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ZNY MNSH 25X1
O 041443Z ZYH
FM ROME
TO THE WHITE HOUSE
ZEM

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S E C R E T 041245Z APR 71
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. HENRY KISSINGER
FROM ANEMBASSY ROME AMBASSADOR MARTIN

ROME 1408

1. I HAVE SENT TEXT OF MARCHESI SPEECH AT GAETA IN EMBASSY ROME 2113 AND FOR MORE NORMAL DISTRIBUTION, A GENERAL BACKGROUNDER IN EMBASSY ROME 2114 BOTH REPEATED TO WHITE HOUSE.
2. DINNER WITH ROSELLI-LORENZINI FRIDAY EVENING WAS RELAXED, INFORMAL AND AFFORDED OPPORTUNITY FOR LONG PRIVATE TALK. WE SHARED EXPERIENCES IN ASIA IN WHICH HE HAD GREAT INTEREST, HAVING SERVED AS YOUNG NAVAL OFFICER IN PEIPING. WE SPENT SOME TIME REVIEWING CURRENT ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE ABOUT WHICH HE IS NOT REALLY AT ALL WELL INFORMED AND, REFRESHINGLY, WAS QUITE WILLING TO ADMIT IT. HE HAS SPENT MOST OF HIS CAREER ABROAD OR AT SEA AND WHEN HE WAS APPOINTED NAVY CHIEF HE SAID HE FOUND THE INTRICACIES OF THE MANEUVERING OF THE POLITICAL CLASS IN ROME MYSTIFYING AND FRUSTRATING.
3. THE CONVERSTAIION CAME ROUND TO THE INEVITABLE QUESTION OF "WHAT DOES AMERICA REALLY WANT IN ITALY?" I MADE MY USUAL ANSWER -- A STABLE, NON - COMMUNIST ITALY WHICH WOULD CONTINUE ITS FIRM ATTACHMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AND WHICH WOULD REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE SPECIAL ITALO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS MEANT SO MUCH TO BOTH COUNTRIES. IT WAS TRUE, OF COURSE, THAT THE FACT THAT ONE TENTH OF OUR PEOPLE WERE OF RECENT ITALIAN DESCENT MADE OUR EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT VERY GREAT. DESPITE THIS, IN PURELY COLD-BLOODED, PRACTICAL TERMS AND, IF HE LIKED, IN SELFISH TERMS, A NEUTRAL OR COMMUNIST ITALY WOULD CRIPPLE THE ALLIANCE, PERHAPS FATALLY. IT WOULD ALSO MAKE EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT THE MAINTENANCE OF AN AMERICAN POSITION OF STRENGTH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. THEREFORE, THE AMERICAN STAKE IN ITALY WAS VERY HIGH AND, AS IN THE PAST, WE HAD EVERY INTENTION OF PROTECTING IT. I SAID I REALLY FAILED TO UNDERSTAND HOW THERE COULD BE THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT OF THIS GIVEN THE EXTRAORDINARY EMPHASIS THE PRESIDENT HAD PLACED ON ITALIAN RELATIONSHIPS.

4. I SAID I THOUGHT IT WAS HIGH TIME THAT ITALIANS BEGAN ASKING THEMSELVES THE QUESTION HE HAD JUST ADDRESSED TO ME, AND I WAS GLAD TO NOTE THAT SOME WERE. I SAID THAT IN ANOTHER DECADE ITALY'S ECONOMIC POWER COULD BE SECOND ONLY TO THAT OF GERMANY IN EUROPE AND ITS GENIUS SHOULD ENTITLE IT TO A LEADING EUROPEAN ROLE, BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY. I HOPED, THEREFORE, THAT IN THE ARMED FORCES AS WELL AS ON THE POLITICAL SIDE THERE COULD BE LESS FACTIONAL COMPETITION AND MORE EMPHASIS ON WHAT WAS GOOD FOR ITALY AND FOR THE ALLIANCE. WE THEN GOT IN A LONG DISCUSSION OF HIS PLANS TO MODERNIZE AND AND STRENGTHEN THE FLEET. HE IS PROUD OF THE PLANS HE HAS DEVELOPED AND WILL WISH TO DISCUSS THEM WITH ADMIRAL MOORER AND ADMIRAL ZUMWALT. HE IS CUTTING SHORT HIS TRIP TO RETURN TO BE AVAILABLE TO PRESS HIS FIGHT FOR LARGER APPROPRIATIONS.

