geopolitical and energy security concerns had prevailed over technological and economic considerations at the time, especially following the 1973 energy crisis, which saw the signing of the agreement to begin the construction.<sup>185</sup> The gas pipeline had sealed, according to Chadli, a “Catholic marriage” (without the possibility of divorce), indicating, according to the representatives of the MAE present at the discussions, the quality of Italian-Algerian relations.<sup>186</sup> Responding to this remark by Chadli, Pertini wittily responded that “the bonds of friendship can sometimes be stronger than those of

---

<sup>184</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, elementi per gli appunti del consigliere diplomatico, 05/1980.

<sup>185</sup> **Hayes**, Mark H. 2004. “Algerian Gas to Europe: The Transmed Pipeline and Early Spanish Gas Import Projects.” In *Geopolitics of Natural Gas*. Rice University: Baker Institute for Public Policy. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/algerian-gas-to-europe-the-transmed-pipeline-and-early-spanish-gas-import-projects>.

<sup>186</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1955 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 21/05/1980.

marriage.”<sup>187</sup> Importantly, Pertini’s visit was made following a second energy crisis in 1979 triggered by the Iranian revolution, which, although less devastating than the first, gave further impetus to the rapid construction of the pipeline and certainly conditioned the choice of Algeria as a destination for a state visit. Issues such as the upgrading of the gas pipeline currently under construction and the possible construction of a second gas pipeline for German buyers were identified by Italian diplomats as topics of particular interest, although neither saw a positive resolution as a result of the visit.<sup>188</sup> The Transmed pipeline, the construction of which had begun in 1978, was completed rapidly by June 1983 (Pertini was present, unwillingly, at the joint inauguration in Tunisia)<sup>189</sup> because of the heavy political and financial involvement by the Italian state in the struggling ENI (including during the visit), something which the main competitor, Spain’s ENAGAS, intent on the construction of a gas pipeline from Algeria to the Iberian peninsula, lacked.<sup>190</sup>

The Algerian press gave the visit wide coverage, which continued in the days following its conclusion, emphasizing its importance on Italo-Algerian bilateral relations. The daily newspaper *Moudjahid* described as "a significant gesture" the fact that President Pertini kissed the Algerian flag as soon as he stepped off the plane, thus giving from the outset of his visit a perception of friendship and consideration that accompanied him, according to the local Italian embassy, from "Algiers to the Saharan desert."<sup>191</sup> The kissing of the flag (“*bacia bandiera*”), would become a trope of Pertinian diplomacy, and endear him without fail to all the peoples he visit. Algerian President Chadli also acknowledged the parallel between the two presidents, already commented on by the press in both countries, and abandoned his usual cold and

---

<sup>187</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1827 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 14/05/1980.

<sup>188</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, cenni sull'Algeria dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del PDR, 05/1980.

<sup>189</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 295.

<sup>190</sup> **Hayes**, Mark H. 2004. “Algerian Gas to Europe: The Transmed Pipeline and Early Spanish Gas Import Projects.” In *Geopolitics of Natural Gas*. Rice University: Baker Institute for Public Policy. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/algerian-gas-to-europe-the-transmed-pipeline-and-early-spanish-gas-import-projects>.

<sup>191</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1955 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 21/05/1980.

measured character when Pertini stated that their meeting represented “a partisan of liberation embracing a partisan of freedom.”<sup>192</sup>

Pertini visited the Casbah in Algiers, the city's old town, one of the symbols of the Algerian war of Independence, provoking, according to the local embassy, enthusiasm and a show of sympathy rarely seen during visits by heads of state. Pertini's meeting with the protagonists of the Algerian revolution, while visibly moved, was according to the Italians an exceptional event that was greatly appreciated by the press and the people.<sup>193</sup> Pertini's trip then continued in the city of Ghardaïa, in the south, from which the president traveled to the desert town of Hassi R'Mel, the source of Algerian gas, to meet with Italian workers and technicians involved in the construction of the pipeline, speaking at length with them on working conditions in the Sahara and inspecting some of the facilities built by Italian companies SAIPEM and Nuova Pignone.<sup>194</sup> The Italian community in Algeria, consisting of almost 8,000 people, was experiencing a number of issues, the resolution of which would certainly have benefited from Pertini's presence in the country. These were mainly due to excessive delay in obtaining residency permits, resentment caused by the serious unemployment situation in the country, the non-payment of salaries to some architects employed by an Algerian company, and finally the lack of health insurance, although negotiations on this last issue had recently restarted.<sup>195</sup>

The visit did cause some minor diplomatic ripples with Morocco, given the ongoing dispute regarding West Sahara, a region partly occupied by Morocco whose separatists have been heavily backed by Algeria since 1976.<sup>196</sup> Although aware, according to the president's diplomatic advisor, of Italy's position of non-interference in the Algerian-Moroccan dispute over the future of Western Sahara, the Moroccan ambassador to Italy feared that Algeria might attempt to facilitate some contact between Pertini or the Italian delegation and representatives of Polisario

---

<sup>192</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 800513/8848 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 13/05/1980.

<sup>193</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1827 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 14/05/1980.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, relazione della direzione generale dell'emigrazione e degli affari sociali riguardante i problemi della collettività italiana in Algeria, 28/04/1980.

<sup>196</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, cenni sull'Algeria dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del PDR, 05/1980.

(the national liberation movement of Western Sahara) present in Algiers, which did not in effect occur according to official documents.<sup>197</sup>

According to the Italian Embassy in Algiers, comments in local political and diplomatic circles were positive, and it was generally emphasized that the two Mediterranean countries, which had been without direct political contacts for many years, experienced with the visit the rekindling of a relationship worthy of their geographical proximity and economic cooperation. The visit had been a success not only on the official level, but also on the popular one, in fact, quoting a local Algerian newspaper, the Italian Embassy reported the following passage: “The citizen of the Casbah and the Italian worker in the middle of the desert were able to meet Sandro Pertini in person: for them, this memory will not fade easily; through his personality and his actions, the President of the Republic brought Italians and Algerians closer together.”<sup>198</sup> Pertini's visit was ultimately reciprocated on November 10-13 1983 by President Chadli Bendjedid, ostensibly due to the completion of Transmed that year.

#### *8. State visit to the Kingdom of Spain, 26 - 31 May 1980*

As with the previous visit to Algeria, Pertini's was the first visit by an Italian president to Spain, described by Maccanico as a “great personal success” for the president.<sup>199</sup> As noted by the Italian ambassador to Spain, Raffaele Marras, during the presentation of his diplomatic credentials in December 1978 King Juan Carlos focused mainly on two topics of conversation: his appreciation for Italy's constant efforts to promote Spain's entry into the EEC, “unlike other European countries”, and his keen desire to see the state visit by the Italian president take place in restitution for the three state visits by the Spanish king since his accession to the throne in 1975.<sup>200</sup> Indeed, certain elements of the Italian press framed the visit primarily in terms of the

---

<sup>197</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, Appunto per il Presidente della Repubblica, 9/05/1980.

<sup>198</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1955 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 21/05/1980.

<sup>199</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 103.

<sup>200</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell'Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.

political commitment (which would have therefore transcended other economic considerations) to integrate Spain (as well as Greece and Portugal) into the EEC. An article in the Italian weekly *Il Settimanale* recognized the usefulness of this enlargement of the community, which would bring Southern European countries, hitherto in the minority compared to those on the rest of the continent or the Atlantic, to a less disadvantageous position. The visit therefore served to highlight an opportunity, one which could lead to negotiations eliminating the risks of competition between countries with similar agricultural and industrial production, which was hindering Spain's adhesion to the European project.<sup>201</sup>

Pertini's trip to Spain included visits to Madrid, Toledo, Granada, Seville, and finally Barcelona.<sup>202</sup> His speech to the Spanish monarch in Madrid was filled with historical references, such as the shared Latin heritage stemming from the Roman Empire, the memory of Christopher Columbus, who like the president was from Liguria, the common destiny of civil war and dictatorship, which had only recently ended in Spain with the transition to democracy and the formation of the Cortes, and the common struggle against terrorism. Using these elements to emphasize the similarities between the two peoples, Pertini thus justified Italy's push for Spain's inclusion in the "common European fabric," which would have ensured a stronger and more united continent that would serve as a bulwark against a resurgence of war, now underway due to recent events.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, likewise important to ensuring continued prosperity and peace, the Italian president stressed the importance of non-aligned countries, recalling Tito's recent death, and of developing nations who, "having freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism, rightly refuse to accept the yoke of neocolonialism today [in order] to be free and independent and to cooperate with nations on other continents as equals."<sup>204</sup> Finally, Pertini recalled when he first met the King in Rome during the inauguration of John Paul II in 1978, believing a friendship (despite Pertini's old anti-monarchist views) could be born due to their shared democratic sentiments and the fact that the monarch spoke Italian (he was born in Rome), all the while

---

<sup>201</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, articolo "intrecci molto sottili per ampliare l'europa" di Gaetano Cafiero e Gaither Stewart ne "Il Settimanale", 3/06/1980.

<sup>202</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, programma ufficiale della visita di Pertini in Spagna, 05/1980.

<sup>203</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto in suo onore dai sovrani di spagna, 26/05/1980.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

praising the “proud and chivalrous people of Spain.”<sup>205</sup> These were strong words from Pertini, which could not have failed to arouse positive emotions in his counterpart and in those present at his speech. The president was able to cultivate a positive image during his trip to Spain, in fact numerous letters of appreciation were sent to the President by Spanish citizens from the cities he visited, including statements of admiration for his action in kissing the Spanish flag, an event heavily commented upon by the local press.<sup>206</sup> Other actions contributed to this, such as Pertini’s tribute to Goya’s “The Third of May 1808” painting in the Prado Museum, depicting the execution of Spanish patriots in Madrid by Napoleonic troops during the Peninsular war, as well as praising speeches to the Cortes, “bastion of Spanish freedom,” the mayors of Madrid, Toledo, Seville, Barcelona and to Catalan leadership, which reaffirmed his vigorous defense of Spain’s right to join the EEC.<sup>207</sup>

In the context of the state visit, obvious particular significance was given to the exchanging of views on foreign policy that took place between the respective foreign ministers on May 26th, and then the following day between President Pertini and Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. On the Spanish side, these discussions focused mainly on three major issues which most interested Madrid: the Middle East, Europe and negotiations for entry into the EEC. Regarding the Middle East, while discussions on the 26th between foreign ministers and the Italian ambassador had a more narrowed focus concerning the necessity of finding a resolution to the Palestinian question that went beyond the Camp David Accords, now considered an outdated formula by the Spanish, the discussion in the presence of Pertini was far more encompassing. It is important to note that the Spanish government had obtained more relevance at the time in the Palestinian question: although Spain did not have diplomatic relations with Israel in 1980, Yasser Arafat’s, the head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), first visit to Western Europe had been to Madrid in 1979, where he praised the country’s “progressive” stance on the issue.<sup>208</sup> Suarez framed the general Middle East situation in terms of East-West relations, linking it to the Soviet invasion of

---

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, corrispondenza da parte di privati spagnoli, 05-06 1980.

<sup>207</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell’Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.

<sup>208</sup> **Markham**, James M. 1979. “Arafat Ends Visit to Spain, Praising Its Mideast Stand.” The New York Times, September 16, 1979.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1979/09/16/archives/arafat-ends-visit-to-spain-praising-its-mideast-stand-special-ties.html>

Afghanistan, painting a worrying picture of European disunity in the face of US “mistakes.” In fact, according to Suarez there had been a missed opportunity by the West to exploit the original anti-Soviet reaction in the Middle East following the Soviet invasion, as the Arab and Islamic world now looked negatively upon the failed American hostage rescue operation in Iran (April 24-25 1980, Operation Eagle Claw). Despite this analysis by Suarez, his Italian counterparts assured him of European efforts to achieve joint action. Pertini, drawing inspiration from Suarez's remarks on the danger posed by Soviet actions on the world political stage, recalled what had happened in the years leading up to World War II, when there was a spiral of Nazi aggression in the face of the disarray and weakness of the great democracies. He personally affirmed, according to Marras, his unshakeable faith in Atlantic commitment as a guarantor of security, but in response to Suarez's observation regarding the lack of European solidarity, he noted that unfortunately Europe as a political entity was only in its infancy and was constantly hampered by the protagonism of certain countries (indirectly mentioning France, which was also hampering the speed of Spain's EEC membership), which compromised its consistency and compactness. Regarding Spain's entry in the EEC, Pertini reaffirmed that Italy's support was unconditional, “regardless of the necessary search for appropriate mutual agreements in areas of competitive interest.”

The CSCE conference in Madrid that year was also discussed, although on the meeting on the 26th and therefore not in the presence of Pertini, as the Spanish believed it represented the only forum available for making a serious attempt to resume détente, and could potentially serve as a prelude to another conference on disarmament, although this did not materialize. Additionally, the Italians believed that the visit could serve as an impulse to the establishment of regular high-level contacts between the two governments, as had been done in West Germany the year prior.<sup>209</sup> Crucially for Italy, Madrid also served as an important gateway to Latin American politics and diplomacy, given the obvious importance of the continent for Spanish diplomacy due to the cultural and linguistic ties, something which Pertini stressed to Juan Carlos due to its relevance in relation to Spain's candidacy to the EEC.<sup>210</sup> Spain was also crucially tied to North

---

<sup>209</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell'Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.

<sup>210</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto in suo onore dai sovrani di spagna, 26/05/1980.

Africa, and Foreign Minister Oreja Aguirre, speaking of these ties with the South, said he was “confident of Spain's ability to act as a bridge between Europe and the Third World.”<sup>211</sup>

According to the ambassador’s report following Pertini’s state visit in May 1980, the event was an objectively clear success with the institutions, people and press thanks to the frank and charismatic personality of the President of the Republic, who “was able to leave a special mark and instill a sense of warmth and humanity rarely found in such formal events.”<sup>212</sup> Indeed, the archives contain a significant number of Spanish newspaper clippings, evidence of the excitement in the country surrounding Pertini's visit, especially with regard to the Italian president's “pro-European speeches” and the numerous breaches of protocol.<sup>213</sup> The ambassador went as far as confirming the credence that following the visit the two heads of state appeared to be bound by a sincere personal friendship which would certainly have aided both in terms of the bilateral relationship and in drawing Spain closer to the European Community, the main political goal of the state visit.<sup>214</sup>

#### *9. State visit to Italy by the President of the USA Jimmy Carter, 19 - 21 June 1980*

The Italian president had publicly expressed his support for Carter's America prior to the visit, especially with regard to the Afghan crisis.<sup>215</sup> Additionally, the Iranian hostage situation greatly concerned President Pertini. At a meeting with US Ambassador Gardner on April 19, 1980 (five days before the attempt to rescue the hostages), the diplomat expressed the “need for true European solidarity for Carter,” warning that “if Carter fails, Reagan would win the election and that would mean power in America for the most reactionary and extremist groups, and therefore a higher risk of war.” Pertini disclosed that he recognized the urgency of a joint effort

---

<sup>211</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, articolo “intrecci molto sottili per ampliare l'europa” di Gaetano Cafiero e Gaither Stewart ne “Il Settimanale”, 3/06/1980.

<sup>212</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell’Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.

<sup>213</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, articolo del quotidiano spagnolo “Ya” intitolato “Discursos europeístas del Rey y del Presidente italiano”, 27/05/1980.

<sup>214</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell’Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.

<sup>215</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 93.

to build a system of solid alliances in the Middle East and the need for full unity among the Western world in the current crisis, especially, as Gardner pointed out, in view of the G7 Summit in Venice on June 22-23, 1980, which would follow immediately after Carter's visit to Rome.<sup>216</sup> This position was also shared by other Europeans, such as Chancellor Schmidt of the FRG, who visited Rome on May 16 and acknowledged during the lunch with Pertini that although there was "an emotional component to the American position," this could not be allowed to "undermine the fundamental Euro-American solidarity," despite criticizing Carter's policy towards the Soviets in general terms during a private conversation.<sup>217</sup> Pertini's secretary general, Antonio Maccanico, devoted ample space in his diary to Carter's visit and to the hostage situation. In an entry on the 19th of December 1979 he described Pertini's meeting with two of the self-proclaimed Iranian "students," noting: "I think he is deluding himself into thinking he can play the role of peacemaker between Khomeini and Carter. This is very dangerous for him and for Italy."<sup>218</sup> Maccanico did not consider the "students" to be reliable, believing they wanted to put the United States on trial in front of the whole world more so than their claimed objective of returning the Shah to the country, which would risk major destabilization. The meeting might have been a display of naïveté by the Italian President, perhaps feeding into Maccanico's view that Pertini's belief he could play a role in foreign policy was delusional.

The months leading up to Carter's visit had seen a definitive realignment of Italy back to the west, especially following the decision to approve the euromissiles initiative, which would however fade temporarily in importance for a time, only to reemerge definitively with Reagan's arrival at the White House in November 1980.<sup>219</sup> Importantly in the context of this realignment, Orsina believes that Carter's democratically led administration, and in particular its foreign policy agenda, given the many overlapping elements with Pertini's views, contributed significantly to a positive shift in the Italian head of state's attitude towards the US.<sup>220</sup> Despite having been, according to Ambassador Gardner, "unfriendly to the United States in the past," he maintained that Carter's views on human rights, arms control, non-intervention in Africa and

---

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., pp. 99-100.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., pp. 101-102

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. p. 83

<sup>219</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 418.

<sup>220</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 188.

investigations on the CIA were crucial elements that would appeal to President Pertini.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, during the visit Pertini recognized the importance of the United States in liberating Italy and Europe, and that the notions of liberty that were planted on Italian soil by American troops had to be defended and advocated for around the globe, especially in those impoverished regions of the world suffering from hunger.<sup>222</sup> The position adopted by the PCI on the other hand, according to Maccanico, regarding the Soviet invasion and the hostage crisis was judged to be terrible, as Berlinguer's party suggested Italy distance itself from the US.<sup>223</sup> The secretary general had commented in his diary at the beginning of 1980 that "the Soviet push also complicates our internal issues," given that "the international situation makes communist participation in government even more difficult," placing "new and greater responsibilities, including military ones," on Italy.<sup>224</sup>

Prior to the state visit, in an interview with Italian journalists June 12th, Carter stated that he looked "forward to paying my respects to president Pertini, who is a close friend of my mother, and whom I admire very much" (Carter's mother had visited Rome in 1978 and met with Pertini).<sup>225</sup> President Carter and the First Lady landed in Rome on the evening of June 19th 1980, accompanied by a delegation which included some of Carter's closest associates: National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. The talks held on June 20 were initially restricted to only the two presidents, then extended to the rest of the delegations. The two men's outgoing personalities and simple, informal manners were immediately apparent to observers. The conversation was mainly political in nature, concerning Iran, Afghanistan, and the strengthening of the Atlantic alliance. Carter greatly appreciated the fact that Pertini was the only European head of state to have intervened with Imam Khomeini, to whom he sent a message after the hostage-taking in Tehran, in addition to condemning the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan. Additionally, the Americans recognized the Italian government's support for the American embargo on the supply of technologically sophisticated equipment to the Soviet Union and the boycott (albeit not complete due the Italian National

---

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa ANSA, 19-21/06/1980.

<sup>223</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 101.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., p.85.

<sup>225</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, trascrizione intervista a Carter di giornalisti RAI e La Stampa, 13/06/1980.

Olympic Committee's decision to participate “unofficially”) of the 1980 Summer Olympics. As for the Palestinian question, White House spokesman Jody Powell later stated although Italy did not express total support for the Camp David Accords, it never showed hostility towards the peace process initiated by Carter and Sadat, even though Pertini personally was closer to the Palestinian cause than Rome's official policy.<sup>226</sup> Regarding the NATO framework, within which the Carter administration considered Italy to be a “stalwart ally,” the Americans believed they had received excellent support from their Italian counterparts, who had pledged to a 3 percent increase in defense spending (which would not occur) as well as accepting the future deployment of the euromissiles.<sup>227</sup> This was becoming ever more relevant in the face of shifting US interests toward the Persian gulf due to Iran and Afghanistan.<sup>228</sup> The Italian president publicly stated during the visit that he believed Europe shared in the responsibilities of maintaining world peace, lest it perish, and could only do so if it achieved unity. The strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries manifested itself most evidently through the announcement of the decision by the two governments to cooperate in the design and construction of the largest solar energy plant built in Europe at that time, called “Delphos” (Demonstrative Electrical Photovoltaic System), which would be installed in Puglia, as well as greater collaboration in other fields of research.<sup>229</sup>

After the meeting, Carter moved to Villa Madama for consultations with Prime Minister Cossiga, which explored in even greater depth the issues already discussed at the Quirinal, including the euromissiles, although the parties did not go into detail on the latter. Furthermore, the joint press statement released following the visit stated an “appreciation for the constructive role played by Prime Minister Cossiga in his capacity as rotating president of the European Community for the current six-month period.”<sup>230</sup> There were some minor protests, organized by

---

<sup>226</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa ANSA, 19-21/06/1980.

<sup>227</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa americani riguardo visita Carter, 06/1980.

<sup>228</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, dichiarazione di stampa congiunta della visita, 21/06/1980

<sup>229</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, dichiarazione di stampa congiunta della visita, 21/06/1980.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

left-wing minority groups, in the form of a “peace march” and the distribution of flyers reading “Italy out of NATO, NATO out of Italy.”<sup>231</sup>

In his toast to Carter during the dinner held in his honor, Pertini reiterated the closeness of the Italian people to the American people on the hostage issue, emphasizing that, “if a lesson can be drawn from the current political situation, it can only be the need to [...] strengthen ties and create new models of consultation and cooperation,” adding that he understood the drama of Carter’s position, “being forced into bitter prudence in order to avoid a world war.” Carter’s speech was highly political, full of controversial remarks regarding the Soviet Union. Summarizing the discussions he had had in Rome, he stated his belief that a strong defense of national security is essential for lasting world peace, although “weapons alone are not enough, as economic opportunities and social justice must also be ensured for all,”<sup>232</sup> a point which will surely have resonated with his Italian counterpart, who had previously stated in his speech that “necessitous men are not free men.”<sup>233</sup>

Following a visit to the pope at the Vatican, Carter departed for the G7 in Venice, which had been given clear importance during the talks in Rome and was judged by the press to overshadow the state visit, and to which Pertini would not participate (only Cossiga, as head of government), confirming the limited influence and largely symbolic role of the president of the republic in the formulation of international policy at the practical level. The American president had thanked the Italian government for taking on the burden of organizing the Venice meeting, emphasizing the hope that the Summit would constitute a significant step forward in developing and implementing a strategy capable of addressing the difficult prospects for economic development and global instability.<sup>234</sup> While the MAE had judged bilateral relations to be excellent, the same could not be said of other international issues, public statements notwithstanding, although in this regard the difficulties were believed to be more between Europe and the US than specifically between the two countries. The Ministry believed that effective coordination with the US on the most serious international issues could only occur through the exchange of views at the G7 Summit in Venice, which could not be wholly devoid of

---

<sup>231</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa ANSA, 19-21/06/1980.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, brindisi in onore del presidente Carter, 20/06/1980.

<sup>234</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, dichiarazione di stampa congiunta della visita, 21/06/1980.

criticism, however constructive. Despite this, Italian solidarity with US positions was judged to be useful in giving Italy the opportunity to make an effective contribution to the process of détente, in recognition of the fact that Italy's defence and autonomy was inextricably linked to the alliance with the USA.<sup>235</sup>

According to Maccanico, Carter's visit was a triumph for the Italian president, who gave a great speech that was decidedly pro-West. However, the US president's presence was not welcomed by the PCI, who attacked him, criticizing the statements made by the White House spokesman, while the press in general almost ignored the visit.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, Pertini's position as a decision maker in the international questions of the time was sidelined in favor of the prime minister, limiting his ability to influence the determinations of Italian foreign policy.

#### *10. State visit to the People's Republic of China, 17 - 26 September 1980*

A visit to the Kingdom of Thailand had originally been planned in the summer of 1980, but was cancelled due to an untactful comment made by Pertini to the press, whose damage Maccanico attempted to limit. The president had promised to "take care" of the Italians detained in that country for drug-related offenses, triggering a press campaign and an avalanche of requests for intervention fueled by the involvement of the president's wife, Carla Pertini, who had made known her involvement in the rehabilitation of drug addicts. An embarrassing reaction from the *Bangkok Post* newspaper, which reported that the prisoners in question were drug dealers (a category that according to Maccanico the president detested), led to the cancellation of the trip to Thailand, which Maccanico considered a mistake as he believed the situation could be remedied with an interview.<sup>237</sup>

Pertini's visit to the People's Republic of China (PRC) crowned another first in Italian Republican history, given that no other head of state since the establishment of the Republic had visited the country, occurring on the tenth anniversary of Italy's recognition of the PRC and the

---

<sup>235</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, documentazione MAE "problemi del raccordo con gli Stati Uniti e trattazioni temi politici internazionali al Vertice di Venezia, 06/1980.

<sup>236</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 105-106.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

establishment of diplomatic relations (6th November 1970).<sup>238</sup> Another first was the presence of Carla Pertini, which Maccanico judged harshly, believing that it was “capriciously” breaking a “rule of conduct” that had persisted up to that point. Following the visit, he would note that her eccentricities had a negative impact on the mission, especially for her reluctance to participate in official ceremonies.<sup>239</sup>

The trip saw a technical stop in the State of Kuwait, during which, in an interview with a local newspaper, he condemned Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, stating once again that “the Palestinian people must have a homeland”, positions that were significantly stronger than those usually ascribed to the Italian government at the time. Pertini arrived in Guangzhou on the 17th of September 1980, and then traveled to Beijing on the 18th. The president conveyed his hope that the visit would serve to pave the way for broader economic and trade agreements between Italy and China, and in fact the premises for a continuing development of Sino-Italian bilateral relations certainly existed. A series of cooperation projects were already being studied at the time, enabling Italy to catch up with other European countries, such as the FRG, which had proven more able to seize the opportunity in this new phase of post-Maoist opening in China.<sup>240</sup> The size of the Chinese market and its workforce undoubtedly presented an unprecedented opportunity for the Italian economy. Indeed, according to Ridolfi the visit had been undertaken to “promote the Italy system,”<sup>241</sup> at a time in which the CCP was undergoing a process of “rejuvenation” in its leadership through a series of political reforms launched beginning in 1980.<sup>242</sup> This new phase of the Chinese political landscape, combined with the launch of the “four modernizations” process (agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense) and an opening up to the West in terms of traditional diplomacy, was judged by the president's diplomatic advisor's office to be more of a profound ideological choice than a political-economic one. With Mao's death, normalization both domestically and internationally ensued, although not in terms of the Sino-Soviet conflict, which would begin to take on the characteristics of a true geopolitical confrontation rather than an ideological one.

