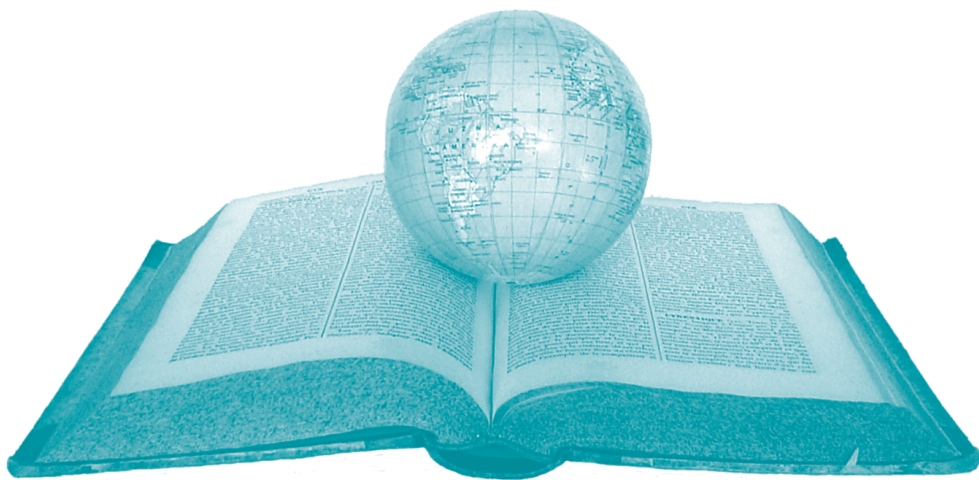


Stefano Baldi
Pasquale Baldocci

THROUGH THE DIPLOMATIC LOOKING GLASS

Books Published by Italian Diplomats Since 1946



Ministero degli Affari Esteri
Istituto Diplomatico

Diplomats
as Writers

DIPLO

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as Writers**

***di*PLO**

To Jasminka and Antonella

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PREFACE

by Jovan Kurbalija

A book, like a human being, has its destiny. This new volume by Stefano Baldi and Pasquale Baldocci is no exception. Even before this English translation appeared, the original Italian version was in its second edition, with high visibility. The authors' immediate aim was to preserve the memory of Italian diplomacy, expressed in some 750 books written by Italian diplomats. The book has already achieved much more. It has initiated discussion and has started the development of a "knowledge community," as it is called in modern business parlance. Some have suggested books to add to the list, others have reflected on existing ones, while others have proposed ideas for future publications. With such impressive achievements, the book's success continues.

It may have another important mission. The book may contribute to addressing one of the paradoxes of our time: on the one hand, the increasingly high relevance of diplomacy for modern society and, on the other hand, the "image deficit" of diplomacy and diplomats in modern society. For some time, diplomacy has been perceived only as a peaceful and ethical option to the use of force in international relations, presenting an alternative to war. Today, however, diplomacy is not a matter of ethical choice. Diplomacy is a necessity. Complex global problems such as climate change, global trade, and migration, to name only a few, can be managed only by diplomatic methods. The difficulty of the recent Iraq war is an example of the limit of the use of force and of the necessity for diplomacy as a tool in solving international conflicts.

At the same time, the perception of diplomacy is mixed and sometimes confusing. As Ivo Andrić, a Yugoslav diplomat who

won the Nobel Prize for literature, observed, diplomacy has “external, brilliant facets which both attract and deceive people.” In many circles, diplomacy is perceived with a mixture of envy – for the so-called diplomatic style of life – and with criticism of its failures and appreciation of its importance. Historically, diplomacy and diplomats were often used by statesmen and generals as “official” scapegoats for national failures. This has not helped the image of diplomacy in many countries.

Even everyday language, usually one of the best indicators of the collective subconscious, associates diplomacy with evasiveness, non-commitment and, in some cases, lying. Sir Watson’s misunderstood statement that “an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country” can be found on plastic plates in souvenir shops worldwide. Anyone who has spent one day in diplomacy knows that lying is not allowed, even though sometimes the whole truth is not always stated for tactical reasons. As a matter of fact, in modern diplomatic meetings, exchange is rarely “diplomatic;” they are increasingly open, business-like, and to the point.