5. HE REVERTED TO THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY ON THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE. HE ASKED WHETHER I HAD READ GENERAL MARCHESI'S SPEECH. I SAID I HAD AND THOUGHT IT VERY GOOD. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTION I SAID I AGREED THAT THE MILITARY HAD A CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. I SAID THAT THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS AND IT WAS MY BELIEF THAT ANY DIRECT INTERVENTION SHOULD ALWAYS BE A LAST RESORT. I SAID IT WAS MY IMPRESSION THAT ANY DIRECT INTERVENTION COULD NOT SUCCEED UNLESS (1) THE GENERAL PUBLIC COULD SEE THAT SUCH INTERVENTION WAS CLEARLY NECESSARY; AND (2) UNLESS ALL ELEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES WERE COMPLETELY TOGETHER. AND (3) UNLESS SUCH INTERVENTION WERE DONE IN A WAY THAT PRESERVED AT LEAST THE APPEARANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL LEGITIMACY. I SAID I WAS GLAD TO NOTE HIS AGREEMENT AND THAT I HOPED THAT THE PRESSURE GENERAL MARCHESI WAS APPLYING TO THE POLITICAL CLASS, I WAS SURE WITH HIS FULL SUPPORT, WOULD INCREASINGLY SHOW MORE POSITIVE RESULTS.

6. HE SURPRISED ME BY ASKING WHY I WAS THE ONLY NON-POLITICAL AMBASSADOR IN WESTERN EUROPE. I SAID I REALLY DIDN'T KNOW. I LIKED TO THINK IT WAS ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN FOR ITALY, SINCE THE PRESIDENT WAS WELL AWARE THAT I HAD NO ILLUSIONS WHATEVER ABOUT OUR SOVIET FRIENDS, AND PERHAPS A CERTAIN RUTHLESSNESS AND TOUGHNESS IN CARRYING OUT HIS INSTRUCTIONS. HE SAID THAT HE WAS GLAD TO SEE THAT I SO THOROUGHLY UNDERSTOOD THE MILITARY AND WOULD EVEN FORGIVE MY ARMY AND AIRFORCE BACKGROUND SINCE MY WIFE WAS SO OBVIOUSLY ALL-NAVY. WE CONCLUDED BY HAVING A TWO-MAN RUMP SESSION OF THE TOM MOORER FAN CLUB. HE IS EXTREMELY FOND OF ADMIRAL MOORER AND HOLDS HIM IN THE HIGHEST RESPECT. HE SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED WITH ADMIRAL ZUMWALT BUT HAS NOT YET HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW HIM WELL. ROSELLI-LOREZINI SEEMS GENUINELY PRO-AMERICAN. HE HAS A SON WORKING FOR US AS AN ENGINEER WITH THE JET PROPULSION LABORATORY OF WHOM HE IS OBVIOUSLY VERY PROUD.

7. WE AGREED TO GET TOGETHER AGAIN SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN AND KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE SUBSTANCE REPORTED IN MY PREVIOUS MESSAGES, HE KNEW THAT I WAS FULLY INFORMED AND ALSO KNEW THAT I KNEW HE DID. I ENCOURAGED HIM TO TALK WITH TOTAL FRANKNESS WITH ADMIRAL MOORER AND ADMIRAL ZUMWALT. ALTHOUGH ONE CAN NEVER BE TOTALLY CERTAIN, IT IS MY FIRM IMPRESSION THAT GENERAL MARCHESI HAS MOVED WITH SUBTLETY AND FIRMINESS TO GET THE SITUATION IN HAND. THEREFORE, I RECOMMEND YOU SUGGEST TO MOORER AND ZUMWALT THAT THEY FOLLOW THE SAME LINE I TOOK WITH ROSELLI-LORENZI AND LET ME KNOW HOW THE CONVERSATIONS WENT.

8. I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSURANCE THAT I WILL BE KEPT INFORMED OF THE BITS AND PIECES THAT MAY COME YOUR WAY. IT WILL HELP KEEP ME AHEAD OF THE CURVE AS THINGS DEVELOP HERE.

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