---

<sup>238</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>239</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 112-113.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>242</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, tel. n. 762 Ambasciata d'Italia a Pechino, 18/07/1980.

At Pertini's arrival in Beijing, China's head of state, Ye Jianying, was initially absent at the Tiananmen Square ceremony because of his poor health (he was 83 at the time), although the two would meet soon after together with their respective delegations. A favourable understanding emerged from this first meeting, in which appreciation was shown by Jianying for Pertini's commitment, despite his advanced age (he would turn 84 on the 26th of that month), in undertaking the long journey to China. Pertini gained further approval during his speech at the lunch held in his honor, noting the importance of fighting "together so that the sun never again sets on peace," and also quoting Mao, "The road is winding, but the destination is bright," when speaking of the need for general disarmament to prevent "nuclear holocaust."<sup>243</sup> Flattering and shocking comments, even more so to contemporary years, had also been made by Pertini prior to the beginning of the state visit, perhaps in an attempt to endear himself to the Chinese leadership: "China is not an expansionist country. It demonstrated this even in the conflict with Vietnam by quickly withdrawing its troops. Moreover, the Great Wall is proof of this, having been built primarily to defend against invaders. There is, it is true, Formosa [Taiwan], but it is a problem that, to use Chinese phraseology, will fall like a ripe pear into the basket. The Chinese think in terms of generations, not months."<sup>244</sup>

The Chinese met Pertini with a series of lectures on state-owned media regarding Italy and its history and customs, while the *People's Daily*, the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) newspaper, praised him for his actions during the fight against fascism, for his support of international justice and European integration, the latter being greatly appreciated by the CCP for commercial and anti-Soviet reasons, ultimately adding that Pertini's visit would "open a new chapter in the annals of Italian-Chinese relations." The strategic location of Italy at the "heart" of the Mediterranean was also stressed, as well as the importance of the country's NATO membership in an anti-Soviet role.<sup>245</sup> Likewise important for the Chinese was Rome's support for the Cambodian government-in-exile's representation at the UN following Vietnam's invasion in 1979, as well some less-than-cordial comments by Pertini directed at the Hanoi government,

---

<sup>243</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, discorso di Pertini al ricevimento in suo onore, 18/09/1980.

<sup>244</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>245</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, editoriale del "Quotidiano del Popolo", 18/09/1980.

which had criticized him for his visit to the PRC.<sup>246</sup> The Chinese press in general widely covered the visit, as is evident by the amount of newspaper clippings in the archives. Pertini aroused great excitement especially with his comment on Taiwan and statements that lauded the Chinese leadership's efforts in modernizing the country, as Italy, in his own words, "has always been sympathetic to the new China, to the People's Republic of China."<sup>247</sup> Importantly, the Italian President was uniquely able to rise above party interests and factionalism and to speak his mind.<sup>248</sup> The Sino-Soviet split had had a negative impact on relations between the PCI and the CCP from 1960 onwards, leading to a break between the two parties two years later, although the visit by Berlinguer and other members of the PCI to Beijing in April 1980 marked a shared desire to reopen dialogue.<sup>249</sup>

In visiting China, the President of the Republic was able to confirm the intentions of the architects of China's new policies to pursue further openness towards the West. Judging them to be compatible with Rome's interests, Pertini assured them that Italy would contribute to China's development, while during talks Beijing's leadership made no secret of the country's level of underdevelopment. Discussions on the 19th saw Peng Zhen, secretary of the Political and Legal Affairs Commission of the CCP, launching a harsh attack on the Soviet Union, accusing it of expansionist ambitions and expressing his conviction that Moscow's leaders would meet "a brutal end, identical to that of Hitler and Mussolini." Party chairman Hua Guofeng warned the Italians that Soviet aims extended further south than Afghanistan, given that by exerting greater influence in the Middle East and the oil routes, it would be able to hold European countries and the entire West in its grip. Foreign Minister Colombo made no secret of the fact that there were issues on which the Italian and Chinese points of view did not coincide. First and foremost was the issue of détente, which the Beijing government continued to regard as a trap set by the Soviet Union, while the Italians considered it essential for ensuring peace and positive development on the opposite side of the Iron Curtain. Poland was cited as an example by Pertini in this matter, as

---

<sup>246</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>247</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo del "Quotidiano del Popolo", 17/09/1980.

<sup>248</sup> **Taggart**, Seamus. 2014. "Italian Relations with China 1978-1992: The Long Carnival Decade - Burgeoning Trade and Diplomatic Kudos." *Cahiers de La Méditerranée*, no. 88 (June): 113–34.  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/cdlm.7512>.

<sup>249</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, documento segreto del MAE sui rapporti PCI-PCC, 09/1980.

with the Gdańsk Agreement (31st August 1980), which brought some democratic changes within the communist country, Pertini commenting that this was an event of “notable importance,” despite these concessions being crushed in December 1981.<sup>250</sup>

While visiting the city of Beijing, Pertini engaged in one of his stunts by walking off on his own in order to seek direct contact with the people, “suddenly disappearing into the arms of a crowd of Chinese.”<sup>251</sup> He also discussed disarmament and world peace with students at Beijing University (remaining faithful to his willingness to engage with the youth), which embarrassed the Chinese leaders, but brought him personal success amplified by the praise of the press and television.<sup>252</sup> He also reiterated with the students his previous comments regarding Taiwan, which were met with thunderous applause. The meeting with Deng Xiaoping, characterized by Pertini as “a comrade and a partisan saluting a comrade and a partisan,” concluded the official part of the state visit. The conversation with Deng, considered at the time to be the country's true *éminence grise*, was held in absolute secrecy, although a feeling of mutual respect emerged between the two statesmen. The visit then continued beyond the political discussions held in the capital, which had confirmed the mutual satisfaction on both sides regarding the desire to intensify friendly cooperation in various economic sectors, to the cities of Xi'an, Shanghai, and Hangzhou. While the trip to the first city was more touristy in nature, the visit to Shanghai, industrial capital of the PRC, reinforced the willingness to increase trade, also in view of the upcoming opening of an Italian consulate general in the city. Following a visit to Hangzhou on the 26th (where he celebrated his 84th birthday), President Pertini departed for Hong Kong. Although an official visit had been scheduled to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Italian delegation had to precipitously return to Rome on the 28th via the United Arab Emirates due to a government crisis which had led to the fall of the second Cossiga government, and the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war on the 22nd of September.<sup>253</sup>

There were episodes due to Pertini's peculiar character that seemed, in part, to tarnish the president's image. Firstly, he broke protocol, upsetting the agreed upon ceremonial schedule (there seemed to be a stark contrast between China's strict protocol and Pertini's extroverted

---

<sup>250</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'image de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>253</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

personality) by seeking dialogue with students at Beijing University on September 20th.<sup>254</sup> In addition, he had some disagreements with the Italian press, exercised like all declarations during the visit “without oratorical caution,”<sup>255</sup> which he considered overly critical infuriating him, such as an article written by Piero Ostellino for *L’Opinione* that criticized the large delegation accompanying him and Carla Pertini's reluctance to appear at ceremonies. As a result, the first words uttered by the president while exiting his plane in China were: “Ostellino, leave my wife alone.”<sup>256</sup> Maccanico writes that as a result of these incidents Pertini “understood the need for greater caution.”<sup>257</sup> In the same article, Ostellino succinctly criticized Pertini's entire style of foreign diplomacy, highlighting that despite his charisma, which allowed him to project Italy's moral voice internationally, he was still the president of the republic, meaning he was limited in shaping consistent foreign policy. Ostellino wrote: “leave it to the president to speak clearly and loudly, knowing full well that he will not have to answer for it before parliament, let alone before the court of the parties and their factions. Let our public opinion believe that this is Italy's policy, and tell the outside world - for example, the Russian ambassador when he complains about it - that this is not the government's policy at all, but only the personal opinion of an elderly man with an exuberant character who has no power.”<sup>258</sup> Other episodes of exuberance were commented upon by the Italian press, such as the sudden dismissal of one of the president's aides and threats of resignation, which were immediately denied.<sup>259</sup>

The Chinese leadership had been, as noted by the BBC, more cordial to the Italian president compared to other heads of state, including French President Giscard d’Estaing, who would visit in October.<sup>260</sup> Pertini himself was more cautious on the political success of the event,

---

<sup>254</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 113.

<sup>255</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L’image de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l’étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>256</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Il Ciclone Sandro” di Nello Ajello, “L’Espresso”, 28/09/1980.

<sup>257</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 113.

<sup>258</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>259</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, editoriale “Fuori dal Mondo” di Enzo Sermasi intitolato “I Viaggi di Sandro Polo”, “Il Mondo”, 01/10/1980.

<sup>260</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, trascrizione articolo BBC visita di Giscard d’Estaing in Cina, 10/1980.

saying: “we have an open path, now the relevant ministers must come here, and I will urge them to do so,” a criticism of the past inaction of the Italian government that the country’s press had already been making at the time.<sup>261</sup> However, he also claimed that the visit had been a personal success, which he attributed to his bad temper, quipping: “who in this world doesn't have flaws? And let's be honest, it's better to have a bad temper than no temper at all.”<sup>262</sup> Describing China, Maccanico noted in his diary that he had “seen a country that is eager to open up to the rest of the world and breathe.” He labeled the trip as one of “extreme political interest,” paving the way for potentially fruitful medium- and long-term agreements for both Italy and Italian companies (FIAT, IRI, ENI, Ansaldo, Montedison and Olivetti being the leading contenders).<sup>263</sup> The Italian press at the time was doubtful that “Sandro Polo’s” visit had in fact been meaningful to the bilateral economic relations between the two countries, as an article on *L'Europeo*, “So much sympathy, so little business,” had pointed out. Concordantly, UIL (*Unione Italiana del Lavoro*, Italian Labour Union) secretary Giorgio Benvenuto denounced the existence of a pro-Moscow and anti-Beijing lobby to explain the inertia of Italian industrialists and the government towards the country up to that point.<sup>264</sup> An examination on whether the visit led to anything concrete, or was merely a protocolary show, can only be made with a retrospective analysis. Certain Italian military manufacturing companies, such as Augusta, Fincantieri and OTO Melara had already been proactively engaging in an attempt to conduct business in China, something which the Quirinal was aware of. The PRC has long been interested in acquiring Italian military equipment. Despite this, according to the MAE the new leadership's “opening up” to the west “should not be misleading,” as according to the ministry there was still a certain reticence on the part of China, not to mention their difficulty at the time to find the means of payment necessary for the acquisition of the technologies and assets required for development. Furthermore, it was judged to be unlikely that Italy would have been able to compete with other countries, such as Japan and the USA, in guaranteeing the Chinese the subsidized credit lines necessary for greater economic

---

<sup>261</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>262</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Ai Cinesi sono Piaciuto” di Roberto Tumbarello, “Gente”, 01/10/1980.

<sup>263</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 113.

<sup>264</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Tanta simpatia pochissimi affari” di Lanfranco Vaccari, “L'Europeo”, 29/09/1980.

cooperation (Italy had already opened lines of credit before Pertini's visit, although the high interest rate was considered excessive by the Chinese).<sup>265</sup> According to Taggart, overall as a goodwill trip Pertini's visit worked well and was seen by Beijing as a gesture that took account of Chinese sensibilities, although the talks between himself and the Chinese leadership, as others, were rarely impactful on actual policy making. The Visit did represent, chronologically at least, the first dawn of a new era of Sino-Italian relations, which would crystallize by the mid 80s, when, starting in 1984, Italian exports to China became second only to West Germany's.<sup>266</sup>

## *II. State visit to Italy by Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom, 14 - 17 October 1980*

Queen Elizabeth, accompanied by her consort, arrived in Rome on the 14th of October 1980 (19 years following her last visit), starting a visit that would be almost purely protocolary. In fact, the Italian news agency ANSA reported that during the visit “the queen and President Pertini, who constitutionally do not engage in politics, a task that falls to governments, spoke in general terms about the main world issues.” The meeting between the two heads of state was very cordial. They limited themselves to acknowledging the excellent bilateral relations that already exist between the United Kingdom and Italy, and exchanged concordant views on international political issues, including greater European integration as a pillar of world peace and the common efforts to combat terrorism in their respective countries. As in other occasions, the opportunity to discuss these issues in greater detail was carried out by other government officials, in this case the foreign ministers, Lord Carrington and Emilio Colombo, who engaged in talks the following day.<sup>267</sup> At the diplomatic reception in honour of the queen, Pertini acknowledged Great Britain's merit, together with the United States, in having “saved Europe” from the “Nazi heel,” also emphasizing the country's support for Italian patriots during the

---

<sup>265</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, spunti di conversazione del MAE per la visita del capo di stato in Cina, 09/1980.

<sup>266</sup> **Taggart**, Seamus. 2014. “Italian Relations with China 1978-1992: The Long Carnival Decade - Burgeoning Trade and Diplomatic Kudos.” *Cahiers de La Méditerranée*, no. 88 (June): 113–34.  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/cdlm.7512>.

<sup>267</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Regina Elisabetta, 14/10/1980.

*Risorgimento*.<sup>268</sup> Queen Elizabeth, on her part, thanked Italy for its contribution, as holder of the presidency of the European Community, to resolving the issue of the British financial contribution to the EEC budget, which had become a major point of contention,<sup>269</sup> and constituted an obstacle to negotiations on the enlargement of the EEC to include Spain and Portugal.<sup>270</sup> Carla Pertini's absence from the reception with Queen Elizabeth angered some, as exemplified by an insulting letter sent to the Quirinal from a certain “loyal Australian,” complaining that her absence was an affront to the monarch.<sup>271</sup> After visiting Genoa, returning to Rome for consultations with the pope, Naples, and Palermo, the British royals embarked on the yacht “Britannia,” traveling to North Africa for other state visits.<sup>272</sup>

Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Italy received favorable but rather modest coverage from the British press, which was judged by the Quirinal to be in line with local practice.<sup>273</sup> Rupert Cornwall of the *Financial Times* wrote that the Italian-British talks reinforced the project for a Rome-London axis as a counterweight to the Paris-Bonn alliance, all the while noting that Italy was now on par with Great Britain in terms of real per capita income, highlighting the partially shifting perception of Italy in Great Britain.<sup>274</sup> Despite this, the ever-present threat of the Mafia served the opposite purpose, as an article by *The Sun* pointed out that three local officials that were meant to meet the queen on her visit to Palermo were murdered in an act of vengeance.<sup>275</sup> The Visit was considered by Maccanico to have been a success for the Quirinal, despite the ongoing government crisis (resolved with the formation of the first Forlani government on the

---

<sup>268</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, brindisi del presidente della repubblica a s.m. regina Elisabetta, 14/10/1980.

<sup>269</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, risposta di s.m. regina Elisabetta al brindisi del presidente della repubblica, 14/10/1980.

<sup>270</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 427.

<sup>271</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, lettera di un “loyal australian”, 18/10/1980.

<sup>272</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Regina Elisabetta, 14/10/1980.

<sup>273</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, “stampa britannica sulla visita della regina Elisabetta II in italia” del servizio stampa del Quirinale, 21/10/1980.

<sup>274</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, articolo “Queen thanks Italy for help over EEC budget” di Rupert Cornwell, “Financial Times”, 14/10/1980.

<sup>275</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, articolo “mafia gun down royal guests” di James Lewthwaite, “The Sun”, 20/10/1980.

18th of October), believing that the affection and hospitality she enjoyed in Italy had served to strengthen ties between the two countries, which would certainly be crucial at the European level.<sup>276</sup>

## *12. State visit to the Hellenic Republic, 20 - 24 November 1980*

Pertini arrived in Athens on the 20th of November 1980 accompanied, among others, by Maccanico and Foreign Minister Colombo. According to Maccanico, the trip to Greece had been “triumphant, like all the president's trips abroad.” It was during this visit that his secretary general called him a “great illusionist” of foreign policy.<sup>277</sup> Significantly, 1980 marked the 40th anniversary of the start of the Italian invasion of Greece during WW2. While the mainstream Greek press commemorated the event in a moderate manner, the extremist press, particularly the far right, took a stronger stance, although the Greek minister of defense was pleased to inform the Italian ambassador that it was the position of the Greek government that the relations between the two countries had taken a radical turn.<sup>278</sup> In the meeting between heads of state on the first day, Greek President Konstantinos Karamanlis congratulated Pertini on his many travels and his intense activity in matters of foreign policy. As with the visit to Spain in May of that year (and the coming visit to Portugal in October 1981), Pertini’s main goal was that of welcoming Greece’s entry into the EEC, which would be occurring in short order, on the 1st of January 1981 (Spain and Portugal would have to wait another 5 years). The main conclusion of the presidents’ meeting was that Greece's entry into the community had to coincide with action to rebalance the political center of gravity of the community, to the benefit of the southern countries. This was considered important not only in terms of European policy calculations (especially with regard to Italian exports to Greece), but also to ensure an oasis of stability in the Mediterranean, threatened by instability in the Middle East, especially in light of the recent outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. A second conversation, which took place with the respective foreign ministers, occurred the following day, on the 21st, during which Greece confirmed its interest in extending the

---

<sup>276</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 116-117.

<sup>277</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 120.

<sup>278</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 2346 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 29/10/1980.

Algeria-Italy gas pipeline to Corfu, although this project never saw the light of day. Foreign Minister Colombo's previous visit to Athens on November 3 and 4 had negated the need for Pertini's visit in terms of concrete policies, but certainly not in terms of symbolism. On this occasion, the Greek delegation thanked Italy for its support in resolving the problem of Greece's re-entry into the NATO military structure, from which they had withdrawn in 1974 due to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, under the belief that this would improve relations with Turkey and thus bring greater stability to the Mediterranean.<sup>279</sup> In terms of European policy, Athens was willing to assist Rome in its declared attempt to rebalance the Common Agricultural Policy in favor of Southern European production in order to reduce disparities between countries, while also emphasizing the need to advance the EEC-Cyprus Association Agreement, despite the country's political situation. In addition, bilateral economic initiatives and market access barriers, such as the special Greek tax on imported motor vehicles, were discussed.<sup>280</sup> Pertini's absence from these crucial conversations is further proof of the president's limited ability to conduct foreign policy.

In an attempt to endear himself to the leadership and the press, as was his usual custom, Pertini declared that he had greatly appreciated Karamanlis' leadership of Greece through the difficult transition (ending in 1974) from the regime of the colonels to democracy. He likewise touched the hearts of the Greek people, stating that he had “wept with anger and indignation when, in the bitter solitude of prison, he learned that Mussolini, in his madness, had invaded the free land of Greece,”<sup>281</sup> a statement that was repeated throughout the entire Greek press and earned him numerous letters of affection from Greek partisans.<sup>282</sup> Also of consequence was the decision by Pertini to award the highest honor of the Italian Republic, the “Grand Cross,” to Lela Karayannis, a heroine of the Greek resistance, who during WW2 fought to save 76 Italians from being shot by the Germans after the 1943 armistice.<sup>283</sup> The announcement of this award moved

---

<sup>279</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 533/C Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 04/11/1980.

<sup>280</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 534/C Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 04/11/1980.

<sup>281</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, ritagli ANSA visita Grecia, 11/1980.

<sup>282</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, corrispondenza privata visita pdr in Grecia, 11/1980.

<sup>283</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, ritagli ANSA visita Grecia, 11/1980.

Karmanlis.<sup>284</sup> A survey of Greek television viewers showed that Pertini was the most likable of all the heads of state who had visited Greece since the fall of the colonels' regime in 1974.

On the 22nd Pertini traveled to the island of Cephalonia to pay tribute, in the presence of about forty survivors, to the almost 10,000 soldiers of the “Acqui” division who fell between September 16 and 26, 1943, fighting against the Germans. Upon his return to Athens, he also paid tribute to the tomb of Alexandros Panagoulis, a Greek hero of the resistance against the regime of the colonels.<sup>285</sup> This last event was considered to be somewhat controversial by the MAE, yet after consultations between Pertini and Colombo the latter gave his approval by balancing it with the aforementioned award to Karayannis, which was contested by the left due to her being a member of a right-leaning partisan organization.<sup>286</sup>

The presence of Pertini, a former anti-fascist partisan, as president of the republic was undoubtedly a further sign of reconciliation 40 years after the start of the Italian invasion. Although, strictly in negotiatory terms, his presence was not as decisive as that of Foreign Minister Colombo, diplomacy also encapsulates the ability of a public figure to resonate with a foreign nation, and in this Pertini truly was an illusionist.

### *13. State visit to Italy by the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Cvijetin Mijatović, 17 - 19 December 1980*

The visit by Yugoslav President Cvijetin Mijatović, widely and positively covered by the Yugoslav press, occurred at a delicate moment when the country was engaged in a process of stabilization of its internal political and economic structures (which were suffering), along with a revision of the constitution, post-Tito.<sup>287</sup> The main topics of political conversation were détente and peace, and therefore also the situation in Poland, with both delegations expressing their hope that political and social developments in that country would take place in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Treaty. The Italians were especially concerned, in line with

---

<sup>284</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 120.

<sup>285</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, ritagli ANSA visita Grecia, 11/1980.

<sup>286</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 120.

<sup>287</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, testo del servizio TG1 delle 20:00, 17/12/1980.

other western countries, of foreign intervention in the Polish situation, while the Yugoslavs hoped the process underway in Poland would not result in either anti-socialist nor anti-Soviet outcomes.<sup>288</sup> The economic aspect was also important, particularly in view of the recent cooperation agreement between the European Community and Yugoslavia, signed in April 1980 by then Italian Foreign Minister Attilio Ruffini, as it had occurred during Italy's presidency of the EEC.<sup>289</sup> The agreement gave Italy a more central position in the European context due to its geographical proximity.<sup>290</sup> Other topics of discussion were the recently examined issue of fishing in the Adriatic, which had concluded with an agreement for the creation of joint venture fishing companies, a reduction in the trade deficit (which was in favor of Yugoslavia), and a loan for Belgrade.<sup>291</sup> There were no changes in Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment, which, according to the Italian ambassador in Belgrade, the new government was managing very well, as evidenced by visits to the city within a few months by Carter, Vasily Kuznetsov, Karamanlis, Ceaușescu, Thatcher, and Barre. Not only that, but relieved of the burden of its historic figurehead, the foreign policy traced by Tito seemed more agile than before, especially given the improvement in relations with Bulgaria and Albania. Relations with Yugoslavia were therefore even more important for Italy, not only because of its weight in the Balkans, but also because of its central role in the non-aligned forum. Pertini's closeness to the late Tito certainly served as a bridge for bilateral relations.<sup>292</sup> In fact, during the meeting between the two heads of state, Pertini emphasized the great esteem he had for the marshal, and Mijatovic responded by saying that the "memory of the Italian president's visit was still very much alive in Belgrade," as he had "won over the Yugoslavs with his humanity and warmth."<sup>293</sup>

The Treaty of Osino, which had normalized Italian-Yugoslav relations, was hailed as a benchmark for cooperation between countries with different political regimes, to the extent that it

---

<sup>288</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

<sup>289</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del Quirinale sulla visita di stato di Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

<sup>290</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, testo del servizio TG1 delle 20:00, 17/12/1980.

<sup>291</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

<sup>292</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, lettera n. 3932 dell'Ambasciatore d'Italia a Belgrado, 5/12/1980.

<sup>293</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

was considered a “model” and therefore a source of pride for the leaders of both countries, although there were still some unresolved issues, including better protection for minorities and the conclusion of a cultural agreement. This explained both why Pertini chose Yugoslavia as one of his very first visits abroad and why there were frequent contacts between the foreign ministers of the two countries, who met four times in 1980 alone.<sup>294</sup> Both the MAE and the Quirinal welcomed the frequency and level of bilateral meetings, which, as was noted, were unique in relation to others between Italy and non-EEC countries.<sup>295</sup> On the Yugoslavian question, there is no doubt that Pertini proved to be a key figure during his seven-year term in office in ushering in a period of excellent relations.

## V. Pertini’s Role in Italy’s Foreign Policy: 1981 - 1982

*14. State visit to the United Mexican States (26 - 30 March 1981), the Republic of Costa Rica (30 March - 1 April 1981), and the Republic of Colombia (1 - 3 April 1981)*

In March and April 1981, Pertini engaged in a series of state visits to the Latin American countries of Mexico, Costa Rica and Colombia. The trip was considered by the Quirinal to be a logical development of the “coherent plan” by the president of the republic to bring Italy's presence to all those regions of the world where, according to them, it had a reason to be. The Quirinal itself emphasized that it was not only the cultural ties and the presence of millions of Italian emigrants in Latin American countries that justified this, but also Italy's desire to further develop both political and economic cooperation with the democratic states in that area, such as an oil deal with Mexico.<sup>296</sup> It should be remembered above all that Mexico was being enveloped at the time by the recent discovery of immense oil and gas deposits, although the Mexican oil boom, as it came to be known, would have disastrous consequences on the country due to

---

<sup>294</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

<sup>295</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, rapporto dell’ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del Quirinale sulla visita di stato di Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.

<sup>296</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

mismanagement beginning in 1982.<sup>297</sup> The significant opportunities for cooperation with Italy were also enhanced by Mexico's desire to diversify its trade relations away from the United States, with which it conducted a third of its trade in the early 1980s. Additionally, although Italy's attention to the continent had not always been constant, Mexico as a starting location was chosen because of its significant influence on the political situation in Latin America.<sup>298</sup> Pertini landed in Mexico city on the 26th of March 1981, immediately meeting the Mexican head of state, José López Portillo, at the airport.<sup>299</sup> In a speech at the Mexican parliament, Pertini condemned dictatorship, with obvious overtones to those plaguing Latin America and its unstable democratic governments (including, to an extent, Mexico itself), repeating a phrase from his 1979 end-of-year speech: "I will always prefer the most imperfect democracy to the most perfect dictatorship." Furthermore, Pertini made a clear expression of Italy's hope that Mexico could be a point of reference for the resolution of the internal instability of many countries in the region, by affirming that "your parliament represents the beacon that illuminates and fuels the hope for freedom of other peoples in Latin America."<sup>300</sup> Consultations occurred on both the 26th and the 27th. Of particular interest during the talks was the exchange of information on El Salvador, where a negotiated solution between the parties was being encouraged, although Foreign Minister Colombo, who accompanied Pertini, was not optimistic. The signing of two technical cooperation agreements was also important: one for the coordination of Italian development cooperation activities in Mexico (including a half-billion-dollar credit line) and the second for vocational training in the electronics and telecommunications sectors, for which the climate of sympathy that Sandro Pertini was able to create around Italy was considered decisive. As far as oil was concerned, given the restrictions that Mexico imposed on its exports, it was impossible at that time to obtain guarantees, only promises, although Pertini declared himself optimistic: "Of course they will give it to us,

---

<sup>297</sup> Gavin, Michael 2010. *The Mexican Oil Boom: 1977-1985*. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0011582>

<sup>298</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, rapporto sul viaggio in Messico dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 03/1980.