On a deeper level of analysis, the public suspicion of diplomacy could be related to diplomacy’s core tool – compromise. Compromise is not considered an ethically superior practice in many societies, especially when contrasted with national pride and stubborn heroism. An illustration of the low public acceptance of diplomacy and compromise is the fact that one cannot find museums dedicated to diplomacy, while thousands of museums celebrate war victories and military history.

Nonetheless, some trends towards better public perception of diplomacy are noticeable. The number of books, PhD theses, and conferences dedicated to diplomacy grows. As well, courses on diplomacy can be found in the curricula of universities worldwide. More than ever before, arguments for diplomacy appear in articles of the leading global press agencies.

Yet, much more needs to be done to improve the image of diplomacy. This book is an important attempt in this direction. It underscores the contributions of diplomats to our global cultural heritage. The book also shows that diplomacy is more than

a profession. It is very often a life, one dedicated to building understanding among cultures, and which does not end at the end of the working day. For these diplomats, the dividing line between professional life and private life hardly exists. The book addresses the issue of why diplomats write and what is specific about diplomats as writers.

The authors claim that “diplomats are born with pen in hand.” Diplomacy is probably the best proof of the Latin saying *verba volant scripta manet*. Yes, diplomacy happens in corridors and at dinners, but ultimately diplomatic deals have to be materialized into paper, even if it is non-paper. Diplomats are those who have to formulate such deals in writing. Their primary tool is written language.

Simplified criticism may suggest that diplomats focus too much on texts. Even if the huge volume of diplomatic documents could be reduced, the relevance of the text has to remain. Every day, at hundreds of diplomatic meetings and negotiations, diplomats try to overcome differences and conflicts by working on acceptable textual agreements. Sometimes, the texts of those agreements are vague and even evasive when they represent the least common denominator. In other cases, diplomats have to use constructive ambiguities to bridge differences that are irreconcilable. Creating a bridge between complex reality and its representation in one text makes diplomats masters of language and text – and well prepared for writing.

Another reason why diplomats are destined for writing is their position as “stranger.” Clearly, each diplomat is a stranger in the country where he or she serves. With the passage of time, the diplomat also becomes a stranger to his or her home country. As well, as Andrić observes, many diplomats become strangers to themselves by “living constantly on two levels, the personal, human one and the official, inhuman one, but never in any way showing or betraying to anyone on which level you are at any given moment, or better still: not yourself being completely aware of it, which is the surest way of not betraying yourself.”

Their estrangement makes diplomats good observers. As the sociologist, George Simmel, puts it in his essay, “The Stranger,”

what highlights the position of a stranger is the degree of nearness and remoteness to others. A diplomat is near enough to understand the society in which he or she lives, but is remote enough to think “out of the box.” Diplomats can see through the layers of social convention and understand the implicit assumptions on which a society is based. They can see both the country where they are posted and their home countries with little prejudice. Sometimes they become challengers of accepted truths and initiators of new interpretations of social reality.

Born “with pen in hand” and living as strangers make diplomats pre-destined for writing. It is not surprising that among diplomats we find at least five Nobel Prize winners for literature. And it is not surprising that Stefano Baldi and Pasquale Baldocci have managed to gather such a wide collection of books. This book is the first in a series “Diplomats as Writers”. The next to appear will focus on Swiss diplomacy. The series should contribute to better public understanding of diplomacy, both with a small “d” – as a method for solving conflicts through the use of compromise and conciliation – and with a capital “D” – as a system for managing modern international relations.

INTRODUCTION

The current essay presents and analyses books published by Italian diplomats from the post-war period to today. The more than seven hundred and sixty titles and two hundred authors discussed or mentioned give a broader and more varied picture of diplomats than one might imagine, bringing out not only the authors' talents for describing situations and characters, but also their vast and diverse interests. However, this volume is not limited to books written by Italian diplomats. In order to give a broad picture, it also briefly relates diplomacy and literature and analyses the primary moments and protagonists of this relationship.