<sup>299</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

<sup>300</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica al congresso degli stati uniti del messico, 26/03/1980.

obviously they will not give it away for free, but they will supply it to us in exchange for our technology.”<sup>301</sup>

Maccanico notes two incidents that he had to deal with in Mexico City. The first was journalistic in nature, as the correspondent for the *Corriere della Sera*, Dino Frescobaldi, had sneaked into the presidential cabin on the flight and conversed with Pertini. The other journalists accompanying the delegation feared that this conversation could lead to an exclusive interview for the *Corriere*, which is what happened (according to Maccanico, he had engaged in “formal foul play”), arousing the anger of the other journalists, who threatened to return to Rome. Maccanico managed to calm them down by convincing them that the Italian president had “fallen into a trap,” which was only partially true.<sup>302</sup> The second was that García Márquez, the famous Colombian writer (who would win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982), had fled the country and sought asylum in Mexico after learning that the military authorities wanted to arrest him, and wanted to meet President Pertini. On March 23rd, Colombia had broken off diplomatic relations with Cuba, whose leader Castro had affinity with Marquez, following the landing of extreme left-wing M19 guerrillas on the Colombian coast.<sup>303</sup> Maccanico made it known that a meeting with the Italian president was impossible, given that Pertini was a guest of a foreign government and could not perform acts that might embarrass the host country. Furthermore, Pertini was also on the eve of a visit to Colombia and could not meet with an enemy of the government without committing a serious offense. Maccanico, with Pertini's consent, decided to agree to meet Márquez himself in secret. Márquez told him that he believed it was appropriate for Pertini to go to Colombia, provided that this did not constitute a legalization of the existing situation, which was in any case preferable to a possible military coup. Marquez also admitted that his escape was not due to any real imminent danger, but rather due to a desire to draw the attention of world public opinion to the authoritarian risk his country was running.<sup>304</sup> The Colombian press would

---

<sup>301</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

<sup>302</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 141.

<sup>303</sup> UPI. 1981. “Left-Wing Writer Flees Bogota for Mexico City.” *The New York Times*, March 27, 1981. <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/03/27/world/left-wing-writer-flees-bogota-for-mexico-city.html>.

<sup>304</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 141-142.

come to know about the meeting only after Pertini ended his state visit in the country, souring, in part, Italian-Colombian relations.<sup>305</sup>

Pertini then traveled to Costa Rica, where he landed on the 30th of March and was welcomed by President Carrazo. The country reflected many of the ideals and values of the Italian president, as it consistently condemned military spending and had abolished its army in 1949, establishing schools in the former barracks. The result was that Costa Rica had become a “rich oasis of peace and stability” in a troubled Central America (Sandinista uprising in Nicaragua and civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala), where the UN was preparing to build an “international university of peace” as a model for other countries.<sup>306</sup> Confirming his affinity for the political direction of the country, Pertini stated during his speech to the Costa Rican president that “what matters the most is the education of freedom.”<sup>307</sup> Thanks to these democratic traditions, Costa Rica was considered by Italy to be well-suited to playing an important role in promoting solutions to the crises that made Central America a zone of recurring violence, although, in order to do so, Costa Rica had to maintain its internal stability, which required the recovery of its economy, at the time in turmoil due to the collapse of coffee prices and high imports.<sup>308</sup>

Pertini’s Latin American travels ended in Colombia, where he arrived on the 1st of April, and was welcomed by President Cesar Turbay Ayala, elected in 1978, the first freely elected head of state in Colombia since 1958. Colombia, another democracy in the region, was more unstable than Mexico and Costa Rica, and was traversing a difficult period due to guerrilla uprisings and the drug trade. Nevertheless, Pertini’s visit was intended as an expression of the interest that Italy, and also Europe, had in the democratic path chosen by Colombia, and for the economic interests of Rome in a country rich in natural resources which could serve as a bridge to further relations with the Andean Community. According to Pertini, Italy had carried out “relentless efforts” that

---

<sup>305</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 501, articolo “el hombre de la calle” di José Salgar, “El Espectador”, 11/04/1980.

<sup>306</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

<sup>307</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 501, brindisi al pranzo offerto dal presidente della repubblica di Costa Rica, 30/03/1980.

<sup>308</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

culminated in the meeting between EEC and Andean Pact foreign ministers in May 1980, although these initiatives were blocked by the coup d'état in Bolivia in July 1980. Pertini was pleasantly surprised by the capital, Bogotá, which he described as “the Athens of Latin America.” He was quick to make parallels with Italy in relation to terrorism, given the recent arrest of 170 M-19 guerrilla fighters that had landed on the country’s shores from Cuba. The main immediate result of the talks between the two heads of state was the signing of a contract for the construction of a hydroelectric power plant by an Italian-Colombian consortium, which led Italian government sources to state that Italian companies had “vast opportunities to become involved in Colombian development.”<sup>309</sup>

Maccanico judged the three visits to have been successes, especially the latter in Colombia because of “its importance, its abundance in resources, the large Italian community, and a decent ruling class, despite corruption, crime, and drugs.”<sup>310</sup> Pertini was also meant to visit Portugal, in order to promote its entry into the European Economic Community, as he had previously done with Spain and Greece (although Greece’s entry was already a *fait accompli* by that point), but had to return to Italy early, on the 4th of April, in order to attend his sister Marion’s funeral in Genoa.<sup>311</sup> This did not prevent him from having a brief 30-minute conversation with Portuguese President Antonio Ramalano Eanes during a layover in Lisbon, in which Pertini reaffirmed the assistance that Italy would provide to Portugal to facilitate and accelerate its admission into the EEC.<sup>312</sup>

#### *15. State visit to Italy by King Juan Carlos I of Spain, 28 - 30 April 1981*

The Spanish royals landed in Rome on the 28th of April, marking the start of a visit important at the personal level for King Juan Carlos, who was born in the city in 1937. Pertini greeted the King with a long, informal but spontaneous hug on his arrival at the Quirinal. The two heads of state then had a discussion without interpreters, including on Colonel Tejero's

---

<sup>309</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

<sup>310</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 142.

<sup>311</sup> **Gavin**, Michael 2010. *The Mexican Oil Boom: 1977-1985*. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0011582>

<sup>312</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, Costa Rica e Colombia, 03/1981.

attempted coup on February 23rd, and on the mutual agreement to make the Mediterranean a “sea of peace,” including through Spain's entry into the EEC. The most important outcome of the visit was the intensification of high-level political contacts between the two countries, sealed both by agreement and de facto by the meeting between their respective foreign ministers. On this occasion, the Spanish expressed their satisfaction at being able to count on Italy's support, both in terms of shared interests and cultural similarities, not only within Europe but also with regard to Latin American countries, especially in view of Italy's recent renewed interest in that area, and North Africa.<sup>313</sup> In fact, in relations with Latin America, Spain assumed a privileged role, being recognized, according to the MAE, as the “mother country.” King Juan Carlos was a major proponent of increased relations with the continent, which he considered his personal “grand design.” Following Pertini's recent visit to Latin American countries, Spain's unique position had become apparent. However, given that the large Italian communities were second to none, both in terms of numbers and the positions of power they had attained, and, given Italy's economic and commercial potential, the MAE believed they had grounds to propose and perhaps obtain a certain degree of cooperation with Spain in the area.<sup>314</sup> Both Pertini and Foreign Minister Colombo also expressed their support for Spain's entry into NATO, which would eventually occur by the end of May 1982, although the Gibraltar issue was proving to be a decisive hindrance.<sup>315</sup> Importantly for relations between the two countries during this period, there was a dispute between FIAT and SEAT over royalties for Spanish-branded cars designed in Turin, which, however, seemed to be moving towards a positive solution without the need for international arbitration.<sup>316</sup>

Following a meeting with the pope, the Spanish royal couple concluded their short visit (which was limited due to the political fallout of Tejero's coup) to Italy by departing Rome on the 30th of April. According to Maccanico, Juan Carlos' visit strengthened the friendship

---

<sup>313</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, ritagli ANSA visita reali di Spagna, 04/1980.

<sup>314</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, rapporto MAE sulla possibilità di una cooperazione Roma-Madrid in America Latina, 04/1980.

<sup>315</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, rapporto sulla visita in Italia dei reali spagnoli dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 04/1980.

<sup>316</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, appunto MAE riguardo la vertenza FIAT-SEAT, 18/04/1981.

between him and President Pertini, although he noted in his diary: “my impression is that the king is much less serene than when I met him in Spain last year.”<sup>317</sup>

#### *16. State visit to the Swiss Confederation, 18 - 21 May 1981*

This event marked the first visit by an Italian president to the Swiss confederation, which is striking given the geographical proximity. The first meeting, which involved the president, Colombo and his Swiss counterpart, took place on board the train from Zurich, where the Italian delegation had landed, to the capital Bern. Issues relating to the Mediterranean region played a predominant role in the conversations, together with issues relating to Italian emigration, as Switzerland at the time was home to around 500,000 emigrant workers and another 100,000 cross-border and seasonal workers. This was addressed in particular in relation to the referendum held on April 5th in Switzerland, in which the majority of the Swiss people rejected greater liberalization regarding foreign workers. Pertini asserted, in no uncertain terms, that “the citizens of this confederation must make every effort to understand the reasons behind emigration, without shirking their commitment to seek, in a spirit of fraternal cooperation, the path of human solidarity,” obtaining assurances from the Swiss president that a new law would contain substantial improvements for foreign workers.<sup>318</sup> In his speech to parliament, the Italian president, referring to Switzerland’s economic power, called for greater solidarity among industrialized nations, with the primary aim of eradicating underdevelopment and creating a new international economic order, given that “without a more equitable distribution of wealth and with the continued oppression and exploitation of man by man, peace will never be guaranteed.”<sup>319</sup> The visit was also made in celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Sempione Tunnel, to which the president traveled on the 19th of May. Returning to Zurich on the 20th, Pertini met with members of the Italian diaspora, once again remarking that “these Italians must

---

<sup>317</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 151.

<sup>318</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, ritagli ANSA visita in Svizzera, 05/1981.

<sup>319</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, risposta del presidente della repubblica alla allocuzione del presidente della confederazione elvetica in occasione dell'incontro con il consiglio federale, 18/05/1981.

have the same rights and duties as every Swiss citizen.”<sup>320</sup> The Swiss press described Pertini as a “a stubborn man who reacts quickly and takes risks without fear of criticism against oppression in the east and west, increasing the influence of his institution above political parties,”<sup>321</sup> while the Italian press ultimately praised him for defending the rights and taking the side of the Italian immigrants. It is worth recalling that Pertini himself was once an emigrant in France, although due to political reasons rather than economic ones. Additionally, in another nod to the Italian president’s younger years, Swiss authorities in Ticino presented him with a copy of the false passport he had used to illegally enter Italy in 1929 in an attempt to assassinate Mussolini.<sup>322</sup>

According to Maccanico, Pertini was very popular with the members of the Federal Council and the people, and the Secretary General was also pleasantly impressed by the German-speaking Swiss (in particular “the simplicity and humanity of President Furgler”), who were generally more prejudiced towards Italians.<sup>323</sup>

#### *17. State visit to the Portuguese Republic, 23 - 25 October 1981*

Prior to the visit to Portugal, Pertini entertained a discussion with Mozambican President Samora Machel (14 - 16 October 1981) on his trip to Italy, in which he reiterated his support for true “non-alignment” and against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, statements which, in Maccanico's opinion, had been highly effective. In the same diary entry, the secretary general noted: “on international policy, President Pertini has been marching like a train so far.”<sup>324</sup>

As previously outlined, the visit to Portugal was originally scheduled to take place following the Latin American ones in April. The Italian embassy in Lisbon considered Portugal to be a new republic that was still very weak, and therefore regarded strengthening democracy in the country as a priority, and thus the entry of Portugal into the EEC as essential to ensuring the continuity of the democratic process initiated with the Carnation Revolution in 1974. The

---

<sup>320</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, ritagli ANSA visita in Svizzera, 05/1981.

<sup>321</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, tel. n. 38130 Ambasciata d'Italia a Berna, 16/05/1981.

<sup>322</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, resoconto stampa visita Pertini in Svizzera, 05/1981.

<sup>323</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 153.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

priority task on the domestic front was constitutional reform, which would finally eliminate the antiquated Revolutionary Council, although significant friction had arisen between the political parties over the reform (which would be overcome only in 1982). Another problem was the balance of payments deficit and the overall dire economic situation. The Italian ambassador in Lisbon also wrote that joining the EEC was certainly not the easy path for Portugal, given its largely uncompetitive agriculture and an industry that only in some sectors (textiles) showed a certain vitality and resourcefulness. Highlighting the series of problems that accession would entail for Portugal from an economic point of view, despite being less serious than Spain's, he remarked that some believed that if there was an urgent need for accession, this urgency was mainly political. The ambassador also recognized that the advice and language used by the Italians was highly sought after and respected by the Portuguese, and that Pertini's visit presented an opportunity to bring this language to the highest levels.<sup>325</sup> Corroborating this thesis, Maccanico wrote in his diary: "There is no doubt that Pertini is the only Italian politician of European stature and renown, and this entails a great responsibility in his international political initiatives."<sup>326</sup>

Pertini landed in Lisbon on October 23rd, beginning the first state visit by an Italian president to the country, and was greeted by Portuguese President António Ramalho Eanes.<sup>327</sup> He made strong statements to the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic, declaring: "It is unthinkable and also unjust to leave Portugal and Spain out of the EEC," bringing with him the now oft-repeated messages against the "scourges afflicting humanity today," such as hunger and the many threats to peace.<sup>328</sup> In response, Oliveira Dias, who had been President of the Assembly for only a few days, declared that "few statesmen have been better advocates for Portugal than President Pertini."<sup>329</sup> The visit was also an opportunity, according to Pertini's statement to the Portuguese

---

<sup>325</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, tel n. 2578 Ambasciata d'Italia a Lisbona, 01/09/1981.

<sup>326</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 173.

<sup>327</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale Portoghese "Expresso", 24/10/1981.

<sup>328</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica all'assemblea nazionale portoghese, 24/10/1981.

<sup>329</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale portoghese "Correio da Manhã", 24/10/1981.

press, to resume the discussion begun with Eanes in Rome during his visit to Rome on 14 - 17 of May 1980, where he emphasised, as in October 1981, “The common linguistic and cultural roots have created a shared heritage of sympathy between the two peoples.”<sup>330</sup>

Maccanico, reflecting the analysis made by the Italian ambassador prior to the visit, believed that while Portugal was still grappling with serious institutional issues following the end of Salazar's dictatorship, it had nevertheless achieved a certain degree of political stability, and that Eanes was the right man for the job.<sup>331</sup> Portugal, like Spain, would accede to the European Economic Community on the 1st of January 1986, Italy having been a decisive factor primarily through its then Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, and the end of France's opposition to enlargement, rather than through the efforts carried out by Pertini in his Iberian voyages.<sup>332</sup>

#### *18. State visit to Italy by President Hosni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 30 January - 1 February 1982*

Pertini never showed much sympathy towards the leaders of countries he considered autocratic. Preceding the visit of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, a minor clash between Maccanico and Pertini was triggered by the visit of Pakistani President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq on January 18, 1982. The Italian president reproached his secretary general for advising him to receive an “executioner,” to which Maccanico responded by reminding him that one of the president's duties was to shake hands with certain individuals even if he considered them murderers. No less of an “executioner,” however, was Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Maccanico noted in his diary, to whom Pertini had shown no reservations during her November 1981 visit despite her pro-Soviet stance.<sup>333</sup>

President Mubarak's visit to Rome was the first stop on a mission to several Western capitals, notably Washington.<sup>334</sup> There had been some initial concerns by the MAE, as Italy,

---

<sup>330</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale portoghese “O Dia”, 24/10/1981.

<sup>331</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 173.

<sup>332</sup> **Bindi**, Federiga. "Italy and the European Union." Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 17 Dec. 2020. <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-184>.

<sup>333</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 186-187.

<sup>334</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.742/C MAE, 02/02/1982.

despite being among Egypt's main European partners, was not one of the stops originally scheduled for Mubarak's first trip abroad, although these concerns were allayed when the Egyptian president chose Italy as his first destination.<sup>335</sup> Mubarak had already visited Pertini on the 5th of September 1980 as vice president of Egypt.<sup>336</sup>

The conversation held on this occasion between the respective ministers of foreign affairs, which occurred simultaneous to the meeting between Pertini and Mubarak, focused on the Middle East problem, with particular regard being given to the state of bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel, the tripartite negotiations for Palestinian autonomy, possible developments in Egypt's relations with other Arab countries, and the prevailing situation in the Arab world, which rejected the Camp David process. Egyptian–Israeli relations were judged to be to be good by Egyptian Foreign Minister Hassan Ali, who noted that problems relating to the Israeli evacuation of the Sinai Peninsula were on track to being resolved as per the peace plan (the 25th of April being the deadline), and the “normalization” of relations was starting to be achieved including through three agreements in the agricultural, maritime navigation, and air traffic sectors. Hassan Ali then confirmed that negotiations for Palestinian autonomy were at a standstill due to different interpretations of the Camp David Accords, which he deemed to be “enormous” in nature. Furthermore, in the opinion of the Cairo government, the PLO played an essential role in defining issues related to the Palestinian problem, even though it had not been included in the negotiations because of its designation as a terrorist organization by the Americans and Israelis. As for the Arab world, the Egyptian delegation informed the Italians that there had been a significant improvement in relations between Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries (including the PLO), despite the resentment surrounding the start of diplomatic relations with Israel, which had resulted in many Arab countries downgrading their levels of diplomatic relations with Cairo.<sup>337</sup> There had been such resentment, in fact, that radical islamists had assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian counterpart of Camp David, on October 6th 1981. Pertini's trip to Egypt to attend his funeral, having been the first Western head

---

<sup>335</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.3 ministeriale segreto diretto all'Ambasciata d'Italia al Cairo, N/A.

<sup>336</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, ritagli ANSA visita Mubarak, 01/02/1982.

<sup>337</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.742/C MAE, 02/02/1982.

of state to announce his presence, on October 9-10 1981 had presented the Italian president with the opportunity of inviting Mubarak to Rome to discuss Middle Eastern matters in detail.<sup>338</sup>

Another situation which preoccupied Cairo was Libya. In October 1981, there had been a single contact with an emissary who sought assurances, which Egypt provided, that the joint military maneuvers with the US (Bright Star, begun in 1980 in the context of Camp David) were not directed against the regime in Tripoli. The poor level of contact with Tripoli was a cause for concern, not least because, as the Egyptian delegation noted, Libya was equipping its armed forces with an increasing level of training in terms of both quantity and quality. Egypt and Libya had fought a war in July 1977, and Gheddaffi had more than once plotted to undermine Sadat, although following his death Cairo never went as far as accusing Gheddafi of being the mastermind.<sup>339</sup> Additionally, the Italian Embassy in Cairo had sent a secret telegram in January informing the Italian Ministry of the Interior that Egyptian intelligence had reported one of its own citizens to be broadcasting anti-Egyptian propaganda, with decidedly pro-Libyan sentiments, from Italian soil. The telegram also states that he intended to increase the broadcasts during the Egyptian president's visit to Rome, both in terms of number and intensity of content. The embassy therefore requested that the broadcast be at least disrupted, as foreigners granted residence in Italy were prohibited from engaging in political activity, especially when it conflicted with the interests of the Italian state, as the Egyptians would have considered inaction to be an "unfriendly act."<sup>340</sup>

The Egyptians also sought to establish a link between Syria's continued vocal rejection of the Camp David Accords and the Soviet plan to demonstrate to moderate Arab countries the inability of the United States to effectively counter Israeli initiatives in the Golan Heights. The Damascus government's pressure was reportedly focused on Lebanon, both directly and through the PLO, Jordan, through the Palestinians, and Saudi Arabia. Following the seizure of the Grand Mosque in November 1979 by a group of Islamists opposed to the monarchy, the Saudi rulers were persuaded to work towards the presentation of the Fahd Plan (an alternative peace plan to

---

<sup>338</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>339</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, rapporto sulla visita in Italia del presidente Egiziano Mubarak dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 01/1982.

<sup>340</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.2743 Ambasciata d'Italia al Cairo, 27/01/1982.

Camp David), which was presented in 1981.<sup>341</sup> According to the Egyptians, the plan lacked the “dynamism” of Camp David and did not gain the approval of the Arab world, although it would later do so at the 12th Arab League summit in September 1982.<sup>342</sup> The impression that Pertini gained, expressed publicly in his short speech at the official lunch offered to Mubarak, was that of “the enormous scale of the problems concentrated in the Middle East region, from the conflict between the Arab world and Israel, to the ongoing tragedy in Lebanon, to the war still raging in the Gulf.”<sup>343</sup> Overall the visit seemed to be limited to an exchange of opinions and information rather than an attempt to conceive ways of resolving these issues, declarations of intent notwithstanding, especially on Pertini’s part given his public stance on Palestinian statehood.

### *19. State visit to Japan, 7 - 15 March 1982*

Pertini’s was the first visit by a sitting Italian president to Japan, where he traveled as a determined defender of humanism and peace.<sup>344</sup> In an interview, speaking of his visit to the country and his upcoming visit to the USA, he declared he would emphasize détente, especially in Japan, where Hiroshima and Nagasaki served “as a warning to all of humanity,” expressing his admiration for the prosperity the Japanese people had achieved without resorting to arms.<sup>345</sup> Pertini landed in Japan on the 9th of March, following a stop in Anchorage, Alaska, where he was very impressed by the welcome he received, considering it to be a very auspicious sign for his imminent trip to the United States. As a testament to the level of hospitality accorded to Pertini in the far eastern capital of Tokyo, he would become, on March 11th, the first head of state in 21 years to deliver a speech to the Japanese parliament, which, in a country as attentive to protocol as Japan, significantly exceeded the limits of the usual tributes to state guests. Furthermore, confirming the unique nature of this reception, on the same day Emperor Hirohito

---

<sup>341</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.742/C MAE, 02/02/1982.

<sup>342</sup> **Shipler**, David K. 1982. “Israel Rejects Arab Plan, Terming It Destructive.” Nytimes.com. The New York Times. September 11, 1982. <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/11/world/israel-rejects-arab-plan-terming-it-destructive.html>.

<sup>343</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, brindisi del presidente della repubblica alla colazione in onore del presidente Mubarak, 30/01/1982.

<sup>344</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L’image de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l’étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>345</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, articolo “Suzuki ringrazia Pertini: ha detto che il Giappone è giunto al benessere senza ricorso alle armi” di Pio d’Emilia, “Il Messaggero”, 04/03/1982.

himself left his palace to attend a lunch held in his honor at the Italian embassy, an extremely rare occurrence.<sup>346</sup> These exceptions did not fail to spark some criticism from Japanese right-wing parties.<sup>347</sup> According to the Italian Embassy in Tokyo, Pertini's visit to Japan could not have come at a more opportune moment. This was because Italy was witnessing “a belated and perhaps still tentative but undeniable resurgence of interest in Japan,” among politicians (whose interests in Asia were judged by the embassy to be overly ideological), among industrialists (who had been limited in their relations with Japan for too long due to FIAT's reservations), and among the press and Italian public opinion in general.<sup>348</sup>

In anticipation of the visit, the authoritative Japanese daily newspaper *Mainichi* urged that the “understanding between Japan and Italy can and must be deepened beyond the stereotypical images that each country has formed of the other in the past.” In fact, in connection with the Italian president's visit, one of the most important series of Italian cultural events ever organized in an Asian country up to that point took place in the weeks following his arrival in Japan, including art exhibitions and numerous film screenings. The importance of developing economic relations between the two countries was further emphasized (and would become the prevalent aspect of the visit for Prime Minister Colombo, as Japan had become the second world economy by that time), as was Western cooperation in defense of peace, the main political topic discussed by Pertini in his talks with the emperor and Prime Minister Zenkō Suzuki. According to observers, the visit was seen by Japan primarily as a means of strengthening ties with the old continent, with which views on major international issues coincided more than with the United States. Importantly, the Japanese newspaper “*Yomiuri*,” noting the age of the Italian guest, hoped that he would leave the most challenging discussions to Foreign Minister Colombo and other key members of his entourage.<sup>349</sup>

Following the welcome ceremony on March 10, in which Pertini shook Hirohito's hand as a sign of friendship, a gesture that was certainly outside ordinary practice, the Italian President met with Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki, together with Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo,

---

<sup>346</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>347</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, articolo “Polemiche in Giappone per il discorso alla Camera” di Pio d'Emilia, “*Il Messaggero*”, 26/01/1982.

<sup>348</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, tel n. 0174 Ambasciata d'Italia a Tokyo, 20/01/1982.

<sup>349</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

primarily discussing economic themes, mainly the disputes between Japan and the EEC owing to the huge trade deficit of the latter (which did not however heavily involve Italy). Nonetheless, during the emperor's banquet, the Italian president did not miss an opportunity to speak out against war, an especially important theme in a country that had experienced the horror of nuclear extermination, while also commenting on the shared past of Japan and Italy, "rising like phoenixes from the rubble of the last conflict."<sup>350</sup> Discussions between the delegations reaffirmed the two countries' shared interest in democracy and freedom, agreeing also on the need to strengthen peace on the basis of concrete and verifiable disarmament agreements, thus attaching great importance to the Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly dedicated to disarmament (due to be held in June-July 1982).<sup>351</sup> Another important element of the discussions for the Italians was the invitation to Japan to participate in the "Italian initiative to combat world hunger" (a topic very dear to Pertini), which was to be held in Rome in April 1982 and would include technical and diplomatic meetings on methods of intervention for agricultural development, food aid, and the coordination of actions for development cooperation.<sup>352</sup>

Pertini then continued his visit to Tokyo proper, which was unusually deserted due to sweeping security orders which aimed to isolate a fringe group of far-right individuals who, waving flags with swastikas and tricolors with the Savoy coat of arms, protested against the presence in Tokyo of the anti-fascist Pertini.<sup>353</sup> The speech on denuclearization at the Japanese Diet, given on March 11th, was greatly appreciated, as evidenced by a laudatory letter sent by President Ryōichi Sasakawa (suspected and imprisoned for a time for WW2 war crimes) of the Japan Shipbuilding Corporation, a controversial organization dedicated to humanitarian work and diplomacy.<sup>354</sup> On this occasion Pertini went much further than denouncing the "mad rush to nuclear armaments," he likewise attacked "leaders guided solely by the particular interests of

---

<sup>350</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>351</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, dichiarazione congiunta fine visita di stato del presidente Pertini in Giappone, 13/03/1982.