Many reasons justify this study. The opportunity to know more about diplomats and their work offers the first reason to undertake it. Many Italian diplomats are known only to a narrow circle of people. This study aims at making these author-diplomats better known, not only in Italy, but throughout the English-speaking world.

Another reason for undertaking this study is the fact that researchers, journalists, and others interested in international affairs seldom know and take into consideration books written by diplomats. Therefore, students of diplomacy and international affairs often fail to consider the writings of the diplomat (or the former diplomat) among the sources available for research or analysis.

In this English edition, we have emphasised those elements that could be useful for similar studies in other countries. We have explained our methods and sources. We have also underlined the difficulties and the limitations in implementing the research.

It is important to keep in mind the general framework of this study. The books considered here are only those published by Italian diplomats in the Foreign Service from the postwar period to the present. The total number is quite extensive: more than 750 titles. In Chapter 12, we have divided all the titles into nine different groups and we have translated all the original titles into English.

Despite efforts to conduct as thorough a search as possible, this study does not claim to be exhaustive in any way. Therefore, we cannot claim to have compiled a list with the title of every single book published by Italian diplomats. The most difficult titles are those written under a pen name, published exclusively abroad, in limited editions, or unrelated to diplomatic activities.

The purpose of this study is, instead, to provide an initial reference for further analysis of the whole *corpus* of books published by Italian diplomats since the end of the Second World War.

Fabio Grassi has conducted and published a very rigorous and complete study of the publications of Italian diplomats between 1861 and 1915^[1]. In the volume, besides indications about the careers of every diplomat in the period under consideration, the editor provides a list of all the writings (both articles and books) of the diplomat-authors.

The period covered by the present analysis (1946–2007) concerns all the Italian diplomats on duty since 1946; therefore, it is not possible to include some outstanding Italian diplomatic writers belonging to an earlier era. Among these, we should mention

^[1] In 1986, a working group led by Fabio Grassi published the volume, *La formazione della diplomazia nazionale (1861–1915) – schede bio-bibliografiche*, (Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Rome). A subsequent 1999 study, edited by Vincenzo Pellegrini, *Materiali per una bibliografia del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* (Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Rome), is also of relevance. The latter contains over 4,000 bibliographical records on the publications (not only monographs, but also articles that appeared in periodicals and magazines) of the officials who entered the Foreign Service in the years 1919–1943, and it constitutes a continuation of Grassi's work. Both texts represent unique sources for researchers and all others with an interest in Italian diplomats and diplomacy.

Costantino Nigra^[2], Carlo Dossi^[3], and Daniele Varè^[4]. They are personalities whose literary fame has extended beyond a narrow readership.

^[2] Costantino Nigra is known as a philologist and linguist. Among his recently reprinted books are *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (Einaudi, 1974), a fundamental study of folk music, and *Le poesie* (Zanichelli, Bologna, 1961).

^[3] Carlo Alberto Felice Pisani Dossi (his complete name) has published numerous books, some of which have recently been reprinted. Titles include: *Vita di Alberto Pisani* (Garzanti, 1999), *L'altrieri* (Garzanti, 1996), and *Note azzurre* (Adelphi, 1988). Enrico Serra's biography, *Alberto Pisani Dossi diplomatico* (FrancoAngeli, 1987), includes some unpublished documents.

^[4] Daniele Varè is best known for his memoir, *Il diplomatico sorridente* (Mondadori, 1941, reprinted several times). This book was originally published in English as *Laughing Diplomat* (J. Murray, London, 1938). Some novels, particularly those with a Chinese background, are still on sale in Great Britain, as, for instance, *The Temple of Costly Experience* (Black Swan, London, 1988). Varè also published the two-volume study, *Storia d'Inghilterra [History of England]* (R. Bemporad e figlio, Florence, 1923).

1

THE OBJECT OF THIS STUDY

As the subtitle indicates, this study refers to writings by career diplomats of the Italian Republic. We have, therefore, included the works of all those on diplomatic duty since the proclamation of the Republic of Italy on June 2, 1946. We have also decided to include books from these authors published earlier to give a more comprehensive picture of their writing activity. To determine which diplomats to include, we used the *Annuario diplomatico* [*Diplomatic Yearbook*], published periodically by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We have included anthologies and collections edited by diplomats, but not single articles that appeared in magazines and newspapers. It would have been a very difficult task, because of their sheer number and range. Concerning the description of the content of the books, in many cases we utilised the introduction or the summary found on the back covers, which explains why some comments may seem outdated. For recent books, we have used the description of books that publishing houses have made available on their websites.

We investigated various types of sources to find the titles. One important source was the review, *Affari Esteri*, published every three months since 1969 by the Associazione Italiana per la Politica Estera. This publication regularly reviews books written by diplomats.^[1] In addition, we searched the catalogues of several libraries, particularly the library of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Library in Rome.

^[1] This magazine has had many illustrious editors-in-chief: Pietro Quaroni (1969–1971), Gastone Guidotti (1972–1978), Roberto Gaja (1978–1992), and Carlo Russo (since 1992). For reviews, we should mention Fausto Borrelli. In addition to writing articles, he manages the book review section and has paid special attention to works published by Italian or foreign diplomats.

Senior colleagues have made a remarkable contribution to our work. Whether through their personal experience or hearsay, they have provided a great deal of useful information regarding the location of several publications.

2

WHY DIPLOMATS WRITE BOOKS

Diplomats are born with a pen in hand. They write countless reports, analyses, and memos during their 35 – 40 years of service, and are forced to acquire a certain familiarity with the pen or, nowadays, with the computer. Therefore, writing becomes a daily activity, not to say, a routine. This continuous engagement with writing sometimes sparks a desire to compose something more permanent and deep than the usual fleeting report likely read only by a close circle of colleagues at the workplace. A scarcely known side of diplomats, however, is the books they publish.

Many diplomats have published books while in active service, others only after retirement. These books are often autobiographies, professional memoirs, or historical essays. We provide exact details in the thematic sections below and in our brief statistical review of the findings. Yet, if we are curious regarding the value of such books, for whom are they destined, who are their readers, and how do researchers view them, clearly it is difficult to express a single judgment on such a wide and varied body of work. Nonetheless, it is possible to define some trends.

The issue of the value of books written by diplomats is perhaps the most difficult and the most subjective. Perhaps we could say, in general, that the more a book has to offer to its readers, the greater its worth.

In Italy, too many books are published for an extremely small number of readers. As a result, many books have a limited circulation and, shortly after their publication, become impossible to find. The books considered in this study are no exception, often found only in libraries or in second hand bookshops after long and sometimes exhausting searches.

We can identify the potential audience of these books according to their genre. Simply stated, memoirs and historical essays (constituting most of the books covered by this study) address a wide public, ranging from scholars and other diplomats to general readers interested in history and biography. A small circle of readers purchases most of the books. Essays on international relations seek a wider public, which includes all those who want to stay abreast of current events. In spite of a wide audience, they often age very rapidly, destined for obsolescence because of dramatic and unexpected events, especially in the last decade of the twentieth century. We should not forget that in this genre, diplomats often compete with journalists, “forever rivals, but so dissimilar,”^[1] yet condemned to the same fate of working “with pen in hand.” Fiction (novels, short stories, and poetry) addresses a small audience of “curious” or affectionate readers.

In looking through the list of authors and titles considered in this book, one will notice that, in many cases, the topics refer directly or indirectly to people, problems, or experiences that took place while the diplomat-author was on active duty. The problems and the places with which the diplomat comes into contact during his career are often so varied as to provide a great deal of material that might inspire the writing of a book, and the author is often tempted to recount true stories to strangers. This type of book is often written after completion of a diplomatic posting. Several examples illustrate this trend. For instance, during his missions, Gian Paolo Tozzoli published books on the Swiss (*The Swiss Seen from the Point of View of a Foreigner*^[2]) and on Albania (*The Albanian Case: The Last Boundary of Stalinism*^[3]).