<sup>352</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, appunto MAECI per la segreteria generale sugli spunti di conversazione per il presidente Pertini durante la sua visita di stato in Giappone, 02/03/1982.

<sup>353</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>354</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, appunto per il pdr del consigliere diplomatico, 24/03/1982.

their individual nations, who debate and argue while sitting on the crater of a volcano that is brewing a terrifying eruption in its bowels. The last one, for that would be the last day of our planet.”<sup>355</sup> There was a minor incident due to the deletion of a sentence in Pertini's speech that critically referred to the atomic arms race between the two superpowers. It had been deleted (although not in the Japanese text of the speech) at the suggestion of the Italian Ambassador to Japan, Boris Biancheri, having been urged to do so by the Japanese, who believed that the greatest dangers came from nuclear proliferation in general rather than from the atomic confrontation between the USSR and the USA. Its deletion was perhaps also an attempt to avoid any possible misunderstanding with the Americans on the eve of the Italian president's official trip to the United States.<sup>356</sup>

On the 13th of March, Pertini traveled to Hiroshima, symbol of the destructive potential of the atomic weapons, claiming that he “would have come to Japan just to see Hiroshima.”<sup>357</sup> For the Italian president the city served as an admonition to political leaders who “hold the fate of peoples in their hands,” since “a new war would be the end of humanity.”<sup>358</sup> Visibly moved, he went further, exhorting all world leaders to visit the city.<sup>359</sup> Welcomed at the Peace Museum, he wrote in the guest book: “my soul is full of anguish and pity for the poor victims,” but, invited to give a speech, he declined this offer with these words: “no, only silence is appropriate here.”<sup>360</sup> The attention shown by the Italian president in the city, especially to the suffering of its people, certainly endeared him to the Japanese people as a whole, as evidenced by the article “Tokyo liked the pacifist” by Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*.<sup>361</sup>

---

<sup>355</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica alla dieta, 11/03/1982.

<sup>356</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 192.

<sup>357</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>358</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>359</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, articolo “Pertini: ‘Ogni capo di Stato dovrebbe andare a Hiroshima’”, “La Stampa”, 16/03/1982.

<sup>360</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>361</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, “Pertini ha conquistato un Giappone difficile, a Tokio è piaciuto il pacifista”, “La Repubblica”, 16/03/1982.

Following a private trip to the old imperial capital of Kyoto, Pertini concluded his visit to the country.<sup>362</sup> According to Ridolfi, in Japan, where respect for formalities is so important and where advanced age is a guarantee of wisdom, Pertini had managed to completely revolutionize the image of Italy for the man in the street and to receive signs of sympathy going far beyond the customary courtesy of Asians,<sup>363</sup> despite the Italian press initially reporting that “the extremely rigid Japanese ceremonial protocol could cause some problems for Pertini.”<sup>364</sup> The visit, which Maccanico described as “triumphant,” helped cement Pertini as a major global advocate for peace and disarmament,<sup>365</sup> which would become especially relevant in his coming visit to the United States.

#### *20. State visit to the USA, 24 March - 1 April 1982*

Pertini’s visit to the US in March/April 1982 was certainly among the most important of his tenure. This fact was widely recognized, especially in Europe. West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt had told Pertini, during the former’s visit to Rome on the 12th of September 1981: “I know you will soon be going to America: you have the political and moral authority to speak on behalf of the whole of Europe.” Maccanico believed this to be “recognition of the President's international stature, which no one had acknowledged so clearly and unequivocally before.”<sup>366</sup> As for the main purpose of the visit, in his diary Pertini’s secretary general wrote that, having received confirmation of Pertini's invitation to the United States (during his visit to Portugal last October), the aim would be to make the Americans understand the Italian position at a time when Europe appeared to lack credibility in the eyes of the new American administration, and to therefore “clarify the lines of a concerted and global policy of Western countries within the Atlantic framework.”<sup>367</sup> As a reflection of this, during his visit to Japan,

---

<sup>362</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.

<sup>363</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne*. 2019. *Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>364</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, articolo “Presidente in gabbia”, “Panorama”, 09/03/1982.

<sup>365</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 191.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Pertini had stated that “with Reagan, I want to talk above all about peace,” which mirrored the leitmotif of that previous trip.<sup>368</sup> Although Washington was aware of the subtleties of the Italian constitution and the different roles of the Quirinale and Palazzo Chigi (the prime minister's residence), American officials prior to the visit made lengthy references to the local press regarding Pertini's extensive political experience, tempered by years of resistance to fascism, confident that the visit would ultimately transcend pure symbolism.<sup>369</sup> In fact, *The New York Times* reported that “because Mr. Pertini is head of state in Italy, rather than head of the government, his visit was more ceremonial than political. Nevertheless, it marked a chance for the United States to express its gratitude for Italy's support on several issues that are the subjects of controversy in the Western alliance.”<sup>370</sup>

The Italian press reported on the eve of the visit that the Americans had explicitly admitted that relations between the two nations were going through a particularly “happy” period,<sup>371</sup> especially when compared with relations to other US partners. In fact Reagan had defined Italy as “an indispensable partner and not just an occasional passive ally.”<sup>372</sup> In particular, Washington was impressed by the leadership and exemplary role assumed by Italy within NATO and Europe.<sup>373</sup> It should be noted that although Pertini had apparently overcome his old opposition to NATO, he often posited Italy's participation in the organization to be the real reason behind the terrorist attacks in his country,<sup>374</sup> as the international partners of Italian terrorists wished, according to Pertini, to destabilize the Mediterranean and the alliance's southern flank.<sup>375</sup> On the other hand, Pertini did not hesitate to side with a position similar to that

---

<sup>368</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, “Pertini: con Reagan desidero parlare soprattutto di pace”, “Il Tempo”, 16/03/1982.

<sup>369</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>370</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo “Reagan gives Italian a strong welcome” di Steven R. Weisman, “The New York Times”, 26/03/1982.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, tel n. 595 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.

<sup>373</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>374</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 182.

<sup>375</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, intervista di Pertini con il corrispondente TIME Barry Kalb, 22/03/1982.

advocated by Helmut Schmidt on the euromissiles in 1979, which ultimately facilitated the installation of these weapons in other European countries, thus allowing Pertini to become a recognized authority on the continent, and on the other side of the Atlantic, in terms of facing escalating east-west tensions.<sup>376</sup> According to Varsori, the issue of installing euromissiles, which seemed to have taken a back seat for some time after 1979, resurfaced decisively with Reagan's arrival in the White House. During his visit, Reagan reassured his Italian counterparts that the United States sought to reduce their nuclear capabilities in Europe, and with them the risk of nuclear conflict. According to him, however, achieving this would require political consistency by Pertini and the rest of the government in Rome, which would, in turn, enhance Italy's international credibility.<sup>377</sup> Other factors that contributed to the increase in American confidence in Italy's international standing were the strong support given to American policy towards Iran, Afghanistan, and Poland, the readiness with which the Italian government made its contribution to the Sinai peacekeeping force available (MFO, Multinational Force and Observers, tasked with enforcing the terms of the Camp David Accords), established in August 1981, and the successful liberation of General Dozier.<sup>378</sup> Reagan and Secretary of State Haig also made a clear statement, which was certainly welcomed by the Italians, that unlike in the past (for example in Guadeloupe in January 1979), they would no longer allow Italy to be excluded from any Western consultation forum. There were some areas of divergence between the Italian and American position on world affairs, particularly in Latin America.<sup>379</sup> While the Italian government supported the Reagan administration's stated plan for economic development in the region, being aware of American concerns regarding Soviet and Cuban infiltration<sup>380</sup> (a fact that the administration greatly welcomed), it was critical of American support for the Nicaraguan "contras" and the government of El Salvador.<sup>381</sup> Moreover, the situation with the construction of the Trans-Siberian pipeline,

---

<sup>376</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 18.

<sup>377</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 418-420.

<sup>378</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>379</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>380</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.

<sup>381</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 421.

promoted by the West Germans in 1980 as a result of the second oil shock,<sup>382</sup> worried Washington, although, at least publicly, they seemed understanding of Italy's energy needs, acknowledging that its government had taken a very cautious approach in this regard.<sup>383</sup> The Americans believed that although the pipeline could perhaps be delayed beyond normal construction delays and made more costly to complete, it could not be "stopped at this point by US coercion without incurring intolerable diplomatic costs."<sup>384</sup> Some important issues relating to defense procurement (notably contracts for Beretta handguns and Helicopters) had also been identified as topics for discussion during the visit, although, as former Ambassador Roberto Gaja to the US indicated in a letter sent to Pertini's diplomatic advisor's office, "I imagine that the President will not go into such detail in his official talks."<sup>385</sup>

Regarding Pertini's stance in dealing with the communist world, according to Ridolfi Pertini "adopted an attitude of critical and constructive vigilance, publicly supporting any possibility of democratic evolution of the Eastern regimes, always remaining very critical of Brezhnev's USSR (Brezhnev died in 1982), especially after the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, which he openly criticized in his end-of-year message, and often intervening in favor of dissidents" (such as in the aftermath of General Jaruzelski's military coup in Poland in December 1981).<sup>386</sup> Pertini had set this tone from the outset of his term, when, a few days after taking office, he sent a telegram to Brezhnev protesting against the trials of Soviet dissidents, on his own initiative and without first consulting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, making it clear to everyone that Pertini would exercise his mandate according to his deeply held convictions.<sup>387</sup> The Americans, who had initially viewed Pertini's election with some mistrust, were reassured by

---

<sup>382</sup> **Romanow**, Nicholas, and **Inboden**, William. 2022. "The Lessons of Reagan's Pipeline Crisis for Competing with China - War on the Rocks." War on the Rocks. April 5, 2022.

<https://warontherocks.com/2022/04/the-lessons-of-reagans-pipeline-crisis-for-competing-with-china/>.

<sup>383</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>384</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Small Group Meeting on the Proposed Buckley Mission to Europe, February 24, 1982. CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4. 1982.

<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4.pdf>.

<sup>385</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera dell'Ambasciatore Roberto Gaja al Cons. Giulio Cesare Garaguso Consigliere Diplomatico Aggiunto del Presidente della Repubblica, 11/03/1982.

<sup>386</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>387</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, "Il presidente che conosco" di Richard N. Gardner, "Corriere della Sera" Edizione Romana, 23/03/1982.

this act, as Reagan noted in his speech at the state dinner honoring the Italian president.<sup>388</sup> He did not, however, refrain from maintaining some contacts with the Soviets, best exemplified by his visits to Moscow in 1984 and 1985 to attend the funerals of Andropov and his successor Chernenko, respectively.<sup>389</sup> Maccanico had to, at times, restrain Pertini from jeopardizing relations with eastern countries by accusing them of human rights violations. One such case occurred in August 1980, when Pertini intended to send a letter to Romanian President Nicolae Ceaușescu protesting against the internal civil rights situation in Romania. Maccanico had already had to convince the Italian president not to send a similar letter three months earlier, when Amnesty International published a highly critical report on the country. Pertini believed it was "unfair to remain silent in the face of Ceaușescu's wrongdoings simply because he was showing signs of distancing himself from the USSR", while Maccanico had to remind the president that authoritarian regimes were the vast majority of states in the world, so it was necessary to have a stable relationship that would allow influence to be exerted in specific cases.<sup>390</sup> The entire situation was symbolic of Pertini's often uncompromising and at times stubborn nature, especially when confronted with the issues of international relevance that he most cared about. As a testament to his integrity, the "people's president" did sometimes direct his criticisms towards the Americans, ultimately showing that he was not biased towards either party in the cold war, describing, in 1981, Reagan's attitude as "almost provocative" and Brezhnev's as moderate, sparking controversy, although this incident seemed to have faded into obscurity by the time of the state visit.<sup>391</sup> In fact, some elements of the Italian press worried that Pertini's raising of issues such as the condemnation of the arms race, as he had recently done in Japan, would prove inconvenient for the Republican Reagan administration, hindering dialogue.<sup>392</sup>

The first state visit by an Italian president to the US was that of Giovanni Gronchi in March 1956, starting a tradition that continued with Presidents Segni, Saragat, and Leone.

---

<sup>388</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, brindisi pronunciato dal Presidente Reagan in occasione del pranzo ufficiale alla Casa Bianca, 25/03/1982.

<sup>389</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 385.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>392</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "Il 'fattore Pertini' forse innervosirà Reagan" di Guido Moltedo, "Il Manifesto", 25/03/1982.

Landing in Washington on the 24th of March 1982, Pertini would meet with President Reagan on the 25th. During the welcome ceremony Pertini engaged in his ritual kissing of the flag, the “*bacia bandiera*”. This Pertinian tradition left an impression on Reagan, the press and the American public, lending to his positive image. He would later soundly declare: “I kissed the entire American people with that gesture.”<sup>393</sup> In his welcome speech Reagan emphasized the gratitude of the American people for the liberation of General James Lee Dozier by the Italian police. General Dozier, Deputy Chief of Staff at NATO's Southern European land forces, was kidnapped on the 17th of December 1981 by the Red Brigades. The event shocked American and world public opinion, as the Red Brigades had kidnapped an important foreign figure (the only officer in US military history to have been captured by a violent non-state actor), and greatly preoccupied the Reagan administration, also in relation to their belief that the event could influence Italian policy on the euromissiles. His liberation in Padua on the 28th of January 1982 by the Italian police's tactical unit aroused great excitement in the American press, which recognized Rome's efficiency in this case.<sup>394</sup> Importantly, Pertini was closely involved in resolving the Dozier affair.<sup>395</sup> The event had been widely covered by the American press, and was judged by the Italian Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani to have led a rediscovery and greater attention by Americans (media, government, private citizens) to certain positive aspects of Italy at the time that were generally ignored, giving a new image of Italy that broke with past clichés. In fact, the Ambassador reported what he was told by some influential journalists, that Italy, at least until recently, was not taken seriously enough, but that image was changing.<sup>396</sup> Pertini himself, in an interview given to *Time* prior to the visit, asserted his firm belief that Italy “must make its presence felt decisively in international affairs. For this reason, we believe, for example, that a united Europe must not close in on itself.”<sup>397</sup> Maccanico likewise described Dozier's liberation, which was an event that gave positive assurances to all those engaged in the fight

---

<sup>393</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>394</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 420-421.

<sup>395</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>396</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera n. 03115 Ambasciatore Rinaldo Petrignano a Emilio Colombo, 18/03/1982.

<sup>397</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, intervista di Pertini con il corrispondente TIME Barry Kalb, 22/03/1982.

against terrorism, prestige to Italy, and credibility to the government and institutions.<sup>398</sup> Assessing the reputation boost that the event had on Pertini, a *New York Times* editorial asserted that while "Sandro Pertini is not a household name in America, [...] he is not a marginal figure either," while also commenting that the president of the Italian Republic had effectively extended the powers of his office and, at the age of 85, "puts young people to shame with his strength."<sup>399</sup> The resurgence in importance of Italian-American relations is best exemplified by a *Time* article titled "New Image, New Influence: The U.S. rediscovers an old ally, and the world a resurgent diplomatic power," which commented on the visit: "there will be none of Washington's longtime condescension toward a faithful, slightly woebegone junior partner [...], Pertini will be embraced as the leader of a staunch, increasingly important ally." Additionally, quoting a NATO diplomat, the article asserted that while Italy's internal instability and domestic fracturing had prevented it from possessing a true foreign policy, the past three years of Pertini's tenure, described by *Time* as a watershed, had seen the emergence of an effective Italian foreign policy. This had become especially true after Italy's exclusion from the Guadeloupe Conference in 1979, a low point according to the MAE.<sup>400</sup> Former Ambassador Gardner in an article prior to the visit described Pertini's anger on the matter as impressive, as he believed it had been a betrayal after the contribution Italy had given to the acceptance of the euromissiles on the continent.<sup>401</sup>

Following the welcome ceremony the two presidents retired to the Oval Office for an exchange of views on the arguments that have been previously described above. After an initial one-on-one meeting, Vice President Bush, National Security Advisor Clark, Secretary of State Haig, and, on the Italian side, Foreign Minister Colombo also joined the discussion.<sup>402</sup> According to the Italian Ambassador, "the popular welcome and the interest of the media have been fully

---

<sup>398</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 187.

<sup>399</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>400</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, articolo "New Image, New Influence", "Time", 29/03/1982.

<sup>401</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, "Il presidente che conosco" di Richard N. Gardner, "Corriere della Sera" Edizione Romana, 23/03/1982.

<sup>402</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

confirmed by the official contacts,” which assumed the same positive tone.<sup>403</sup> Pertini defended the policy of détente with Reagan, which he believed was the only possible way to avoid a dangerous downward spiral towards armageddon, in contrast to Reagan’s hawkish stance which had significantly increased the probability of nuclear confrontation with the Soviets. The goal of the Italian government, which had remained faithful to its NATO commitments, was in fact more geared towards disarmament (in particular the resumption of negotiations for the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START), and it therefore encouraged its allies to join in efforts to begin negotiations with the Soviet Union.<sup>404</sup>

Furthermore, Minister Colombo, Ambassador Rinaldi, and the Secretary of State also discussed the secret Buckley mission. The Buckley mission to Europe was described in a US National Security Council report to be “an historic opportunity [...] to weaken the Soviet Union substantially by taking advantage of its economic and financial situation through reducing the flow of resources from West to East.” Carried out between the end of February and the beginning of March, an American delegation led by Under Secretary of State James Buckley had the aim of convincing the US's European allies (visiting Rome, Bonn, Paris and London, in that order) to emulate American sanctions against the Soviet Union, nominally in response to Soviet interference in Poland, by limiting export credits to the country in order to restrain the flow of financial resources by curtailing Soviet access to hard currency. The Americans believed this would facilitate closing the gap between US and Soviet military investments and “create conditions conducive to greater security and genuine arms control.” The mission also aimed to limit European dependence on Soviet energy, which was poised to further increase with the construction of the Trans-Siberian pipeline, although it was believed that further investment in North Sea gas production and alternative energy programs could lessen this growth.<sup>405</sup> The Italians were expressly thanked for their attitude towards the mission (though they opposed American attempts to thwart the pipeline). Rome, in fact, had reiterated its willingness to examine economic measures to be adopted, regardless of their contingent nature. The rule they

---

<sup>403</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/1 Ambasciata d’Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.

<sup>404</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/FIN. Ambasciata d’Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.

<sup>405</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Small Group Meeting on the Proposed Buckley Mission to Europe, February 24, 1982. CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4. 1982.  
<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4.pdf>.

imposed, however, was that every European nation had to be on board, and that the Italian economy, industry, and trade unions could not be put at a disadvantage for the benefit of others. Haig also confirmed that, in his opinion, the issue should be discussed at the G7 Versailles summit which would take place between the 4th and 6th of June 1982.<sup>406</sup> While these discussions between Colombo and Haig were occurring, Pertini was visiting Washington's National Gallery, disrupting the entire pre-determined protocol by engaging in a tour of his own accord accompanied by journalists who, at Pertini's invitation, crossed the security cordon to discuss art with him. The Italian president carefully avoided commenting on international political issues on several occasions, though not always, inviting his interlocutors to always refer to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>407</sup>

On the economic front, Colombo blamed the high interest rates of the dollar as a cause for inflationary pressures in Italy,<sup>408</sup> while also noting several trade imbalances, which could be resolved with an increase in weapon acquisitions.<sup>409</sup> Pertini, in his speech to the US Congress argued that "there can be no real individual freedom without security and economic independence. Men in need are not free men; the hungry and the unemployed are the stuff of which dictatorships are made."<sup>410</sup> The MAE had also suggested that the Italian delegation make mention of the "Italian initiative to combat world hunger," as the Americans were still unsure of their participation at the Rome meeting in April 1982.<sup>411</sup>

On the evening of the 26th Colombo departed Washington for Bruxelles, while Pertini engaged in discussion with young students, an activity he always expressed an appreciation for, during a visit to Johns Hopkins University's "School of International Advanced Studies," where

---

<sup>406</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/FIN. Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.

<sup>407</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "La verve di Pertini conquista Reagan: 'Anche lei potrebbe fare l'attore'" di Vladimiro Odinzov, 27/03/1982.

<sup>408</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>409</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera n. 03115 Ambasciatore Rinaldo Petriano a Emilio Colombo, 18/03/1982.

<sup>410</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, Discorso alla colazione offerta dal Presidente della Camera dei Rappresentanti e dai Presidenti delle Commissioni Affari Esteri del Senato e della Camera dei Rappresentanti, 25/03/1982.

<sup>411</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, spunti di conversazione del MAE per la visita del capo di stato in USA, 03/1982.

he skirted some of the questions posed to him by drily asserting: “I am not a government representative.” Moreover, correcting a student who called him a “socialist president,” he replied: “When I walked through the door of the Quirinale, I gave up identifying myself with any one party.” The dinner held in Pertini's honour that night saw the participation of many famous Italian-Americans, such as Frank Sinatra and Perry Como, as well as General Dozier, who quipped: “all Italians are good, only three are bad.”<sup>412</sup> As with other countries, Pertini employed the presence of an Italian diaspora as a bridge to trace a bond with his hosts. In an interview with the Italian-American newspaper *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, Pertini praised the community of Italian immigrants in the United States,<sup>413</sup> which constituted a “blood bond” between the two countries, also through the proliferation of Italian-American associations, as many of its leaders met Pertini during the second leg of his visit.<sup>414</sup> He also frequently expressed his sympathy for the American people, concentrating his message on the fact that “We have never forgotten that the U.S. has disembarked in Europe twice to prevent dictatorial regimes from installing themselves. The Americans did not come to conquer territory, they came to aid European democracy.”<sup>415</sup> Regarding Europe, during the visit the two presidents emphasized the urgency of closer cooperation between the US and the EEC. Pertini recalled that March 25th had been the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome, and therefore of the creation of the EEC, adding that “the United States has supported the European unification process from the outset,” while also calling for greater contact between the European Parliament and the US Congress to promote peace and economic development.<sup>416</sup>

Having concluded the official part of his visit, Pertini engaged in a series of visits to US cities with large Italian-American communities. He arrived in San Francisco on the 27th, where he encountered a huge crowd of the city's large Italian community, which the press defined as

---

<sup>412</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo “Pertini negli USA: troppe H, bisogna negoziare” di Aniello Coppola, “L'Unità”, 27/03/1982.

<sup>413</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>414</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera n. 02481 Ambasciatore Rinaldo Petriano a Emilio Colombo, 10/03/1982.

<sup>415</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, articolo “New Image, New Influence”, “Time”, 29/03/1982.

<sup>416</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo “Pertini e Reagan ricordano i 25 anni della Comunità”, “Il Popolo”, 26/03/1982.

“wild.” Pertini met with Mayor Dianne Feinstein, who told him “I am a huge fan of yours, I would throw myself into a fire for you,” before proclaiming March 27, 28, and 29 as “Sandro Pertini Days” for the city of San Francisco, in honor of “a living legend among European leaders.”<sup>417</sup> The Italian president improvised a long speech, abandoning the very concise one he had prepared in advance, saying: “If you feel like it, read it at home tonight if you can't sleep.” Following his visit there, on the 29th Pertini traveled to Chicago, where he was welcomed by Mayor Jane Byrne. There the Italian president joined the American and Italian flags in a kiss to symbolize the closeness between the two peoples, warning against nationalistic selfishness.<sup>418</sup>

The trip concluded in New York City on the 30th, where Pertini met with UN officials, such as UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, and gave a speech to Columbia University. Speaking to Cuellar, Pertini acknowledged the United Nations' achievements in ensuring equal dignity for all states and peoples, marking the end of the colonial era, often extinguishing the resurgence of war, and delivering justice.<sup>419</sup> Also relevant for the Italians, and for Pertini in particular, was the UN's support for the “Italian initiative to combat world hunger.”<sup>420</sup> However, Pertini did not hide from Cuellar his serious fears about a worsening of the international situation, which would increase the risk of nuclear war, and encouraged him to continue the United Nation's efforts towards disarmament. The topic of his speech at Columbia University was centered on human rights. Pertini expressed solidarity with the Polish, Afghan, and Salvadoran peoples, and presented himself as a stern defender of liberty.<sup>421</sup> In this sense, he asserted: “I am proud to be Italian, but I also feel I am a citizen of the world and as such I stand, in fraternal solidarity, alongside those who, even in the most distant corner of the Earth, fight for their human and civic rights. I stand alongside those who fight against hunger, those who suffer

---

<sup>417</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo “San Francisco ‘impazzita’ per Pertini proclama tre giorni di festa ogni anno” di Gianfranco Piazzesi, 29/03/1982.

<sup>418</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>419</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, Brindisi alla colazione offerta dal Segretario Generale dell'ONU, 31/03/1982.

<sup>420</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, rapporto sui temi di maggiore rilievo fra quelli di cui è attualmente investita l'ONU della Rappresentanza Permanente dell'Italia presso le Nazioni Unite, 03/1982

<sup>421</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

humiliation and oppression because of the color of their skin. Hitler and Mussolini had white skin, but a black conscience. Martin Luther King's skin was the color of ebony, but his soul shone with a limpid light like diamonds."<sup>422</sup> In New York, economic issues also returned to the fore. In a meeting with various American and Italian business leaders, led by David Rockefeller, Pertini promoted Italy as an investment opportunity.<sup>423</sup>

Pertini himself considered the visit a success, expressing a particularly significant political opinion, namely that Italy was a partner on which the United States could safely rely to achieve common goals, and that relations between Europe and America were an essential pillar for preserving the stability of the international balance of power. Colombo was of the same opinion, refuting Soviet accusations of Italian subservience to the United States. The correspondent of *L'Unità*, the PCI's official newspaper, was more critical of "America's re-discovery of Italy," ascribing the fact that the US emphasized Italy's importance due to it being "more willing, more accommodating, and more malleable than its other European allies."<sup>424</sup> When confronted with the assessment expressed by some journalists upon his return to Rome that the visit had been a huge personal success for the Italian president, Pertini promptly replied, "Forget about personal success, it was a national success."<sup>425</sup> Pertini's visit to the United States of America resulted in an Italian media frenzy. This is best exemplified by the large number of newspaper clippings present in the Quirinal archives. While the documentation regarding most state visits made by Pertini occupy one *busta* (envelope), on this occasion a single *busta* is dedicated solely to the press. In Maccanico's judgment, unlike his predecessors, "in the United States, President [Pertini] was very good at conveying the image of a faithful, loyal ally, but not a subordinate one," even though Italy's image as a trustworthy country risked being undermined by domestic political instability."<sup>426</sup> Concordantly, Varsori argues that Pertini's visit and the liberation of General Dozier strengthened Italy's credibility in Washington. The former, in

---

<sup>422</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, discorso del presidente della repubblica alla Columbia University, 31/03/1982.

<sup>423</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>424</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "il commento dal nostro inviato" di Aniello Coppola, "L'Unità", 26/03/1982.

<sup>425</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.

<sup>426</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 196.

particular, served as a strong testament to the significant role Pertini played in shaping Italian foreign policy through his persona.<sup>427</sup> The Italian president was generally described by the American press as a friend of America, popular in his country, frank, and honest. Importantly, Pertini recognized and emphasized the importance of Italy being involved in all decisions made by major organizations and Western powers.<sup>428</sup>

## *21. State visit to Italy by the President of the USA Ronald Reagan, 7 June 1982*

The one-day visit by US President Reagan was held in restitution for Pertini's recent trip to the US, following the G7 meeting in Versailles between the 4th and 6th of June 1982, and as part of a series of bilateral visits to various European capitals.<sup>429</sup> Two significant events occurred before Reagan's arrival: the Argentine invasion of the Falklands (which had begun on April 2nd), and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982, carried out in order to root out PLO elements from the south of the country. According to Maccanico, Pertini was especially shocked and irritated by the Israeli initiative, to the point that he included a very harsh sentence for Israel in his toast during the luncheon in Reagan's honor, comparing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, saying: "we protest against this brutal invasion of Lebanon by Israel, just as we protested against the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union."<sup>430</sup> Prime Minister Spadolini (Spadolone, as Pertini often playfully called him) had pleaded for this addition to be toned down, but Maccanico replied that Pertini was displeased to the point that he believed an Israeli pilot shot down that day and paraded in Beirut as seen on television was an Arab being attacked by a mob of Israelis, and not the other way around.<sup>431</sup>

En route from Paris to Rome on the 7th, Reagan had an hour-long conversation with Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini, reviewing the Versailles outcomes and the deteriorating situation in Lebanon. Both Spadolini, who had surveyed Italian contacts in the region, and

---

<sup>427</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 420.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 421-422.

<sup>429</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.

<sup>430</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, brindisi per la colazione offerta dal Presidente della Repubblica in onore del Presidente degli Stati Uniti d'America Ronald Reagan, 07/06/1982.

<sup>431</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 209.

Reagan, expressed particular concern over the Israeli offensive and signalled support for a rapid suspension of hostilities. Landing in Rome, the American president then proceeded by helicopter to the Vatican, where the visit was officialized as a “private solemn audience,” and finally to the Quirinal where he met Pertini for a 30-minute private discussion.<sup>432</sup> There was some controversy due to the Vatican visit occurring prior to the one at the Quirinal. Maccanico was especially annoyed by the 45-minute delay with which Reagan arrived at the Quirinal after visiting the pope: “The discourtesy of the Vatican ceremonial staff reinforces our belief that a head of state should never again be allowed to visit the pope first and then the President of the Republic.”<sup>433</sup>

The two heads of state spoke mainly of their grave concerns for peace prompted by the dramatic events in Lebanon and the Falklands, as well as the Iran-Iraq war. Reagan informed Pertini that, in an attempt to restore peace in the Middle East, he had decided to send his special envoy Philip Habib to Israel. However, it was recognized that, alongside the many problems, there was reason for hope in the resumption of negotiations with the USSR on START II.<sup>434</sup> In fact, during a speech to Eureka college (Illinois, USA) on the 9th of May, Reagan had declared that “we must establish firm criteria for arms control,”<sup>435</sup> a message which the Soviets had “understood well” according to Petrignani in Washington, reassuring European countries,<sup>436</sup> also in view of the 10th of June 1982 Bonn NATO summit.<sup>437</sup> Regarding the Falklands, Pertini emphasized Italy's anguish over the conflict in the South Atlantic, which saw “the simultaneous involvement of undisputed bonds of ancient friendship and alliance with a European country and blood ties with a Latin American country.”<sup>438</sup> The ceasefire between Argentina and the United Kingdom, decided with United Nations Security Council Resolution 505 on the 26th of May

---

<sup>432</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Reagan, 07/06/1982.

<sup>433</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 209.

<sup>434</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Reagan, 07/06/1982.

<sup>435</sup> **Reagan**, Ronald. 1982. “Address at Commencement Exercises at Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois.” May 9. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-eureka-college-eureka-illinois>.

<sup>436</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/2 Ambasciata d’Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.

<sup>437</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, appunto della direzione generale degli affari politici del MAE riguardo il vertice atlantico di Bonn, 26/05/1982.

<sup>438</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, brindisi per la colazione offerta dal Presidente della Repubblica in onore del Presidente degli Stati Uniti d’America Ronald Reagan, 07/06/1982.

1982, eased Italy's position on sanctions,<sup>439</sup> which Rome had continued to express reservations on and only approved at the last minute on April 16th.<sup>440</sup> Italy was therefore able to suspend its sanctions on Argentina, increasing its credibility with Buenos Aires, which, it was hoped, could be “used to support further efforts to find an honorable compromise between the parties.”<sup>441</sup> In reality, Italy’s reluctance to impose sanctions was also due to the deep economic ties between the two countries, and the major investments large Italian companies had in the Latin American country.<sup>442</sup>

Maccanico noted in his diary that “Reagan's visit went very well,” in particular “his speech praising Pertini will remain memorable.”<sup>443</sup> Reagan had commented: "since I entered the White House, I don't remember witnessing a gesture as beautiful and moving as the one you made when you kissed our flag on that March morning!"<sup>444</sup> After a brief visit to Palazzo Chigi, where he also met with the police officers involved in Dozier's liberation, Reagan left for London.<sup>445</sup>

## 22. State visit to the French Republic, 5 - 9 July 1982

France held a special place in Pertini’s heart, as he had fled there between 1926 and 1929 for his opposition to fascism. The Italian president landed in Paris, the city where, during those years, he had washed taxis at night for two francs an hour and worked as a painter,<sup>446</sup> on the 5th of July, meeting with French President Mitterrand in the Élysée Palace.<sup>447</sup> In the meantime,

---

<sup>439</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 209.

<sup>440</sup> **Martin**, Lisa L. “Institutions and Cooperation: Sanctions during the Falkland Islands Conflict.” *International Security* 16, no. 4 (1992): 143–78. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539190>.

<sup>441</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/3 Ambasciata d’Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.

<sup>442</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell’Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 429.

<sup>443</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 209.

<sup>444</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, Quirinale palace luncheon toast, 07/06/1982.

<sup>445</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Reagan, 07/06/1982.

<sup>446</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, ritagli ANSA visita in Svizzera, 05/1981.

<sup>447</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, programma visita presidente Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.

Colombo met with French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson. Mitterrand's arrival at the Élysée Palace in 1981 had pushed France towards an economic policy based on nationalization and increased public spending, in contrast to the FRG's economic outlook, which would eventually lead the country to some financial difficulty that had already started manifesting itself in 1982.<sup>448</sup> The topics discussed by Pertini and Mitterrand focused mainly on European policies (particularly with regard to America, with its high interest rates and opposition to the Siberian gas pipeline), bilateral trade, and the desired technological cooperation between the two countries. Furthermore, it was noted by the foreign ministers that the G7 in Versailles had not improved, but rather worsened, the coordination of economic policy among member countries. The southward expansion of the EEC into Portugal and Spain, of which the Italians were the most ardent promoters, while the French were the most cautious, was also an important theme of the discussion. On the occasion of this visit, Pertini affirmed “his belief in the role of conciliation that a united Europe can play between the two superpowers,” provided that “it makes its weight felt,” which could be more easily achieved by expanding the community into Southern Europe. In this regard, Pertini stated: “I believe in a united Europe, but it must be achieved and therefore, in my opinion, Spain must also join the community. However, France does not seem to entirely agree on this: it is more reserved, adopting a wait-and-see approach.” Additionally, he expressed some criticism of the European Parliament, which “has remained an empty chamber that is not making itself heard!”<sup>449</sup>

The French press emphasized the important role that Italy could play between Europe and Latin America after the Falklands war, and Italy's importance in French European policy.<sup>450</sup> However, reference was also made, especially by French center-right newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, to some thorns in Italian-French relations. For example, the so-called “wine war” (caused by tariffs imposed by Paris on Italian wine, which was cheaper than French wine),<sup>451</sup> Italy's preference for acquiring American technology, and Italian fears of a resurgence of French

---

<sup>448</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 442.

<sup>449</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.

<sup>450</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, rapporto “Italia-Francia: stampa su Pertini a Parigi”, 05/07/1982.

<sup>451</sup> **Shuster**, Alvin. 1976. “From Paris - La Guerre Du Vin.” *The New York Times*, January 25, 1976. <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/01/25/archives/from-parisla-guerre-du-vin.html>.

protectionism. Despite this, there was certainty that none of these controversial issues would be raised by Pertini during his state visit, reflecting the almost symbolic and non-negotiating nature of these visits.<sup>452</sup> Pertini did not fail to be eccentric even during this occasion, commenting out of the blue to the director of the Petit Palais museum that “the Mona Lisa is ours,” adding “do you know that joke that says the French are not thieves but Bonaparte is?”<sup>453</sup>

Importantly, Mitterrand had also been involved in liberating France during WW2 as a partisan. According to Ridolfi, Pertini's relationship with French President François Mitterrand was intense, based both on a (partially) shared vision of the European future and a “shared sense of belonging to the “socialist family.”<sup>454</sup> The French president lauded Pertini, who once again kissed the flag of his host country, asserting he was “driven by the same passion for freedom, the same love for your country, and the same courage that Garibaldi had.” Pertini, for his part, confided that, like for Greece, he had cried at the announcement that the Fascist regime in Italy had declared war on France. Prior to the end of the official part of the visit, Pertini met with several members of the large Italian community in France at the embassy, where a screening of the Italy-Brazil World Cup match was organized, and expressed great enthusiasm for Italy's victory. On the 6th, the Italian President visited the headquarters of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), an institution to which Italy had markedly raised its contributions in recent years,<sup>455</sup> in particular to support the Organization's programs in favor of the Third World.<sup>456</sup> Pertini concluded his visit to France in Lille on July 8 and 9, declaredly, as signaled by a telegram of the MAE, in order to “allow him significant contact with French reality.”<sup>457</sup>

---

<sup>452</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, rapporto “Italia-Francia: stampa su Pertini a Parigi”, 05/07/1982.

<sup>453</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.

<sup>454</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>455</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.

<sup>456</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, pro-memoria dell'incontro di Pertini con il direttore generale dell'UNESCO della rappresentanza permanente dell'Italia presso l'organizzazione, 07/1982.

<sup>457</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, tel. n. 10520 Ambasciata d'Italia a Parigi, 26/05/1982.

Although the Mitterrand doctrine, the refusal to extradite Italians convicted for terrorist acts who sought refuge in France, would not officially begin until February 1985, its first signs were clearly already visible by 1982, despite not being present in writing anywhere in the archival documents relating to the visit. Pertini, who, according to Orsina, had “made the fight against terrorism as a new Resistance the leitmotif of an unequivocal message that drew on the president's partisan past,” was however unable to escape political tensions with France starting in 1982, especially in the context of the “April 7” case. The case had involved an investigation against the Workers' Autonomy movement (*Autonomia Operaia*), which rose to public prominence on the day of the first arrests (7th of April 1979). One of the accused, Oreste Scalzone, was arrested in France in September 1982. The Italian embassy in Paris had already made known, in June prior to Pertini's visit, that there were considerable difficulties relating to the application of the extradition agreement between the two countries, especially with regard to political crimes. Although, as mentioned, this did not become a topic of discussion during the visit, the evolution of this French policy would negatively affect relations between the two countries for many years to come.<sup>458</sup>

Maccanico described a very warm welcome for Pertini, with the press lavishing praise on the Italian president both for his past and his present as a “great interpreter of the Italian soul.” He himself claimed that Pertini was not very enthusiastic about the visit, but soon changed his mind, succeeding in his intention not to be monopolized by Mitterrand but also meeting other political figures such as Chirac and d'Estaing.<sup>459</sup> The “field test” of Italian-French relations, as it was defined by the Quirinal, had a positive outcome, although there was French reticence on various aspects of foreign policy that overlapped with Italian policy, especially on issues such as NATO and greater European integration.<sup>460</sup>

During Pertini's return trip from his state visit to France, the Italian president elected to go to Madrid for the World Cup final between Italy and West Germany. Maccanico was opposed to this decision, as he feared that the President would incur in some excesses. The Secretary General reports that Pertini decided to go to Madrid at the insistence of King Juan Carlos, who

---

<sup>458</sup> Orsina, Giovanni e Ridolfi, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, pp. 249-251.

<sup>459</sup> Maccanico, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 216.

<sup>460</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.

had telephoned him while he was in Paris to thank him for his efforts in favor of Spain's entry into the European Community, the news of Prime Minister Spadolini's intention to go, as Pertini was beginning to see Spadolini as a rival in popularity (a true demonstration of Pertini's character traits described in the first chapters), and the news of Chancellor Schmidt's arrival. According to Maccanico: "The excesses I feared did occur, but it seems that they contributed to increasing the president's popularity, or at least were received with sympathy by the people, both in Italy and abroad."<sup>461</sup> According to Varsori, the World Cup victory turned into an important "spontaneous display of national pride," to which Pertini contributed significantly with his enthusiastic participation in the final in Madrid and the images that remained etched in all Italian media of a photo taken on the return trip showing the Italian president playing cards with some of the national team players and their coach.<sup>462</sup> The images shown on Italian national television of Pertini celebrating the Italian team's goals next to King Juan Carlos were certainly an effort to both "humanize the institutions," but also, according to Fausto Colombo, to continue the "personalistic shift [of the president of the republic] that had characterized the entire presidency of the elderly anti-fascist."<sup>463</sup>

An additional important foreign policy event took place on the morning of September 14th 1982, with the visit of PLO leader Yasser Arafat to Rome. The request to invite Arafat to Italy was made by Andreotti, who, emboldened by Pertini's approval, pressured the pope to do the same, and succeeded in this as well.<sup>464</sup> Despite the advice of caution from the Quirinale staff, as is also evident from Maccanico's diary (he believed Andreotti had made a mistake in an attempt to do something that would please the PCI), Pertini decided to receive the PLO leader, albeit in a private meeting.<sup>465</sup> Although few in Italy directly criticized Pertini, predictably, the issue sparked fierce controversy among Israelis, despite the reserved nature of the meeting. According to Maccanico, the meeting was a hindrance to the ongoing negotiations for a solution in the Middle East, and weakened Italian foreign policy in the region. In fact, Spadolini did well

---

<sup>461</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 217.

<sup>462</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 427.

<sup>463</sup> **Orsina**, Giovanni e **Ridolfi**, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazioni delle democrazie euro-americane*, Roma: Viella, p. 278.

<sup>464</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 231.

<sup>465</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 426.

not to receive the PLO leader, as, in his opinion, it would have “caused Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to take a harder line, reinforcing the Israelis' fear of isolation,” as well as further damaging Italian-Israeli relations. Although the Italian President was persuaded at the last minute by Colombo to reconsider, Andreotti managed to keep the meeting alive by informing Pertini that the PLO had already been informed.<sup>466</sup> The Sabra and Shatila massacre (16-18 September), in which formations of christian militias affiliated with Tel Aviv executed hundreds of refugees, provided, as noted by Maccanico, justification in hindsight of the audience granted to Arafat. He also notes that Pertini seemed very committed and passionate to Middle Eastern issues, so much so that he began pushing then for the visit to Jordan, which would take place in November 1982.

Importantly for Pertini's stance and involvement on the Israel-Palestine question, on the 9th of October 1982 a group of Palestinian terrorists attacked the Great Synagogue of Rome, killing a two-year-old child, Stefano Gaj Tachè. Although Pertini took an immediate interest in the matter, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, Spadolini, and the chief of police advised him against visiting the site of the attack because the Jewish community in Rome would have strongly protested his presence there due to his recent meeting with Arafat. The Italian president saw Tachè's funeral on October 12 as an opportunity for full reconciliation with the Italian and Roman Jewish communities. At the same time, the Quirinale took action with the Israeli ambassador and the rabbi of the synagogue, Toaff, to overcome the resentment towards Pertini and achieve effective reconciliation, which was accepted by both parties. Pertini, who considered the misunderstanding with the Jewish community a source of great discomfort, was touched by this, and during the funeral, according to Maccanico, “wept with them.”<sup>467</sup> It is difficult, however, to imagine that reconciliation had also been obtained with the government in Tel Aviv.

### *23. State visit to Italy by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany Karl Carstens, 25 - 27 October 1982*

The need to create a Europe, as Pertini remarked, “that speaks, that counts, that occupies its rightful place in the dialogue between continents,” was at the center of the talks between the

---

<sup>466</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 231-232.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-236

Italian president and German president Karl Carstens, who arrived in Rome on the 25th of October. They left to the two foreign ministers, Colombo and Genscher, the discussion of the political issues in more detail, from Europe to Euro-American relations and East-West dialogue (in particular, the Siberian gas pipeline).<sup>468</sup> The theme of Europe was also predominant in the toasts made by the two heads of state during the state dinner hosted by Pertini at the Quirinale. Pertini emphasized the “essential” contribution of Italy and West Germany to the construction of Europe and to overcoming the “disastrous national rivalries” of the past, “so that the world never again accepts walls like the one in Berlin,” reiterating his support for the Spanish and Portuguese candidacy to the EEC.<sup>469</sup> Carstens, on the other hand, expressed the hope of the German people, who only partially belong to the European community, in overcoming the current division “through the free exercise of self-determination.”<sup>470</sup>

The next day, on the 26th, as proof that the “nationalist follies of the past” had been overcome, Carstens paid tribute to the site of the Fosse Ardeatine, where 335 Italian civilians were executed in retaliation by the Nazis in 1944. According to Pertini, this was confirmation that “Nazism should not be confused with the German people,” a principle that explained, among other things, the “current unresentful friendship between Italy and Germany.” The most important element of the second day of talks was certainly Colombo's proposal, fully supported by Pertini (who considered Europe to be at a “dead end”), for the creation of “a European council for the revival of Europe, which would not be limited to declarations of principle but would take concrete decisions affecting the political and economic structures of the community.” Colombo's request was made to West Germany in anticipation of the first half of 1983, when the Germans would hold the rotating presidency of the EEC. Pertini strongly agreed with Carstens' words, according to which “Europe cannot be just a customs union,” the West German president being likewise in agreement with the points raised by both Colombo and the Italian president,<sup>471</sup> as had already been ascertained by Colombo himself in a meeting with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn on

---

<sup>468</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.

<sup>469</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, brindisi al pranzo di stato offerto in onore del presidente e della signora Carstens, 25/10/1982.

<sup>470</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, risposta di brindisi di s.e. il presidente della Repubblica Federale di Germania Karl Carstens, 25/10/1982.

<sup>471</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.

October 8th.<sup>472</sup> The basic objective of the Italians at the time, as evidenced by MAE documents, was “the basic objective of a common policy intended to replace individual national policies.” Another important issue discussed was the repression in Poland following the imposition of martial law in 1981, about which Pertini also expressed the “deep concern” of the pope, who was Polish. Furthermore, within the framework of Euro-American relations, Italy and Germany were joint promoters of an attempt to establish a forum of meetings between the ten foreign ministers of the EEC in order to discuss current international issues. In particular, with regard to relations with the USSR, it was important, according to the Italian MAE, to highlight European preference in the use of political pressure (in the UN and the CSCE), as opposed to economic pressure, in attempts to influence the behavior of the USSR.<sup>473</sup> With the conclusion of these last talks, the West German president traveled to Palermo, before returning to Rome for an audience with the pope. Carstens concluded his visit to Italy in Milan, in line with the fact that a significant portion of trade between Italy and the FRG originated from northern Italy.<sup>474</sup>

The two visits, first to France and the second by Carstens to Italy, symbolize the concrete manifestation of an increasing willingness to further European integration (especially by the FRG and Italy), which Pertini espoused tirelessly. It is therefore important to note that these visits occurred in the context of the Genscher-Colombo declaration (November 1981) in favour of European integration (which the French were hesitant toward), and the renewed Franco-German couple personified by German Chancellor Kohl (elected on the 1st of October 1982) and Mitterrand, born in order to resolve the question of British reticence in contributing to the EEC budget.<sup>475</sup>

## **VI. Pertini’s Role in Italy’s Foreign Policy: 1983 - 1985**

---

<sup>472</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, tel. n. 8073/e direzione generale per gli affari politici MAE, 09/10/1982.

<sup>473</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, documentazione MAE visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.

<sup>474</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.

<sup>475</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico sulla visita in Francia del presidente Pertini, 07/1982.

#### 24. *Visit to the Council of Europe (Strasbourg), 26 - 27 April 1983*

The official part of Pertini's visit to the Council of Europe took place on April 27th 1983, in an attempt to minimize his time abroad given the domestic instability in Italy caused by the Fanfani government crisis.<sup>476</sup> The Council of Europe, Europe's oldest political body, founded in 1949 from the ashes of WW2, is an intergovernmental organization tasked with upholding human rights, democracy and the rule of law on the continent.<sup>477</sup> The speech Pertini gave to the parliamentary assembly of the Council on that day is perhaps one of the most important and influential of his term as Italian president. Many drafts exist within the archival documents of this visit, divided between speeches that give greater focus on political or technical issues, a clear sign of accurate preparation for an international forum that represented, especially to that generation, the birth of a new Europe in terms of human rights.<sup>478</sup> The speech, described by some commentators as that of “a young pacifist activist,” stood in stark contrast to the tradition of other, more blandly ceremonial speeches delivered on similar occasions in the same venue. In that international forum, Pertini decisively expressed his desire for peace and nuclear disarmament (although the council does not deal with defence matters), and human rights, core values of his views on foreign policy. His passionate appeal for total nuclear disarmament had a considerable impact in the press and in diplomatic circles: “if we do not want the curse of the youth, who have the right to live their lives to the fullest, to fall upon us we must work towards total and controlled disarmament [...] nuclear weapons must be destroyed, and nuclear energy must be used to advance humanity on the path to peace.”<sup>479</sup> He also insisted on the importance of a Europe where peace reigns: “Italy needs this Europe, just as Europe needs Italy” adding that “the whole world needs [Europe]. For centuries, Europe has been a battlefield; today, it must become a land of peace,” while at the same time denouncing the pushback to the inclusion of

---

<sup>476</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.

<sup>477</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, breve informativa sul consiglio d'Europa dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del PdR, 04/1983.

<sup>478</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, bozze del discorso di Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.

<sup>479</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.

Spain and Portugal in the EEC as “an expression of narrow-minded nationalistic selfishness,”<sup>480</sup> which was particularly appreciated by Madrid<sup>481</sup> and Lisbon.<sup>482</sup> Furthermore, Pertini expressed his hope that the EEC would accede to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), an international treaty of the Council of Europe, and although the issue was discussed the month after Pertini's speech at a closed meeting of permanent representatives to the Community, the EEC, which became the European Union in 1993, has not yet adhered to the ECHR.<sup>483</sup> The Italian permanent representation to the Council of Europe reported that Pertini's speech was considered by members of that parliament to have been “one of the most important events to have taken place in this organization in recent years,” adding that “the speech [...] was the one that best interpreted the mood of the parliamentarians,” especially when compared to previous analogous speeches by Mitterrand (September 1982) and Carstens (January 1983).<sup>484</sup>

Pertini's wishes for nuclear disarmament notwithstanding, the plans to deploy the euromissiles on Italian soil continued uninterrupted, despite strong pacifist movements in Europe and elsewhere emboldened by Pertini's rhetoric. This embarrassed elements of his party, the PSI, which would see its first prime minister in Bettino Craxi starting in August 1983, who nonetheless confirmed Italian participation in the program.<sup>485</sup> Importantly, certain assessments had also come to the attention of the Quirinal which asserted that the Soviets would be unresponsive in beginning negotiations on disarmament prior to the installation of the euromissiles.<sup>486</sup> In keeping with Maccanico's usual tone in his notes on Pertini's visits abroad, he declared that Pertini's day in Strasbourg was “triumphant,” his speech receiving great acclaim

---

<sup>480</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, edizione del secondo trimestre del 1983 del Forum del Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.

<sup>481</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel n. 653/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Madrid, 30/04/1983.

<sup>482</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, ritagli stampa portoghese sul discorso di Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 28/04/1983.

<sup>483</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel. n. 1271 della rappresentanza permanente dell'Italia presso la Comunità Economica Europea, 13/05/1983.

<sup>484</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel n.147, 29/04/1983.

<sup>485</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 434.

<sup>486</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 285.

and prolonged applause, further commenting that “everyone is impressed by the president's genuine, sincere, combative spirit.”<sup>487</sup>

#### 25. *Visit to Beirut (Republic of Lebanon), 4 November 1983*

The Mediterranean and the Middle East, in virtue of their geography, have always been a natural focus of attention for Italy. Since the end of World War II, due to the severe shortage of domestic fossil fuels, this region of the world soon began to be characterized by Italian foreign policy attempts to secure stable energy supplies. Italy's “Mediterranean role” was closely linked to this necessity was the need to maintain good relations with all the countries bordering the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. However, for Pertini, Italy's foreign policy in the region was to be mostly directed towards political and humanitarian goals, especially in the context of Israel-Palestine, rather than the need to secure economic influence. This was also communicated abroad. Already in January 1981, in an interview on French television, Pertini spoke of the need for Italy to take action to promote peace in the region, which became even more necessary with the worsening of the crisis in Lebanon starting in 1982. This is especially exemplified by three visits by Pertini, between 1983 and 1985, to Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt.<sup>488</sup>

Pertini visited the Italian contingent (Italcon) of the multinational peacekeeping force (MNF) in Beirut, Lebanon, on National Unity and Armed Forces Day. The MNF had been organized as a US-led coalition (along with the French, Italians and a small British contingent) and sent to Lebanon in August 1982 as an interposition force in order to ensure the safe withdrawal of the PLO from the country following the Israeli invasion in June of that year. While the mission had initially been relatively calm, following the assassination of Christian Lebanese President Bashir Gemayel, and the subsequent retaliation in the form of the Sabra and Shatila massacre, the situation deteriorated. Although the USSR vetoed the possibility of the intervention taking place under the auspices of the UN, Italian participation in the mission grew to more than two thousand soldiers. According to Varsori, Rome's goal in Lebanon was to

---

<sup>487</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 289-290.

<sup>488</sup> **Labbate**, Silvio. “Alla Ricerca Di Un *Mediterranean Role*: La Politica Estera Italiana Agli Inizi Degli Anni Ottanta.” *Meridiana*, no. 101 (2021): 145–68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27085859>.

maintain peace, remain neutral in the conflict between the factions, while also demonstrating Italy's presence in the Middle East, including through the use of military force.<sup>489</sup>

The possibility of a trip by Pertini to Beirut on the 4th of November 1983 had been proposed by Maccanico on the 24th of October, in view of Mitterrand's visit to the city, although Pertini initially rejected the idea.<sup>490</sup> The idea of a trip to Lebanon predated Maccanico's proposal, as it was contemplated as part of a first leg in the visit to Jordan which would eventually occur at the end of November, although originally the event was also scheduled as a state visit to President Gemayel.<sup>491</sup> Mitterrand had traveled to Beirut in order to pay homage to the 58 French victims of the terrorist attacks that targeted barracks housing American and French military personnel.<sup>492</sup> In a secret telegram, the Italian Ambassador in Beirut, Franco Lucioli Ottieri, advised against the visit, believing that one of the reasons for the lack of attacks on Italcon was the "low profile" maintained in the country so far, although he asserted that "the presence of the president, even for a few hours, would be a source of deep satisfaction and would encourage us to continue our difficult and dangerous work." In particular, Ottieri reported the presence of snipers who threatened the city's airport on a daily basis and, although the Italian contingent would do everything possible to ensure Pertini's safety, "the main responsibility still lies with the local government authorities" and the Lebanese police, described by the Ambassador as "not particularly efficient." He also pointed out that although Pertini's presence after that of Mitterrand and US Vice President Bush "would above all have the effect of tangibly reaffirming the commonality of intent" with the two countries, Italy's position of impartiality towards the Lebanon's internal conflicts could be undermined. Furthermore, the absence of President Amin Gemayel (elected in September as successor to his father, Bashir), who was attending the Geneva conference (an ultimately doomed attempt to find reconciliation between the parties in the Lebanon conflict), could have been interpreted as discourteous, a fact confirmed by the Italian ambassador in a meeting with Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem, who hoped the visit could

---

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., pp. 425-427

<sup>490</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 344.

<sup>491</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, appunto per il PdR dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 24/01/1983.

<sup>492</sup> **Dobbs**, Michael. 1983. "The Beirut Massacre." *The Washington Post*. October 25, 1983.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1983/10/25/the-beirut-massacre/b65481ff-c44c-4aa6-bb3a-2883ea14f7c4/>.

be rescheduled in order to assure Gemayel's presence.<sup>493</sup> Reasonably, the telegram raised some concerns within the Quirinal, with Maccanico asserting his belief that the government should assume responsibility for Pertini's trip to Beirut. To reduce the risks associated with it, the possibility of scheduling the visit for November 4th but then intentionally anticipating it to November 3rd without prior warning was also considered, although this would have partially undermined its political symbolism.<sup>494</sup> The Lebanese ambassador to Italy, in a discussion with the diplomatic protocol office of the MAE, also expressed his hope that the President of the Republic would consider another date, although Italian diplomats maintained that November 4th had symbolic value, and could not be called into question. Additionally, the ambassador was reminded that the visit to Lebanon was being made to the Italian contingent of the Multinational Force and not to the Lebanese Government, and therefore Gemayel's absence was not a sufficient reason to prevent it from taking place.<sup>495</sup> Unaware of Pertini's upcoming trip to Beirut, Spadolini, by then minister of defence in the Craxi government, traveled to the city to meet with Italcon soldiers on the 29th of October. This greatly irritated Pertini, who (somewhat hypocritically) called him a "vain prima donna," as he considered Spadolini's trip to be antithetical to his project.<sup>496</sup>

Maccanico recounts that Pertini was visibly tense the day prior to his departure, having the impression that the Italian president did not realize the risks associated with this visit. Further concern arose when, on the evening of November 3rd, news arrived of an attack on Arafat and a Syrian attack on the Palestinians.<sup>497</sup> For security reasons, the visit was not announced, but was subsequently confirmed by the Quirinal once the news it was taking place was broadcast by a Lebanese radio station.<sup>498</sup> Pertini landed in Beirut at 12:20 on November 4th, welcomed at the airport by Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan (given the absence of Gemayel), with whom

---

<sup>493</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel. n. 616 Ambasciata d'Italia a Beirut, 27/10/1983.

<sup>494</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 345.

<sup>495</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, appunto n. 023/12952 dell'ufficio del cerimoniale diplomatico della repubblica del MAE, 28/10/1983.

<sup>496</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 346.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.

<sup>498</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "Massimo segreto su Pertini a Beirut", "La Stampa", 03/11/1983.

he had a brief conversation without discussing political issues. Pertini was then accompanied by Ambassador Ottieri and General Angioni (head of Italcon) to the headquarters of the Italian contingent, where he also met with the commanders of the American, British, and French contingents of the MNF. A brief ceremony was then held in which the Italian president decorated General Angioni, kissed the Italian flag, and gave a speech. To demonstrate his sympathy for the soldiers, he exclaimed: "I didn't know what to bring you soldiers, so I decided to bring you 100 bottles of *Lambrusco* wine and 100 *panettone* cakes." Pertini also instructed the soldiers, members of a profession that had long been associated with the risk of right-wing coups in Italy, that their role was to be a "bulwark of the democratic institutions. Their mission [of the armed forces] is not aggression and offense, but the protection of independence and freedom; their daily, difficult task is the protection of populations and the safeguarding of peace."<sup>499</sup> The speech was followed by a lunch with Italian military personnel and an inspection of the military installations. Finally, Pertini made a quick tour of the city of Beirut, also passing through the Sabra and Chatila camps, before taking off for Rome at 15:45, a testament to the brevity of his visit.<sup>500</sup> Pertini did take some risks during his time in Beirut. He refused to wear a bulletproof vest, although he remained calm when bursts of gunfire erupted around the base and bullets whizzed over his head.<sup>501</sup>

The event was widely covered by both the Italian and foreign press. The Spanish newspaper *Ya*, for example, emphasized Pertini's trip as a gesture "of courage and example [...] especially given the signs of opposition to such participation in Italian public opinion, particularly after the recent massacre in Beirut."<sup>502</sup> The French newspaper *Le Monde* described Italian soldiers as "proud and martial [...] it is clear that Italians are loved by the Lebanese and

---

<sup>499</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, Discorso del Presidente della Repubblica ai militari del contingente di pace, 04/11/1983.

<sup>500</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel n. 636 Ambasciata d'Italia a Beirut, 05/11/1983.

<sup>501</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, "La visita del Presidente della Repubblica a Beirut. Servizio di Gino Nebiolo, con un pezzo in voce", "Giornale Radio di RAI Radio 2", 05/11/1983.

<sup>502</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel n. 1683 Ambasciata d'Italia a Madrid, 03/11/1983.

Palestinians.<sup>503</sup> Italian newspaper *Il Secolo XIX* reported that Pertini had “personally brought the country's solidarity to General Angioni and his men, right there in the theater of operations.”<sup>504</sup>

Varsori argues that the Italian military had “proven to be efficient and had been able to build a positive and humane relationship with the civilian population, particularly with the Palestinians, thanks in part to the construction of a field hospital open to anyone in need.” The Italian government's approach to the MNF was conditioned by a policy aimed at strengthening relations with the PLO, and Pertini was not alone in support of this, as Giulio Andreotti also played a decisive role, as previously described in the context of Arafat's visit in September 1982.<sup>505</sup> The mission in Lebanon was important, as already described, in determining a “rediscovery of patriotism,” of which Pertini would become one of the main promoters. Leo Valiani of the *Corriere Della Sera* took note of this, writing: “our officers and soldiers have earned, through their discipline and efficiency, praise from all those who have seen them at work in one of the most heated areas of the globe. Pertini, a valiant fighter in his time, goes to visit them on the day dedicated to the Armed Forces, in memory of November 4th, 1918” (date in which the Armistice of Villa Giusti was signed, ending Italy's participation in WW1).<sup>506</sup> Lebanon had also been the first ever Italian peacekeeping mission, and Pertini was quick to draw a neat distinction between this new generation of soldiers and older ones, saying about the Great War: “it was, like any war, cruel, devastating, tragically incapable of solving the real problems of humanity.” Likewise, referring to the soldiers who died during the Second World War, he was keen to emphasize that they had to “sacrifice their lives in a reckless and unjust adventure, wanted by a tyrannical regime.”<sup>507</sup>

Importantly, Amin Gemayel and Pertini would eventually have the chance to meet, when the former visited Rome on November 29th, an occasion in which Italy's contribution to the

---

<sup>503</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo “Gli italiani? Fieri e marziali”, “Il Manifesto”, 01/11/1983.

<sup>504</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo “Aperta nello scetticismo la conferenza sul Libano”, “Il Secolo XIX”, 01/11/1983.

<sup>505</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 425-427.

<sup>506</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo “solo per la pace” di Leo Valente, “Corriere della Sera”, 04/11/1983.

<sup>507</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne*. 2019. *Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

reconstruction of Lebanon was also discussed.<sup>508</sup> Although in practice the policy on Lebanon was mainly pursued by Craxi and Andreotti, in his capacity as representative of the Italian state Pertini managed to contribute to the positive impact on Italy's credibility in the eyes of the Arab world, especially due to the neutrality demonstrated by the Italians, as well as to an increase in the prestige of the Italian armed forces. In fact, the only Italian fatality of the mission up to that point had been *sottocapo* Filippo Montesi, killed in an ambush on March 22nd 1983, whose funeral Pertini attended (one other soldier would lose his life before the end of the mission).<sup>509</sup> This occurred despite the fact that the MNF mission ended in March 1984 with the failure of Western objectives, the loss of many French and American soldiers as a result of suicide attacks, and finally the withdrawal of troops.<sup>510</sup>

#### *26. State visit to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 26 - 28 November 1983*

Likewise important in the framework of Italy's Mediterranean policy, President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria visited Rome on 10-11 November 1983, holding talks with President Pertini. On this occasion, the Algerian president, described by Maccanico as a "very wise man," warned in no uncertain terms that the Syrians aimed to destroy the PLO in Lebanon because they had not given up on the idea of forming a "Greater Syria," and therefore partitioning Lebanon. President Pertini responded that "the Europeans had given the Israelis their homeland, but Arab states are not willing to give the Palestinians theirs."<sup>511</sup>

Pertini's visit to Jordan, during which he was accompanied by Foreign Minister Andreotti, followed the same political goals as his previous trip to Lebanon. Pertini had planned to visit Jordan shortly after his election to the *quirinale*. twice, however, in 1980 and November 1982, his visit to Jordan had to be canceled, when the dates of the trip had already been announced, due to government crises. A third cancellation, in March 1983, was caused by King Hussein's commitments in the negotiations for the resolution of the middle east crisis. The importance attributed to Jordan, according to Andreotti, was determined by the country's

---

<sup>508</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 357.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>510</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 435-438.

<sup>511</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 350.

“leading and irreplaceable role in the most delicate and controversial aspects of the Middle East problem.”<sup>512</sup> Additionally, Pertini had defined King Hussein a “very intelligent, wise man” for his way of “conducting a discourse based on moderation and a willingness to engage in dialogue.”<sup>513</sup> The first meeting between the heads of state took place upon Pertini's arrival on November 26th, going straight to the point to explore the possibilities for an effective contribution by the two countries to the Palestinian question and, consequently, to the broader Middle Eastern problem. Pertini stated his support for the idea of a Jordanian-Palestinian federation,<sup>514</sup> as envisioned by the Reagan plan (announced in September 1981, it proposed a “five-year transition period, during which Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza would obtain full autonomy, and an association of the territories with Jordan”).<sup>515</sup> In his official toast to Hussein at the state dinner, Pertini once again insisted on the path of peace, emphasizing that Italy was not limiting itself to mere exhortations, but to concrete actions such as the presence of the Italian contingent in Beirut, described several times by the president himself, including on other occasions, as a peacekeeping force. Furthermore, the Italian president expressed his desire that the Palestinians cease their internal struggles in order to see their aspirations fulfilled.<sup>516</sup> Hussein responded by expressing his “deep hope in the value of the important role that Italy is capable of assuming, in cooperation with the European community, in establishing the principles of justice” in the region<sup>517</sup>, especially in view of the fact that Jordan’s moderate political line was at risk of being isolated.<sup>518</sup>

---

<sup>512</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Giordania, 11/1983.

<sup>513</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo “Pertini: non sciolgo le camere” di Leonardo Coen, “La Repubblica”, 04/01/1983.

<sup>514</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Giordania, 11/1983.

<sup>515</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). President Reagan's Middle East Peace Initiative. CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4. 09/10/1982.

<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B00478R000800310001-9.pdf>

<sup>516</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto da s.m. il re di Giordania, 26/11/1983.

<sup>517</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 361 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman con allegato traduzione in Italiano del progetto di risposta al brindisi di Pertini, 24/11/1983.

<sup>518</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 187 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman, 21/06/1983.

What struck Maccanico most about the talks held on November 27th, which were extended to the rest of the respective delegations, were two statements made by King Hussein: if the MNF troops withdrew, Lebanon would surely fall back into the hands of extremists, but if these forces remained, their ultimate goal would need to be better defined. Secondly, the king said that pressure should be put on the Americans to resume talks on the West Bank and Gaza, and not to focus solely on Lebanon.<sup>519</sup> Importantly, he reminded the Italian delegation that the United State's Unilateral support and excessive leniency towards Israel was polarizing the Middle East, inevitably leading the Arab world to seek alternatives in the Soviet Union.<sup>520</sup> Another element that emerged from the discussions was Hussein's political aim to create, with European help, a moderate Arab line with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, with a view to the Reagan plan. Maccanico noted that the talks were "interesting, although longer than expected and did not lead to a precise definition of policy."<sup>521</sup> At the end of the official part of the state visit, Pertini engaged in an excursion of Jordan, visiting Petra and other historic sites, which did not however interrupt the dialogue with Hussein, as, contrary to protocol, the Jordanian king personally accompanied the Italian president. Pertini's visit was widely reported in the Jordanian press, especially given his condemnation of Israel. In another testament to the limits an Italian president has in formulating foreign policy, the Quirinal pointed out in a press note following the visit that "president Pertini is well aware of the limits of his constitutional prerogatives and therefore, even in the political discussions held in Amman, he limited himself to formulating general considerations. Among other things, he reiterated his negative opinion on Israeli settlements in the west bank after Camp David. After his brief comments, as is his custom, he then left it to the foreign minister to express the position of the Italian government."<sup>522</sup>

The announcement of an agreement for greater military cooperation between the US and Israel, signed on November 29th, also preoccupied Pertini.<sup>523</sup> The Italian president phoned

---

<sup>519</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 356-357.

<sup>520</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 10200/e MAE, 04/12/1983.

<sup>521</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 356-359.

<sup>522</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Giordania, 11/1983.

<sup>523</sup> **Gwertzman**, Bernard. 1983. "Reagan approves more cooperation with the Israelis." *The New York Times*, November 29, 1983.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1983/11/29/world/reagan-approves-more-cooperation-with-the-israelis.html>.

Spadolini and Craxi warning them that if anything happened to the Italian contingent, he would go public with the news that he had informed the government that such an agreement could provoke Syria. Pertini described himself as very skeptical about Syria, which he considered a Soviet satellite, something which had also been relayed to King Hussein. Maccanico, on the other hand, noted that he believed the agreement would have led Syria to be more cautious, as the Israelis would have had even more backing from the US. It is important to note that over time Pertini became increasingly supportive of the view that Italcon should withdraw because of the increasingly volatile situation in the country, and the risk this posed to Italian soldiers. Additionally, during a press conference on December 23rd he attacked the Americans, proclaiming “they defend Israel and not peace.” These statements became a source of embarrassment for the Italian government, and Spadolini threatened to resign.<sup>524</sup> Exemplifying Italy’s desire, and ability, to mediate and engage in talks with both sides of the Israel-Palestine issue, on the 28th of December Andreotti met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Minister of Foreign Affairs, informing them of the results of Pertini’s visit to Amman. Shamir explicitly stated that he wished to establish confidential contacts with Jordan in order to resume political discussions, adding that Tel Aviv would appreciate it if Italy could convey his message to the relevant authorities in Amman.<sup>525</sup> In his end-of-year message in 1983, Pertini denounced the Israeli government's responsibility in the massacre in Sabra and Chatila, a statement from which the Italian government nevertheless distanced itself. The Italian president praised King Hussein, likewise commended Italian soldiers participating in the peacekeeping mission in Lebanon, noting with satisfaction that the impartiality of the Italian contingent, the largest, had resulted in a very low number of casualties. Additionally, Pertini noted, quoting *The Washington Post*, that while the Americans and French were bombing rebels in the mountains, the Italians had been treating more than one thousand civilians a month in their field hospital.<sup>526</sup>

During this period, rumors began to spread about Pertini's possible nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. According to Maccanico, the “people's president” was pleased and began to

---

<sup>524</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 356-365.

<sup>525</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. segreto n. 10967/e MAE, 28/12/1983.

<sup>526</sup> **Pertini**, Sandro. 31/12/1983. “Discorso Di Fine Anno 1983.” <https://presidenti.quirinale.it/elementi/237247>.

consider the prospect with interest. However, he sent a telegram to the Nobel committee expressing his embarrassment at the noisy media campaign in favor of this initiative.<sup>527</sup>

### 27. Visit to the United Kingdom, 22 - 24 February 1984

Prior to Pertini's visit to the United Kingdom, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited the Italian president in Rome in January, Maccanico noting that "the president was very good, persuasive and took remedial actions to somewhat repair the rudeness of Craxi, who did not respond to Thatcher's greeting at the end of dinner."<sup>528</sup> The main reason behind Pertini's trip to London was a visit to the exhibition "The Genius of Venice" along with Queen Elizabeth on the 23rd, but it became an opportunity to strengthen bilateral ties between the two countries, and to conduct a state visit after a 15-year hiatus following Saragat's trip in 1969. Discussions in Downing Street on the 22nd of February 1984 with a delegation from the British government headed by Prime Minister Thatcher focused on East-West relations, with particular reference to the change in Soviet leadership (from Andropov to Chernenko), disarmament, the EEC and Argentina, in particular on the issue of *desaparecidos*.<sup>529</sup>

Importantly Italian-British relations, as well as Italian-Argentinian relations as shall be expounded upon later, had been conditioned during Pertini's presidency by the Falklands issue, especially the reluctance of some countries such as Italy to sanction Argentina, which had called into question the solidarity among EEC members.<sup>530</sup> On the 4th of November 1982 Spadolini (then Prime Minister), who was attending the UN General Assembly in New York, had informed Pertini that then Foreign Minister Colombo was very hesitant to align himself with other European countries in favor of abstaining on a resolution concerning the Falklands-Malvinas dispute (Malvinas being the Spanish name for the islands), because the Italian communists had strongly recommended that he vote with the Americans against the British. According to Maccanico, Pertini was surprised by this fact, because while the communist press was stirring up controversy over the Argentine *desaparecidos* (political prisoners who were usually thrown from

---

<sup>527</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 373-377.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>529</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, tel. n. 253 Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra, 15/02/1984.

<sup>530</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 427

helicopters into the sea), they were asking the Italian government to vote yes to the resolution in favor of Argentina<sup>531</sup> (as the resolution affected British sovereignty over the islands)<sup>532</sup>. For Pertini, there was a clear need for a more autonomous European position, and therefore one that was also in solidarity with the United Kingdom.<sup>533</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether Pertini's wishes influenced Italy's eventual decision to abstain in this vote, or whether he had at least some role in it.<sup>534</sup>

On European matters, discussions between Pertini and Thatcher, who Pertini complimented as a woman with “an iron will but a gentle soul,”<sup>535</sup> focus on the summit of the EEC that would occur the following month in Brussels.<sup>536</sup> The summit would be an important step in the enlargement of the EEC to Spain and Portugal, as a deadline for concluding the accession negotiations was set for the 30th of September 1984, although this was not ultimately respected.<sup>537</sup> However, in November the signing of the Brussels Agreement between the United Kingdom and Spain concerning the status of Gibraltar, correspondingly reopening its border with the rest of Iberia, paved the way for the continuation of accession talks which would conclude successfully in June 1985.

Moreover, regarding the Mediterranean, there had been between Italy and the United Kingdom a convergence of ideas on issues such as Lebanon, where the Italians welcomed the British contribution to the MNF, and Israel, where both countries were concerned about the lack of progress towards a negotiated solution. In reality, according to the Foreign Office, London's real intention was to scale down the frequency of government meetings with Rome, as they were considered to be at a lower level than those with France and the FRG. This suggested, however, that concerns about Italian Mediterranean policy, an area of historical conflict between the

---

<sup>531</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 237-238.

<sup>532</sup> United Nations General Assembly. *Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly. A/RES/37/9*, 4 November 1982. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/609117?ln=en>.

<sup>533</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 237-238.

<sup>534</sup> United Nations General Assembly. *Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly. A/RES/37/9*, 4 November 1982. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/609117?ln=en>.

<sup>535</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, brindisi del Presidente della Repubblica alla colazione offerta in suo onore dal Primo Ministro Signora Thatcher, 22/02/1984.

<sup>536</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, articolo in lingua inglese “Pertini and Thatcher discuss EEC summit” di Henry Stanhope, “The Times”, 23/02/1984.

<sup>537</sup> **Peñas**, Vanessa Núñez. 2015. “Spanish Accession to the EEC: A Political Objective in an Economic Reality.” *Cahiers de La Méditerranée*, no. 90 (June): 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.4000/cdlm.7883>.

United Kingdom and Italy, belonged, at least at that moment, in the past.<sup>538</sup> In fact, the visit provided an opportunity for an exchange of opinions regarding the Cypriot question (the north being occupied by Turkish troops since 1974), an island on which the British maintained military bases.<sup>539</sup>

Pertini's first ever voyage to the country was described by Italian newspaper *Il Giornale* as a "political-cultural trip." The newspaper also commented on the meeting the Italian president had with the former liaison officer between the British and the CLN during the closing years of WW2, who recounts of an occasion in which Pertini was given gold by the British in order to reach Milan, and, not needing it, returned the gold, an act which "hadn't "happened since the founding of the British empire."<sup>540</sup> Though brief, Pertini's trip to London was nevertheless part of a drive, of which Pertini was a strong advocate, to ensure a prosperous future for the EEC by confirming European solidarity and sympathy, which the Italian president brought much of to the British capital.

#### *28. Visit to the Holy See (21 May 1984) and Visit by Pope John Paul II to the Quirinal (2 June 1984)*

Despite the visit in May 1984 being Pertini's only official visit to the Vatican, the first by an Italian head of state in 18 years,<sup>541</sup> there had been multiple other visits and encounters of a more private nature between Pope John Paul II and the Italian president. The hosting of Pertini for breakfast in 1979 broke with the tradition that excluded Italian politicians from the papal table. Whether at the seaside, mount Adamello (July 26, 1984) or Pertini's visit to the Pope following an attempt on his life in 1981, these events presented a shift in mentality towards greater openness, especially given Pertini's atheism. It should also be noted that the two shared

---

<sup>538</sup> **Labbate**, Silvio. "Alla Ricerca Di Un *Mediterranean Role*: La Politica Estera Italiana Agli Inizi Degli Anni Ottanta." *Meridiana*, no. 101 (2021): 145–68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27085859>.

<sup>539</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, tel. n. 124 Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra, 25/01/1984.

<sup>540</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, tel. n. 253 Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra, 15/02/1984. **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, articolo "Da oggi Pertini è a Londra in viaggio cultural-politico" di Eugenio Melani, "Il Giornale", 22/02/1984.

<sup>541</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 516, tel. n. 4885 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 22/05/1984.

many of the same opinions regarding human rights and peace. According to Ridolfi, this relationship also had a political motive, while the Pope ensured better relations with the Italian state, the Italian president was increasing his popularity among Catholics.<sup>542</sup>

The event happened amidst the signing of the “new concordat,” also known as the “Villa Madama agreement,” between Italy and the Holy See on the 18th of February 1984, which “establishes the non-denominational character of the Italian Republic and recognizes the importance of decentralized state bodies and the Episcopal Conference.”<sup>543</sup> Maccanico reports that the visit went very well, with the usual breaches of protocol, with Pertini refusing to sit to the right of the Pope, while the meeting lasted longer than expected. The press gave prominent coverage to reports of the Italian president's visit to the Vatican. Another event that took place the day after the visit was a meeting with Soviet ambassador Lunkov, in which Pertini argued that a gesture of humanity was needed towards Soviet dissident Sakharov, undoubtedly in light of his own past as a dissident, wondering why he was not simply sent abroad.<sup>544</sup> Unlike other visits, archival documentation regarding Pertini's visit to the Vatican mainly refers to protocol and the exchanging gifts, comparing previous visits by presidents of the republic.

The pope returned the visit on June 2nd, 38th anniversary of the birth of the Italian Republic. The Quirinal interpreted the choice of that date for the return visit as a sign of particular courtesy on the part of the pontiff.<sup>545</sup> According to Maccanico, it was a solemn event with a few ceremonial errors, which no one noticed, and another long direct conversation between the president and the pope.<sup>546</sup> As already outlined, the two were considered to be friends, and events that transpired in May-June 1984 certainly seem to confirm that fact. Also relevant was the fact that the pope had just returned from a series of visits to developing

---

<sup>542</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne*. 2019. *Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>543</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 516, articolo “Pertini e Wojtyla” di Lorenzo Bianchi, “Il Resto del Carlino”, 05/05/1984.

<sup>544</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 422-423.

<sup>545</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 516, articolo “Pertini e Wojtyla” di Lorenzo Bianchi, “Il Resto del Carlino”, 05/05/1984.

<sup>546</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 427.

countries, spreading a message of tolerance and comprehension, while also denouncing war as man's curse.<sup>547</sup>

On the 11th of June 1984 longtime leader of the PCI Enrico Berlinguer died. His funeral a few days later provided another opportunity for dialogue with both the communist and the Arab worlds. The morning of the 14th was certainly busy for Pertini, as he again met with Arafat, Gorbachev (at the time a Secretary of the Central Committee), and had lunch with Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang all in the span of a few hours. 1984 concluded with two other protocolary visits to the Republic of San Marino (20th October 1984) and the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (6th November 1984).<sup>548</sup>

### *29. Visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt, 16 - 19 February 1985*

During those years, Italy had always shown itself ready to demonstrate its support for Egypt, with which it had always maintained friendly relations, as evidenced by the dispatch of warships to the Red Sea as part of the MFO starting in 1981.<sup>549</sup> This visit was part of that effort. The visit also took place in the context of the Palestinian peace process and the situation in Lebanon, which have already been discussed at length. Pertini arrived in Cairo on the 16th, while talks with Egyptian authorities took place the next day. Discussions occurred first separately, Pertini and Mubarak on one side and Andreotti and Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs Boutros-Ghali on the other, and then in joint delegations. Maccanico notes that the Italian president launched into a vehement verbal attack against Ariel Sharon, former Israeli defense minister during the Sabra and Chatila massacre.<sup>550</sup> Like Jordan, Egypt, and other “moderate” Arab countries hoped for a pan-European initiative to support Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue on the one hand, and to put pressure on Israel and the United States on the other, without neglecting

---

<sup>547</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 896, brindisi del presidente della repubblica italiana a s.s. il papa, 02/06/1984.

<sup>548</sup> “Portale Storico Della Presidenza Della Repubblica.” n.d. Quirinale.it.

<https://archivio.quirinale.it/aspr/diari/EVENT-002-009870/presidente/alessandro-pertini>.

<sup>549</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 424-425.

<sup>550</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 520.

to involve Syria as well.<sup>551</sup> Mubarak considered relations between the Jordanians and the PLO to be of the utmost importance, given that they served as a prelude for discussions between Amman and Tel Aviv. Additionally, Mubarak described the three-stage withdrawal plan for Israeli forces from Lebanon as “intelligent,” emphasizing positively the fact that it was a total withdrawal and not simply a partial one, for which the Israelis had already taken into account the foreseeable difficulties that Syria could pose. In fact, the plan provided for a system of prior approval for the transition from one stage of the withdrawal to the next. If the Syrians were to create difficulties, the Israelis could always block their withdrawal. However, with the Israeli withdrawal completed, Syria would have found itself in an awkward position if it wanted to maintain their troops in Lebanon.<sup>552</sup>

At the toast during the dinner held in his honor, after tracing the similarities in the history of the two countries and peoples, Pertini focused on the international context of the time, stating that “Egypt, which for centuries has been the center of the world, is today at the heart of the vast community of Arab peoples and at the focal point of one of the most troubled areas of the planet,” recognizing its role of “great and growing importance for the restoration of peace in this part of the world.”<sup>553</sup> Mubarak's Egypt had managed to emerge from the isolation to which it had been confined in the Arab world after the peace with Israel, without however calling it into question nor renouncing its privileged relationship with the United States. Furthermore, at the request of Egypt and Israel, the presence of the Italian contingent in Sinai was extended until March 1986.<sup>554</sup> Following a visit to Alexandria, Pertini traveled to El Alamein for a ceremony at the site of the battle, the first president of the republic to do so, and finally to Luxor, before returning to Rome.<sup>555</sup>

---

<sup>551</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, tel. n. 568/e MAE, 14/01/1985.

<sup>552</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, tel. n. 1497/e MAE, 28/01/1985.

<sup>553</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, brindisi del p.d.r al pranzo offerto in suo onore dal presidente della Repubblica Araba d'Egitto, 16/02/1985.

<sup>554</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del p.d.r riguardo la visita di Pertini in Egitto, 02/1985.

<sup>555</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 520.

30. *State visit to the Argentine Republic (9 - 11 March 1985), and State visit to the Argentine Republic and the Oriental Republic of Uruguay (21 - 23 May 1985)*

Pertini's visit to Argentina was meant to last until March 13th, but was interrupted on the afternoon of March 11th, 1985, when the president decided to travel to Moscow for the funeral of President Chernenko (General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), a sign of his unwavering attention to the evolution of Soviet policy. Pertini's visit was meant to conclude in Brasilia for the inauguration of the new President of the Federative Republic of Brazil José Sarney, following the end of Brazil's military dictatorship. Chernenko's short tenure in government had seen an increase in diplomatic tensions with Washington on the euromissile initiative.<sup>556</sup> The latter part of the program was postponed by two months (May 21-23), and completed by a trip to Uruguay. Chernenko's funeral had led to the rise to power of Gorbachev, to whom Pertini was keen to give his political and moral support,<sup>557</sup> and provided an opportunity to maintain open channels of dialogue with the intent of improving human rights conditions in the eastern bloc.<sup>558</sup>

Argentina was undergoing a process of democratization following the end of military dictatorship in late 1983, which had seen the election of Raúl Alfonsín. Pertini's visit, the visit of a former "partisan for liberty," was therefore well seen in the country and became a high-profile event. Giorgio Benvenuto, secretary general of the UIL trade union (*Unione Italiana del Lavoro*, Italian Labor Union), following a trip to Latin America, informed the president at the time of the great esteem in which Argentinians, Chileans, and Uruguayans held him, especially in communities of Italian descent, for "the consistency of his anti-fascist commitment and the challenge he had thrown down to the military juntas of Chileans, and Uruguayans, especially in communities of Italian descent, for "the consistency of your anti-fascist commitment and the challenge you have thrown down to the military juntas of the Southern Cone." He also informed him that these communities felt their potential as a bridge with the continent was being underestimated by Rome, compared to the growing interest shown by Madrid, Lisbon, and even

---

<sup>556</sup> **Schmemmann**, Serge. 1984. "Chernenko Urges U.S. To Take Steps to Help Relations." *The New York Times*, March 3, 1984.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/03/03/world/chernenko-urges-us-to-take-steps-to-help-relations.html>.

<sup>557</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>558</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 19.

Paris.<sup>559</sup> Pertini had shown great interest for the domestic vicissitudes in Argentina throughout his presidency. On the 24th of January 1982 entry, Maccanico wrote in his diary: “There was a meeting, the third in the series, with the Argentine women of the *desaparecidos*. The honorable Susanna Agnelli came to tell him [Pertini] that these interventions in their favor deeply irritated the Argentine people, under a military dictatorship, because for years they had been at the mercy of a fierce civil war. These interventions would irritate and not facilitate the democratic evolution of that regime.” While the issue of the *desaparecidos* continued to inflame Italian newspapers, especially due to the fact some of them held dual Italian-Argentinian citizenship, Pertini was able to demonstrate his constant interest in the problem, something for which the press gave him credit.<sup>560</sup> Pertini had begun to express interest in a trip to Argentina since the end of the dictatorship, which did not occur, according to speculation by the Italian press, due to the opposition of the Argentine military.<sup>561</sup> Despite the many economic and political issues Argentina was facing at the time, the influence of the military seemed to be diminishing, according to a letter sent by the Italian Ambassador in Buenos Aires to Foreign Minister Andreotti.<sup>562</sup>

After the state dinner and talks with President Alfonsín on the 9th, which importantly also centered on the issue of *desaparecidos* with dual citizenship, the 10th was a day dedicated mainly, according to Maccanico, to Italians. Pertini met with representatives of human rights associations, including the “Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo,” an association formed by the mothers of the *desaparecidos*, and concluded the day with a speech in a stadium to members of the diaspora.<sup>563</sup> The Italian president did not escape some protests, especially in the form of flyers accusing him of having “blood on his hands” for his actions as a partisan during World

---

<sup>559</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, lettera del segretario generale UIL Giorgio Benvenuto diretta a Pertini, 30/09/1983.

<sup>560</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 187, 238.

<sup>561</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, articolo “Il Viaggio di Pertini Bloccato dai Militari?” di Luigi Berto, “Il Messaggero”, 29/07/1984.

<sup>562</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, lettera dell’Ambasciatore d’Italia a Buenos Aires diretta al Ministro Andreotti, 19/12/1984.

<sup>563</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 522, programma della visita del p.d.r in Argentina, 03/1985.

War II and for “instigating communist terrorism in his country.”<sup>564</sup> The visit saw numerous requests for meetings with the Italian presidents from fellow countrymen, a sign of the great excitement surrounding his visit.<sup>565</sup>

Pertini's decision to interrupt his trip to Latin America on the 11th to attend Chernenko's funeral was met with perplexity and controversy. There was regret among Italians in Brazil and Argentina, as well as direct criticism from many Italian parties and the press, which pointed out that Italy would still be represented by the prime minister. Pertini defended himself, stating: “they don't understand here. Why shouldn't I go to Moscow? Mitterrand, Thatcher, and Bush are there.” Further controversy arose as the Alitalia aircraft meant to bring Pertini back to Italy was found to have been sabotaged. Upon learning of the fact, the Italian president asked his delegation the following question: “where is our police?”<sup>566</sup> Maccanico also tried to persuade Pertini to continue his visit, although the latter was convinced he had to go to Moscow. In his diary, the Quirinal's secretary general writes that “the incident greatly affected the journalists traveling with the delegation. Without exception, they are critical of the decision to cut short the visit in order to travel to Moscow [...] and consider the tampering with the aircraft to be an act of sabotage by the [Argentine] military.” Maccanico was also certain that Pertini's decision would preclude him from being reelected as president of the republic. The Italian president eventually departed on a plane provided by the Argentine national carrier.<sup>567</sup> The Argentine justice system attempted to attribute responsibility for the accident to the Alitalia technicians of the aircraft, ruling out the possibility of an intentional attempt to sabotage the flight.<sup>568</sup> Alitalia, on the other hand, maintained in an official communiqué that there had been “intentional tampering” of the

---

<sup>564</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, comunicato della “Mesa de Coordinación Permanente de la Colectividad Italiana en Argentina”, 11/03/1985.

<sup>565</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 522, corrispondenza varia Argentina riguardo la visita di Pertini nel paese, 03/1985.

<sup>566</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, tel. n. 34546 Ambasciata d'Italia a Buenos Aires, 01/04/1985.

<sup>567</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 528-529.

<sup>568</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, tel. n. 34546 Ambasciata d'Italia a Buenos Aires, 01/04/1985.

aircraft's tyre inflation valves.<sup>569</sup> In a subsequent report commissioned by an Italian judge, aircraft experts confirmed that the aircraft had indeed been sabotaged.<sup>570</sup>

Pertini returned to Buenos Aires on May 21st, resuming the March visit program without the trip to Brazil, which was replaced with a state visit to Uruguay, another country with a strong Italian presence. Clearly, the main purpose of these visits was to reaffirm Italy's ties with the Italian diaspora in the south of Latin America, and to coronate the recent democratization of countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. In fact, following his visit to the Argentinian capital, Pertini traveled to Córdoba for the inauguration of the "Italian-Argentine Center for Advanced Technology," donated by the Italian government.<sup>571</sup> The visit to Uruguay, another Latin American country that had recently emerged from a dictatorship (on March 1st, 1985), was also a great success.<sup>572</sup>

### *31. Visit to the European Parliament (Strasbourg), 11 June 1985*

Pertini's last visit as president of the Italian Republic was made to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, where he gave a speech on the 11th of June 1985, a sign of his continued endeavors for greater European integration. Another Italian also played a fundamental role in this regard: Altiero Spinelli, one of the authors of the Ventotene Manifesto (for the promotion of European political unity) in 1941, who had been elected in 1979 as member of the European Parliament. Spinelli had been able to rally the majority of MEPs around the goal of strong political integration. The revival of the European federalist ideal found great support in Italy, not only in the figure of Pertini but also in many Italian parties, forming a commonality of ideas rarely seen in other political issues. The appointment of Jacques Delors as president of the European Commission had provided further impetus for greater European integration, as did the

---

<sup>569</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Argentina, 03/1985.

<sup>570</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, articolo "Fu sabotato l'aereo di Pertini, lo hanno accertato gli esperti", "Corriere della Sera", 15/05/1985.

<sup>571</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 523, articolo "Proyección del nuevo centro tecnológico" di Ernesto Ponsanti, "La Nación", 20/05/1985.

<sup>572</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 523, rapporto MAE visita di Pertini in Uruguay, 05/1985.

Dooge and Adonnino committees, formed in an attempt to reform the 1957 Treaty of Rome.<sup>573</sup> In an attempt to further this, Pertini recalled during his speech: “the Europe of which I speak and to which I speak today is that of the European citizen that I have striven to be since the distant day in 1941 when I participated in the federalist initiative of the Ventotene Manifesto launched by Altiero Spinelli, who today seems to have become, with his endless beard, the patriarch of the United States of Europe [...], but his whole life demonstrates that this ideal, despite the passage of time, has not aged with men, on the contrary it is constantly reborn and will continue to do so until it becomes reality [...]. Europe will not descend from the sky, and will not be created by an invisible hand. It will be shaped by the real forces that, from within and without, act in its favor, and by our own will.”<sup>574</sup> According to Maccanico, the visit was a triumph. Pertini's speech was very well received,<sup>575</sup> and came “at the right moment to give new impetus to the ideal” of a true European Union.<sup>576</sup> Additionally, it received considerable attention in the press throughout the continent.<sup>577</sup>

Although the possibility of Pertini's re-election was far from ruled out, and, as Maccanico put it, was “greatly feared,” ultimately the “people’s president” would hand over the reins of the Quirinal to Francesco Cossiga in July 1985.<sup>578</sup> Pertini’s political efforts continued after the end of his term in his capacity as senator for life. He ultimately died in Rome on the 24th of February 1990, at the age of 93.<sup>579</sup>

## VII. Conclusions

---

<sup>573</sup> **Varsori**, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 442-443.

<sup>574</sup> **Ridolfi**, Maurizio, *L'immagine de La République Italienne. 2019. Les Voyages à l'étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985)*, Cahiers de la Méditerranée. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>, pp. 77-88

<sup>575</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 561.

<sup>576</sup> **Stabile**, Alberto. 2025. “Pertini E Il Sogno Di Ventotene: ‘L’Europa Deve Essere Unita.’” *La Repubblica*. March 20, 2025.

[https://www.repubblica.it/dossier/cultura/cinquanta-anni-di-repubblica/2025/03/20/news/pertini\\_manifesto\\_ventoten\\_e\\_europa\\_unita\\_1985\\_stabile\\_50\\_anni\\_repubblica/](https://www.repubblica.it/dossier/cultura/cinquanta-anni-di-repubblica/2025/03/20/news/pertini_manifesto_ventoten_e_europa_unita_1985_stabile_50_anni_repubblica/).

<sup>577</sup> **Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR)**, fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 524, tel. n. 967 Ambasciata d'Italia a Bonn, 12/06/1985.

<sup>578</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 375.

<sup>579</sup> “Biografia.” 2002. Associazione Nazionale Sandro Pertini. 2002. <http://www.pertini.it/biografia.htm>.

This thesis has given a comprehensive overview of all of the relevant foreign policy undertakings by Italian President Sandro Pertini. The goal now will be to analyze whether these 31 visits demonstrate an effective role in Italian foreign policy by the “people’s president.” A different approach than the one utilized, one grouped by geographical area or major themes, might have overlooked the minutiae of Pertini’s efforts abroad. There were certain geographical areas with which Pertini felt a particular affinity, and in which he had a keen interest: the Middle East, and Israel-Palestine in particular, Europe, in his efforts to further European integration, and Latin America, a continent that was undergoing a wave of democratization. All these areas likewise reflected his main concerns in foreign policy: world peace, European integration and human rights. In these cases, a distinct Pertinian foreign policy did exist, intimately shaped and intertwined with his character, focusing on the main issues that moved the man most. The president’s uncompromising nature emerges through the common thread that ran through all of his major visits, that is, the values and issues which he was particularly devoted to. Pertini’s “role” in the sense might have been that the issues closest to his heart were placed more at the center of Italian international relations in the years 1978-1985.

As was the case with many diplomatic events, Pertini was not present during the discussions which mattered most in terms of policy, although he had a hand in ensuring that visits took place, and was ultimately the most prestigious voice in terms of dictating the general direction of Italian intent internationally. Pertini was a trailblazer furthering Italian foreign policy, his visits marked a first in many countries for an Italian president. He generally adapted himself to the government’s policy, not going much further, except in terms of the influence he brought through his irrepressible personality. However, the “people’s president” also placed himself above the parties (especially in the context of the beginning of the “party crisis” in Italy), and concentrated on certain foreign policy functions normally reserved for governments. This resulted in some contrasts with the Italian government on the line to be adopted in foreign policy, the most glaring example of which occurred regarding the Lebanese issue at the end of 1983.

Pertini held an important stature in Europe, in part due to his efforts to obtain the accession of other Southern European countries, and also due to the specific political situation which had made Italy a channel for dialogue with the Americans. Furthermore, Pertini’s voiced aversion to neocolonialism granted him great prestige in the eyes of the developing world. There existed, overall, a global perception of Pertini as a moral leader, arguably because of a definite

moral compass shaped by his experiences prior to the presidency. In any case, his popularity was extended abroad, serving as a powerful tool of Italian foreign policy. It cannot be denied that with him in the presidency, Italy's image in the world improved, as he was able to project a powerful image of Italy abroad through the authority of his personal history and moral stature. While Maccanico attempted to tone many of the more curt aspects of his personality, it appeared as if these were the main features which endeared him both to Italians and to the people he met abroad.

Perhaps owing to his old age, the frequency of Pertini's foreign visits decreased towards the end of his term. This may also have been due to an increase in the stability of the Italian government with Craxi's election in 1983, which meant the prime minister was able to assume a larger role in Italy's foreign policy. Pertini's presence at the Quirinale facilitated the rise of the socialist secretary to Palazzo Chigi, who was destined to have a concrete influence on the country's foreign policy. The old partisan was confirmed by Maccanico on some occasions to be having health problems, although he frequently asserted that the rumors that were circulating were alarmist. Pertini also exhibited some lapses in his words, although this was perhaps due more to the nature of the man, rather than his age. For example, in his new year's speech in 1983 he confused Guatemala with Nicaragua.<sup>580</sup>

While it may be sensible to argue that Pertini's role in foreign policy was dictated most by a selfish desire to aggrandize himself and his reputation, or to assert that Pertini's foreign policy did in fact have concrete goals, the true answer probably lies somewhere between these two judgements. It is true, however, that no Italian president since Pertini has demonstrated the same outwardly nature in expressing their values on the world stage, his tenure saw a definite crossing of institutional boundaries which in turn affected Italian foreign policy. It likewise saw great attention being given by the Quirinal to positive media coverage both domestically and abroad. Domestically, in order to be able to exert more political influence, and abroad, in order to obtain legitimacy and, as embodiment of the Italian state, increase its prestige. During his term the international press repeatedly emphasized the unprecedented nature of Pertini's ability to generate such widespread attention and sympathy for the Italian Republic.

---

<sup>580</sup> **Maccanico**, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu, Preface by Eugenio Scalfari. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 250, 308-309.

Judging the concrete responsibility that Pertini had in the discussion of the issues that most interested diplomats and other government officials during trips abroad is hard, but it can be said with certainty that his presence provided a forum and possibly some influence. In fact, the importance of his visits is perhaps not fully attributable to his input but rather to the opportunity presented for discussion between other government officials on the sidelines. The “people’s president” presided over the years of greatest success for Italian foreign policy, at the height of the country’s influence. There is no doubt that he played a role in this, and although it may not have been crucial, he certainly contributed in promoting the image of Italy in an ever-changing international context, highlighting his social and humanitarian values.

## Bibliography

### *I. Archival Sources,*

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Ritagli stampa ANSA MAE, 25/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, tel. n.885450 ambasciata Bonn del diplomatico Corrado Orlandi Contucci, 17/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, appunto per il PdR del consigliere diplomatico, 29/06/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, lettera scritta dal presidente RFT Walter Scheel al presidente Pertini, 20/09/1978.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, rapporto visita nella Repubblica Federale di Germania dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 17/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, sintesi MAE per le conversazioni politiche generali in occasione della visita del presidente della repubblica nella RFG, 1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, tel. n. 790217/0036 ambasciata Bonn del diplomatico Corrado Orlandi Contucci, 17/02/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Udienze, busta n. 721, appunto riepilogativo rapporti Italia-RDT MAE, 1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, appunto del segretario generale di un incontro con l'ambasciatore sovietico, 6/08/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, lettera del cittadino RFG Frank Schöttner, 30/06/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, Intervista quotidiano RFG Die Welt, 18/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, discorso Pertini colazione in suo onore RFG, 18/09/1979.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 493, discorso di risposta del Signor Presidente della Repubblica al discorso del Presidente della Repubblica Federale di Germania, 18/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera di Augusta al consigliere diplomatico del Quirinale, 27/09/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, scambio di lettere consigliere diplomatico e ambasciatore d'Italia a Belgrado, 15/06/1979-7/07/1979
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, risposta del PdR al brindisi del presidente della repubblica socialista federativa di Jugoslavia, 11/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, appunto del cerimoniale diplomatico della repubblica MAE per il Quirinale, 3/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, telegramma destinato all'ambasciata di Bonn riguardo comunicato congiunto Italia-Jugoslavia, 5/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, supplemento economico del quotidiano "la voce del popolo", 28/12/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, intervista alla rivista "start" di Zagabria, 4/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera n. 1342 destinata al signor Felice Ceccarelli, 13/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera del signor Sereno Detoni al consigliere diplomatico del PdR riguardo il circolo italiano in Zara, 22/12/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, telegramma associazione deportati Jugoslavia famiglie caduti dispersi e combattentistiche patriottiche Gorizia, 9/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, lettera n. 1726 associazione deportati Jugoslavia famiglie caduti dispersi e combattentistiche patriottiche Gorizia, 12/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, articolo "non dimenticare i martiri delle foibe titine" del "secolo d'Italia", 6/10/1979.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, deliberazione comitato unione monarchica italiana di Trieste, 9/10/1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 494, possibili argomenti di conversazione per la visita in Jugoslavia MAE, 1979.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, elementi per gli appunti del consigliere diplomatico, 05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1955 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 21/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 1827 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 14/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, tel. n. 800513/8848 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Algeri, 13/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, Appunto per il Presidente della Repubblica, 9/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, cenni sull'Algeria dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del PDR, 05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 495, relazione della direzione generale dell'emigrazione e degli affari sociali riguardante i problemi della collettività italiana in Algeria, 28/04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, rapporto dell'Ambasciatore Marras sulla visita di stato, 31/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, corrispondenza da parte di privati spagnoli, 05-06 1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, articolo "intrecci molto sottili per ampliare l'europa" di Gaetano Cafiero e Gaither Stewart ne "Il Settimanale", 3/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, programma ufficiale della visita di Pertini in Spagna, 05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto in suo onore dai sovrani di spagna, 26/05/1980.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 496, articolo del quotidiano spagnolo “Ya” intitolato “Discursos europeistas del Rey y del Presidente italiano”, 27/05/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa ANSA, 19-21/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, ritagli stampa americani riguardo visita Carter, 06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, trascrizione intervista a Carter di giornalisti RAI e La Stampa , 13/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, dichiarazione di stampa congiunta della visita, 21/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, brindisi in onore del presidente Carter, 20/06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 886, documentazione MAE “problemi del raccordo con gli Stati Uniti e trattazione temi politici internazionali al Vertice di Venezia, 06/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, ritagli ANSA visita Cina, 09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, trascrizione articolo BBC visita di Giscard d'Estaing in Cina, 10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, tel. n. 762 Ambasciata d'Italia a Pechino, 18/07/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, appunto per l'Ambasciatore Calenda dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 16/04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, discorso di Pertini al ricevimento in suo onore, 18/09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, editoriale del “Quotidiano del Popolo”, 18/09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo del “Quotidiano del Popolo”, 17/09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497,

editoriale “Fuori dal Mondo” di Enzo Sermasi intitolato “I Viaggi di Sandro Polo”, “Il Mondo”, 01/10/1980.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Ai Cinesi sono Piaciuto” di Roberto Tumbarello, “Gente”, 01/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Il Ciclone Sandro” di Nello Ajello, “L'Espresso”, 28/09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, articolo “Tanta simpatia pochissimi affari” di Lanfranco Vaccari, “L'Europeo”, 29/09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, spunti di conversazione del MAE per la visita del capo di stato in Cina, 09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 497, documento segreto del MAE sui rapporti PCI-PCC, 09/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Regina Elisabetta, 14/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, lettera di un “loyal australian”, 18/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, “stampa britannica sulla visita della regina Elisabetta II in italia” del servizio stampa del Quirinale, 21/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, articolo “Queen thanks Italy for help over EEC budget” di Rupert Cornwell, “Financial Times”, 14/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, articolo “mafia gun down royal guests” di James Lewthwaite, “The Sun”, 20/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, brindisi del presidente della repubblica a s.m. regina Elisabetta, 14/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, risposta di s.m. regina Elisabetta al brindisi del presidente della repubblica, 14/10/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, ritagli ANSA visita Grecia, 11/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 2346 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 29/10/1980.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 533/C Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 04/11/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, tel. n. 534/C Ambasciata d'Italia ad Atene, 04/11/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 499, corrispondenza privata visita pdr in Grecia, 11/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, testo del servizio TG1 delle 20:00, 17/12/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, lettera n. 3932 dell'Ambasciatore d'Italia a Belgrado, 5/12/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, ritagli ANSA visita Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 887, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del Quirinale sulla visita di stato di Cvijetin Mijatović, 12/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, ritagli ANSA visita Messico, 03/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica al congresso degli stati uniti del messico, 26/03/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 500, rapporto sul viaggio in Messico dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 03/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 501, brindisi al pranzo offerto dal presidente della repubblica di Costa Rica, 30/03/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 501, articolo "el hombre de la calle" di José Salgar, "El Espectador", 11/04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, ritagli ANSA visita reali di Spagna, 04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, appunto MAE riguardo la vertenza FIAT-SEAT, 18/04/1981.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, rapporto sulla visita in Italia dei reali spagnoli dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 889, rapporto MAE sulla possibilità di una cooperazione Roma-Madrid in America Latina, 04/1980.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, ritagli ANSA visita in Svizzera, 05/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, risposta del presidente della repubblica alla allocuzione del presidente della confederazione elvetica in occasione dell'incontro con il consiglio federale, 18/05/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, tel. n. 38130 Ambasciata d'Italia a Berna, 16/05/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 502, resoconto stampa visita Pertini in Svizzera, 05/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, tel. n. 2578 Ambasciata d'Italia a Lisbona, 01/09/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale Portoghese "Expresso", 24/10/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica all'assemblea nazionale portoghese, 24/10/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale portoghese "Correio da Manhã", 24/10/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 503, articolo del giornale portoghese "O Dia", 24/10/1981.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.742/C MAE, 02/02/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.2743 Ambasciata d'Italia al Cairo, 27/01/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, tel n.3 ministeriale segreto diretto all'Ambasciata d'Italia al Cairo, N/A.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, ritagli ANSA visita Mubarak, 01/02/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, brindisi del presidente della repubblica alla colazione in onore del presidente Mubarak, 30/01/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 890, rapporto sulla visita in Italia del presidente Egiziano Mubarak dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del presidente della repubblica, 01/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, appunto per il pdr del consigliere diplomatico, 24/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, ritagli ANSA visita Pertini in Giappone, 03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, dichiarazione congiunta fine visita di stato del presidente Pertini in Giappone, 13/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, tel n. 0174 Ambasciata d'Italia a Tokyo, 20/01/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, articolo "Suzuki ringrazia Pertini: ha detto che il Giappone è giunto al benessere senza ricorso alle armi" di Pio d'Emilia, "Il Messaggero", 04/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, articolo "Polemiche in Giappone per il discorso alla Camera" di Pio d'Emilia, "Il Messaggero", 26/01/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 504, appunto MAECI per la segreteria generale sugli spunti di conversazione per il presidente Pertini durante la sua visita di stato in Giappone, 02/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, indirizzo del presidente della repubblica alla dieta, 11/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, articolo "Presidente in gabbia", "Panorama", 09/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, articolo "Pertini: 'Ogni capo di Stato dovrebbe andare a Hiroshima'", "La Stampa", 16/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, "Pertini

ha conquistato un Giappone difficile, a Tokio è piaciuto il pacifista”, “La Repubblica”, 16/03/1982.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 505, “Pertini: con Reagan desidero parlare soprattutto di pace”, “Il Tempo”, 16/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, ritagli ANSA visita USA, 03-04/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera dell’Ambasciatore Roberto Gaja al Cons. Giulio Cesare Garaguso Consigliere Diplomatico Aggiunto del Presidente della Repubblica, 11/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, articolo “New Image, New Influence”, “Time”, 29/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera n. 03115 Ambasciatore Rinaldo Petrignano a Emilio Colombo, 18/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, lettera n. 02481 Ambasciatore Rinaldo Petrignano a Emilio Colombo, 10/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, tel n. 595 Ambasciata d’Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, intervista di Pertini con il corrispondente TIME Barry Kalb, 22/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 506, “Il presidente che conosco” di Richard N. Gardner, “Corriere della Sera” Edizione Romana, 23/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, brindisi pronunciato dal Presidente Reagan in occasione del pranzo ufficiale alla Casa Bianca, 25/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, Discorso alla colazione offerta dal Presidente della Camera dei Rappresentanti e dai Presidenti delle Commissioni Affari Esteri del Senato e della Camera dei Rappresentanti, 25/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, brindisi alla colazione offerta dal Segretario Generale dell'ONU, 31/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, discorso del presidente della repubblica alla Columbia University, 31/03/1982.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 507, rapporto sui temi di maggiore rilievo fra quelli di cui è attualmente investita l'ONU della Rappresentanza Permanente dell'Italia presso le Nazioni Unite, 03/1982
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, tel n. 596/FIN. Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, spunti di conversazione del MAE per la visita del capo di stato in USA, 03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "Il 'fattore Pertini' forse innervosirà Reagan" di Guido Molledo, "Il Manifesto", 25/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "Pertini e Reagan ricordano i 25 anni della Comunità", "Il Popolo", 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "il commento dal nostro inviato" di Aniello Coppola, "L'Unità", 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "La verve di Pertini conquista Reagan: 'Anche lei potrebbe fare l'attore'" di Vladimiro Odinzov, 27/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "Pertini negli USA: troppe H, bisogna negoziare" di Aniello Coppola, "L'Unità", 27/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "San Francisco 'impazzita' per Pertini proclama tre giorni di festa ogni anno" di Gianfranco Piazzesi, 29/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 508, articolo "Reagan gives Italian a strong welcome" di Steven R. Weisman, "The New York Times", 26/03/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Reagan, 07/06/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/2 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, tel n. 1061/3 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 02/06/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, brindisi per la colazione offerta dal Presidente della Repubblica in onore del PResidente degli Stati Uniti d'America Ronald Reagan, 07/06/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, Quirinale palace luncheon toast, 07/06/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 893, appunto della direzione generale degli affari politici del MAE riguardo il vertice atlantico di Bonn, 26/05/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, programma visita presidente Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, rapporto "Italia-Francia: stampa su Pertini a Parigi", 05/07/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico sulla visita in Francia del presidente Pertini, 07/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini in Francia, 07/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, pro-memoria dell'incontro di Pertini con il direttore generale dell'UNESCO della rappresentanza permanente dell'Italia presso l'organizzazione, 07/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 510, tel. n. 10520 Ambasciata d'Italia a Parigi, 26/05/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, brindisi al pranzo di stato offerto in onore del presidente e della signora Carstens, 25/10/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, risposta di

brindisi di s.e. il presidente della Repubblica Federale di Germania Karl Carstens, 25/10/1982.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, tel. n. 8073/e direzione generale per gli affari politici MAE, 09/10/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 894, documentazione MAE visita Carstens in Italia, 10/1982.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, ritagli stampa ANSA visita Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, edizione del secondo trimestre del 1983 del Forum del Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel. n. 1271 della rappresentanza permanente dell'Italia presso la Comunità Economica Europea, 13/05/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel. n. 653/1 Ambasciata d'Italia a Madrid, 30/04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, tel. n.147, 29/04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, ritagli stampa portoghese sul discorso di Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 28/04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, bozze del discorso di Pertini al Consiglio d'Europa, 04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 511, breve informativa sul consiglio d'Europa dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del PdR, 04/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel. n. 616 Ambasciata d'Italia a Beirut, 27/10/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, appunto n. 023/12952 dell'ufficio del cerimoniale diplomatico della repubblica del MAE, 28/10/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel. n. 636 Ambasciata d'Italia a Beirut, 05/11/1983.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, tel n. 1683 Ambasciata d'Italia a Madrid, 03/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, appunto per il PdR dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico, 24/01/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "Gli italiani? Fieri e marziali", "Il Manifesto", 01/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "Aperta nello scetticismo la conferenza sul Libano", "Il Secolo XIX", 01/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "Massimo segreto su Pertini a Beirut", "La Stampa", 03/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "solo per la pace" di Leo Valente, "Corriere della Sera", 04/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, articolo "Pertini: non sciolgo le camere" di Leonardo Coen, "La Repubblica", 04/01/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, Discorso del Presidente della Repubblica ai militari del contingente di pace, 04/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 513, "La visita del Presidente della Repubblica a Beirut. Servizio di Gino Nebiolo, con un pezzo in voce", "Giornale Radio di RAI Radio 2", 05/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. segreto n. 10967/e MAE, 28/12/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Giordania, 11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 10200/e MAE, 04/12/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 187 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman, 21/06/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto da s.m. il re di Giordania, 26/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n.

361 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman con allegato traduzione in Italiano del progetto di risposta al brindisi di Pertini, 24/11/1983.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. segreto n. 10967/e MAE, 28/12/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Giordania, 11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 10200/e MAE, 04/12/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 187 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman, 21/06/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, brindisi del presidente della repubblica al pranzo offerto da s.m. il re di Giordania, 26/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 514, tel. n. 361 Ambasciata d'Italia ad Amman con allegato traduzione in Italiano del progetto di risposta al brindisi di Pertini, 24/11/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, tel. n. 253 Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra, 15/02/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, articolo "Da oggi Pertini è a Londra in viaggio cultural-politico" di Eugenio Melani, "Il Giornale", 22/02/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, articolo in lingua inglese "Pertini and Thatcher discuss EEC summit" di Henry Stanhope, "The Times", 23/02/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, brindisi del Presidente della Repubblica alla colazione offerta in suo onore dal Primo Ministro Signora Thatcher, 22/02/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 515, tel. N. 124 Ambasciata d'Italia a Londra, 25/01/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 516, tel. n. 4885 Ambasciata d'Italia a Washington, 22/05/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 516, articolo "Pertini e Wojtyla" di Lorenzo Bianchi, "Il Resto del Carlino", 05/05/1984.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Visite di Capi di Stato e personalità estere, busta n. 896, brindisi del presidente della repubblica italiana a s.s. il papa, 02/06/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, tel. n. 568/e MAE, 14/01/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, tel. n. 1497/e MAE, 28/01/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, brindisi del p.d.r al pranzo offerto in suo onore dal presidente della Repubblica Araba d'Egitto, 16/02/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 520, rapporto dell'ufficio del consigliere diplomatico del p.d.r riguardo la visita di Pertini in Egitto, 02/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, lettera del segretario generale UIL Giorgio Benvenuto diretta a Pertini, 30/09/1983.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, articolo "Il Viaggio di Pertini Bloccato dai Militari?" di Luigi Berto, "Il Messaggero", 29/07/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, lettera dell'Ambasciatore d'Italia a Buenos Aires diretta al Ministro Andreotti, 19/12/1984.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, tel. n. 34546 Ambasciata d'Italia a Buenos Aires, 01/04/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, ritagli stampa ANSA visita in Argentina, 03/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, articolo "Fu sabotato l'aereo di Pertini, lo hanno accertato gli esperti", "Corriere della Sera", 15/05/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 521, comunicato della "Mesa de Coordinación Permanente de la Colectividad Italiana en Argentina", 11/03/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 522, programma della visita del p.d.r in Argentina, 03/1985.

- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 522, corrispondenza varia Argentina riguardo la visita di Pertini nel paese, 03/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 523, articolo "Proyección del nuevo centro tecnológico" di Ernesto Ponsanti, "La Nación", 20/05/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 523, rapporto MAE visita di Pertini in Uruguay, 05/1985.
- Archivio storico della Presidenza della Repubblica (ASPR), fondo Ufficio per gli Affari Diplomatici, serie Viaggi all'estero del Presidente della Repubblica, busta n. 524, tel. n. 967 Ambasciata d'Italia a Bonn, 12/06/1985.

## II. Monographs, Edited Volumes, and Journal Articles.

- Acciavatti, Alessandro. 2016. *Oltretevere. Il Rapporto Tra I Pontefici E I Presidenti Della Repubblica Italiana Dal 1946 a Oggi*. Segrate: Edizioni Piemme.
- Arconti, Laura, and Turco, Maurizio. 2016. *Marco Pannella, Il Partito Radicale, La Nonviolenza*. Reality Book.  
<https://www.partitoradicale.it/wp-content/uploads/2016libro-marco-pannella-la-nonviolenzatesto.pdf>
- Barra, Luca. 2021. *10 giugno 1983: Vermicino e la prima tv del dolore*. Il Mulino, 4 (Supplemento), p.75.  
[https://cris.unibo.it/bitstream/Barra-Mulino-10giugno201983.Vermicinoelaprimatvdel2001ore\\_cover.pdf](https://cris.unibo.it/bitstream/Barra-Mulino-10giugno201983.Vermicinoelaprimatvdel2001ore_cover.pdf)
- Bindi, Federiga. 2020. "Italy and the European Union." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 17 Dec.  
<https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-184>.
- Cacioli, Manuela e Curti, Laura (a cura di). 2013. *Viaggi All'estero Dei Presidenti Della Repubblica Italiana E Visite in Italia Di Capi Di Stato Esteri (1948-2006)*. Segretariato Generale della Presidenza della Repubblica, Archivio Storico. Roma: Tipografia Grasso Antonino.  
[https://archivio.quirinale.it/discorsi-bookreader/altre-pubblicazioni/Viaggi\\_all\\_estero\(1948-2006\).html#page/58/mode/2up](https://archivio.quirinale.it/discorsi-bookreader/altre-pubblicazioni/Viaggi_all_estero(1948-2006).html#page/58/mode/2up)
- Di Mino, Massimiliano, and Di Mino Pier Paolo. 2011. *Il Libretto Rosso Di Pertini*. Roma: Alberto Castelvechi Editore.
- Gavin, Michael. 2010. *The Mexican Oil Boom: 1977-1985*.  
<https://doi.org/10.18235/0011582>
- Hayes, Mark H. 2004. "Algerian Gas to Europe: The Transmed Pipeline and Early Spanish Gas Import Projects." In *Geopolitics of Natural Gas*. Rice University: Baker Institute for Public Policy.  
<https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/algerian-gas-to-europe-the-transmed-pipeline-and-early-spanish-gas-import-projects>.

- Labbate, Silvio. 2021. “Alla Ricerca Di Un Mediterranean Role: La Politica Estera Italiana Agli Inizi Degli Anni Ottanta.” *Meridiana*, no. 101: 145–68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27085859>.
- Maccanico, Antonio. 2014. *Con Pertini al Quirinale. Diario 1978-1985*. Edited by Paolo Soddu. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Maccotta, G. Walter. 1993. “Osimo Visto Da Belgrado.” *Rivista Di Studi Politici Internazionali* 60, no. 1 (237): 55–67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43785618>.
- Mammarella, Giuseppe, and Cacace, Paolo. 2011. *Il Quirinale. Storia politica e istituzionale da De Nicola a Napolitano*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1992. “Institutions and Cooperation: Sanctions during the Falkland Islands Conflict.” *International Security* 16, no. 4: 143–78. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539190>.
- Mastio, Michele, e Tebaldi, Mauro. 2004. *Le esternazioni del capo dello stato fra prima e seconda repubblica, un'indagine politologica*. Associazione per Gli Studi E Le Ricerche Parlamentari, Seminario 2003, Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore, pp. 243-80.
- Novelli, Edoardo. 2006. *La Turbopolitica. Sessant'anni di comunicazione politica e di scena pubblica in Italia 1945-2005*. Milano: Rizzoli, p. 168.
- Oreste, Massari. 2009. “La parabola dei partiti in Italia: da costruttori a problema della democrazia.” *Democrazia e Diritto* 3: 23-46. DOI: 10.3280/DED2009-003003. <https://disp.web.uniroma1.it/s/Lapaboladeipartiti.pdf>
- Orsina, Giovanni, e Ridolfi, Maurizio (a cura di). 2012. *La Repubblica del Presidente. Istituzioni, pedagogia civile e cittadini nelle trasformazione delle democrazie euro-americane*. Roma: Viella.
- Peñas, Vanessa Núñez. 2015. “Spanish Accession to the EEC: A Political Objective in an Economic Reality.” *Cahiers de La Méditerranée*, no. 90 (June): 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.4000/cdlm.7883>.
- Polito, Fiorenzo. 2024. “I Molti Volti Degli Anni Ottanta Nella Cooperazione Allo Sviluppo. Nuovi Paradigmi, Riforme E Ascesa Delle Ong.” In *L'Italia Repubblicana E Gli Aiuti Internazionali*, edited by Silvia Salvatici and Annalisa Urbano, 179–200. Firenze: Firenze University Press.
- Ridolfi, Maurizio. 2019. “L’image de La République Italienne. Les Voyages à l’étranger Du Président Sandro Pertini (1978-1985).” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, pp. 77-88. <https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/12728#text>
- Taggart, Seamus. 2014. “Italian Relations with China 1978-1992: The Long Carnival Decade - Burgeoning Trade and Diplomatic Kudos.” *Cahiers de La Méditerranée*, no. 88 (June): 113–34. <https://doi.org/10.4000/cdlm.7512>.
- Tedesco, Federica. 2018. *Il Presidente Della Repubblica Pertini: Un Leader Morale Nella Crisi Dello Stato Democratico*. Tesi, LUISS. [https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192\\_TEDESCO\\_FEDERICA\\_Federica%20Tedesco,%20Tesi%20SP,%202017-2018,%20PDF.pdf](https://tesi.luiss.it/21741/1/080192_TEDESCO_FEDERICA_Federica%20Tedesco,%20Tesi%20SP,%202017-2018,%20PDF.pdf)
- Varsori, Antonio. 2022. *Dalla Rinascita al Declino. Storia Internazionale Dell'Italia Repubblicana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

### III. News Articles.

- Corriere Della Sera. 1982. “L’Italia Ha Vinto Il «Mundial»,” July 12, 1982. [https://www.corriere.it/Speciali/Extra/2006/Germania2006/diario/pop\\_primacorriere1982g.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/Speciali/Extra/2006/Germania2006/diario/pop_primacorriere1982g.shtml).
- De Cataldo, Giancarlo. 2016. “Pertini, Il Nonno Che Volle Una Vita Spericolata.” *La Repubblica*. September 23, 2016. [https://www.repubblica.it/cultura/2016/09/23/news/pertini\\_il\\_nonno\\_che\\_volle\\_una\\_vita\\_spericolata-148365659/](https://www.repubblica.it/cultura/2016/09/23/news/pertini_il_nonno_che_volle_una_vita_spericolata-148365659/).
- Di Michele, Stefano. 2014. “Giocare Sulla Sinistra.” @*Ilfoglio\_it. Il Foglio*. June 25, 2014. <https://www.ilfoglio.it/articoli/2014/06/25/news/giocare-sulla-sinistra-74406/>.
- Dobbs, Michael. 1983. “The Beirut Massacre.” *The Washington Post*. October 25, 1983. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1983/10/25/the-beirut-massacre/b65481ff-c44c-4aa6-bb3a-2883ea14f7c4/>.
- Evening star. [volume] (Washington, D.C.), 11 May 1945. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1945-05-11/ed-1/seq-2/>.
- Gwertzman, Bernard. 1983. “Reagan Approves More Cooperation with the Israelis.” *The New York Times*, November 29, 1983. <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/11/29/world/reagan-approves-more-cooperation-with-the-israelis.html>.
- Labich, Kenneth. 1978. “Italy: An Honest Man Resigns.” *TIME*. June 26, 1978. <https://time.com/archive/6849986/italy-an-honest-man-resigns/>.
- Lazzari, Riccardo. 2025. “Il Traforo Di Monte Croce Carnico Sembra Essere La Scelta a ‘Minor Impatto Ambientale.’” *UdineToday*. July 30, 2025. <https://www.udinetoday.it/cronaca/traforo-monte-croce-scelta-sostenibile.html>.
- Markham, James M. 1979. “Arafat Ends Visit to Spain, Praising Its Mideast Stand.” *The New York Times*, September 16, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/09/16/archives/arafat-ends-visit-to-spain-praising-its-mid-east-stand-special-ties.html>.
- Montanelli, Indro. 1963. “L’Italia Ha Vinto Il «Mundial»,” *Corriere Della Sera*. October 27, 1963, p.3. [https://archivio.corriere.it/Archivio/interface/view\\_preview.shtml#!/NzovcGFnZXMy](https://archivio.corriere.it/Archivio/interface/view_preview.shtml#!/NzovcGFnZXMy).
- Montanelli, Indro. 2001. “Pertini, Una Vita Piena Di ‘Gesti.’” *Corriere.it. Corriere della Sera*. April 13, 2001. <https://www.corriere.it/solferino/montanelli/01-04-13/01.spm>.
- Observer-Reporter. 1984. “Pope John Takes to the Ski Slopes,” July 17, 1984. [https://books.google.it/books?id=BYxiAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA10&dq=Pertini&article\\_id=1209\\_2434172&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiSgrfO0\\_ONAxURgf0HHWIZMXkQ6AF6BAGEEAM#v=onepage&q=Pertini&f=false](https://books.google.it/books?id=BYxiAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA10&dq=Pertini&article_id=1209_2434172&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiSgrfO0_ONAxURgf0HHWIZMXkQ6AF6BAGEEAM#v=onepage&q=Pertini&f=false).
- Repubblica.it. 2013. “Da Enrico de Nicola a Carlo Azeglio Ciampi: I 10 Presidenti Che Hanno Preceduto Napolitano.” *La Repubblica*. April 8, 2013. [https://www.repubblica.it/speciali/politica/elezioni-presidente-repubblica-edizione2013/2013/04/08/foto/da\\_enrico\\_de\\_nicola\\_a\\_carlo\\_azeglio\\_ciampi\\_i\\_10\\_presidenti\\_che\\_hanno\\_preceduto\\_napolitano-56209430/1/](https://www.repubblica.it/speciali/politica/elezioni-presidente-repubblica-edizione2013/2013/04/08/foto/da_enrico_de_nicola_a_carlo_azeglio_ciampi_i_10_presidenti_che_hanno_preceduto_napolitano-56209430/1/).

- Schmemmann, Serge. 1984. "Chernenko Urges U.S. To Take Steps to Help Relations." *The New York Times*, March 3, 1984.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/03/03/world/chernenko-urges-us-to-take-steps-to-help-relations.html>.
- Sergio Mattarella, 66% Dei Voti: Nono in 'Classifica' Tra I 12 Presidenti. 2015. *Ilfattoquotidiano.it. Il Fatto Quotidiano*.  
<https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/01/31/sergio-mattarella-gli-undici-predecessori-presidente-repubblica/1386414/&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1754073684531917&usg=AOvVaw10XdCDCu-YvfPusnP7rDWJ>.
- Shipler, David K. 1982. "Israel Rejects Arab Plan, Terming It Destructive." *Nytimes.com. The New York Times*. September 11, 1982.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/11/world/israel-rejects-arab-plan-terming-it-destructive.html>.
- Shuster, Alvin. 1976. "From Paris - La Guerre Du Vin." *The New York Times*, January 25, 1976. <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/01/25/archives/from-paris-la-guerre-du-vin.html>.
- Stabile, Alberto. 2025. "Pertini E Il Sogno Di Ventotene: 'L'Europa Deve Essere Unita.'" *La Repubblica*. March 20, 2025.  
<https://www.repubblica.it/dossier/cultura/cinquanta-anni-di-repubblica/2025/03/20/news/pertini-manifesto-ventotene-europa-unita-1985-stabile-50-anni-repubblica/>.
- Tanner, Henry. 1978. "A President 'for All Italians.'" *The New York Times*, July 10, 1978.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1978/07/10/archives/a-president-for-all-italians-sandro-pertini-man-in-the-news-from.html>.
- Tanner, Henry. 1978. "President of Italy Resigns in Scandal." *The New York Times*, June 16, 1978.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1978/06/16/archives/president-of-italy-resigns-in-scandal-leone-linked-to-lockheed-case.html>.
- The daily worker. [volume] (Chicago, Ill.), 10 June 1933. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.  
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020097/1933-06-10/ed-1/seq-6/>.
- UPI. 1981. "Left-Wing Writer Flees Bogota for Mexico City." *The New York Times*, March 27, 1981.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1981/03/27/world/left-wing-writer-flees-bogota-for-mexico>.

#### IV. Sitography.

- "Biografia." 2002. Associazione Nazionale Sandro Pertini. 2002.  
<http://www.pertini.it/biografia.htm>.
- Bisiach, Gianni . 1992. "Testimoni Oculari - La Liberazione Di Milano." Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana.  
<https://archivio.quirinale.it/aspr/gianni-bisiach/AV-002-000597/la-liberazione-milano-seconda-puntata#n>.
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Communist Participation in the Italian Government?. EUR M 84-10022. 1984. [https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC\\_0001144724.pdf](https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0001144724.pdf).

- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Small Group Meeting on the Proposed Buckley Mission to Europe, February 24, 1982. CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4. 1982. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4.pdf>.
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). President Reagan's Middle East Peace Initiative. CIA-RDP83M00914R000500090017-4. 09/10/1982. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B00478R000800310001-9.pdf>.
- “Compromesso Storico.” 2010. Enciclopedia Treccani. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/compromesso-storico\\_\(Dizionario-di-Storia\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/compromesso-storico_(Dizionario-di-Storia)/).
- “Early Days (1967-1969) | Airbus, a Leading Aircraft Manufacturer.” 2011. Airbus.com. 2011. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110705195621/http://www.airbus.com/company/history/the-narrative/early-days-1967-1969/>.
- “Esternazione.” n.d. In *Enciclopedia Treccani*. <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/esternazione/>.
- Grassi, Gaetano. 1977. *Verso Il Governo Del Popolo. Atti e Documenti Del CLNAI 1943 - 1946*. Milano: Feltrinelli. <https://www.bdl.servizirl.it/bdl/bookreader/index.html?path=fe&cdOggetto=953#page/310/mode/2up>.
- Italia. *Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*. 1948. Roma: Gazzetta Ufficiale, artt. 80, 87. <https://www.senato.it/istituzione/la-costituzione>.
- Mathieu, Vittorio. 1957. “BARATONO, Adelchi.” Enciclopedia Treccani. 2023. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adelchi-baratono\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adelchi-baratono_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).
- Pertini, Alessandro. 1978. “Giuramento e Messaggio del Presidente della Repubblica.” July 9. [https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per\\_a\\_insediamento.html](https://presidenti.quirinale.it/page/7/per_a_insediamento.html).
- Pertini, Alessandro. 1978. “Messaggio di Fine Anno 1978.” <https://presidenti.quirinale.it/elementi/237242#:~:text=lo%20ripeto%20qui%20a%20voi, stanno%20lottando%20contro%20la%20fame>
- Pertini, Alessandro. 1983. “Speech made to the Assembly Wednesday, 27 April 1983.” <https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/Speeches/Speech-XML2HTML-EN.asp?SpeechID=174>
- Pertini, Sandro. 31/12/1983. “Discorso Di Fine Anno 1983.” <https://presidenti.quirinale.it/elementi/237247>.
- “Portale Storico Della Presidenza Della Repubblica.” n.d. Quirinale.it. <https://archivio.quirinale.it/aspr/diari/EVENT-002-009870/presidente/alessandro-pertini>.
- Reagan, Ronald. 1982. “Address at Commencement Exercises at Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois.” May 9. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-eureka-college-eureka-illinois>.
- Romanow, Nicholas, and Inboden, William. 2022. “The Lessons of Reagan’s Pipeline Crisis for Competing with China - War on the Rocks.” War on the Rocks. April 5, 2022. <https://warontherocks.com/2022/04/the-lessons-of-reagans-pipeline-crisis-for-competing-with-china/>.
- United Nations General Assembly. *Question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly. A/RES/37/9*, 4 November 1982. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/609117?ln=en>.