Mario Sica, in his book, *The Marigold Did Not Bloom*^[4], describes the failure of an Italian peace initiative in Vietnam be-

[1] Definition used by Roberto Gaja in his article, “Professione: diplomatico (1945–1990),” published in *Affari Esteri*, n. 94, April 1992, p. 377.

[2] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *Gli svizzeri visti da uno straniero*, Edizioni Nemi, Rome, 1966. This book has also been published in German with the title *Fünf Millionen Gerechte? Die Schweizer, wie ein Ausländer sie sieht*, Frauenfeld, Zurich, 1968.

[3] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *Il caso Albania. L'ultima frontiera dello stalinismo*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1989.

[4] Sica, Mario, *Marigold non fiorì*, Ponte delle Grazie, Florence, 1991.

tween 1965 and 1966; in his *Operation Somalia*^[5], he recounts the last two years of the Siad Barre dictatorship that he experienced as Ambassador of Italy to Mogadishu in 1990–1991. Somalia of the same period also inspired Claudio Pacifico, who wrote *Somalia: Memoirs of an African Nostalgia*^[6]. Alberto Indelicato, the last Ambassador of Italy to the German Democratic Republic (DDR), has written one of the most important Italian books on the DDR, entitled *Hammer and Tongs: Life, Agony and Death of Communist Germany*^[7]. Sergio Romano has written several books on Russia published after his service as Ambassador to Moscow. These include *Russia on the Verge*^[8], in which he analyses various aspects of the Gorbachev reform; *The Decline of the USSR as a World Power and its Consequences*^[9]; and *Journey around Russia*^[10]. Before him, Federico Sensi published *It Happened in Russia*^[11], a memoir of the period he spent as Ambassador to Moscow. Fernando Gentilini has published two books based on his experience in two different areas of the world: *In Ethiopia*^[12] and *Endless Balkans: A Sentimental Journey from Pristina to Brussels*^[13].

In some cases, the diplomat's link with the country or with the continent where he served lasts long after the mission is over, as if he wanted to continue the analysis of certain situations. This is the case of Ludovico Incisa di Camerana, who wrote a book

[5] Sica, Mario, *Operazione Somalia*, Marsilio, Venezia, 1994.

[6] Pacifico, Claudio, *Somalia. Ricordi di un mal d'Africa italiano*, Edimond, Città di Castello, 1996.

[7] Indelicato, Alberto, *Martello e compasso. Vita, agonia e morte delle Germania comunista*, Luni Editrice, Milan, Trent, 1989.

[8] Romano, Sergio, *La Russia in bilico*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989.

[9] Romano, Sergio, *Il declino dell'URSS come potenza mondiale e le sue conseguenze*, Longanesi, Milan, 1990.

[10] Romano, Sergio, *Viaggio intorno alla Russia*, I Libri de La Stampa, Turin, 1993.

[11] Sensi, Federico, *Avvenne in Russia*, Rusconi, Milan, 1982. This book was first published in French, with the title *Russie amour* (Éditions France-Empire, 1980) and subsequently translated by the author into Italian.

[12] Gentilini, Fernando, *In Etiopia*, Campanotto Editore, Pasian di Prato, 1999.

[13] Gentilini, Fernando, *Infiniti Balcani. Viaggio sentimentale da Pristina a Bruxelles*, Pendragon, Bologna, 2007. This publication won the Grinzane Cavour literary award in 2007.

titled *Brazil*^[14] and, many years later, wrote on Latin American issues with an extensive work on the caudillos, *The Caudillos: Biography of a Continent*^[15].

Books frequently concern events the authors have experienced directly. Such books often provide precious material for the investigation and study of a historical topic. Many researchers have underlined the importance to this field of the “narrative source,” particularly memoirs and diplomatic diaries. Historical writers currently deem memoirs a source of great importance^[16].

Publishing a book is by no means an easy task for a diplomat, and publishers are not necessarily willing to introduce a text to the market simply because its author is or was a diplomat. Paolo Vita-Finzi’s account of the events surrounding the publication of his book on Peron^[17] is emblematic of the difficulties diplomats encounter:

I tried to offer my manuscript to some of the largest publishing houses. In 1972, Peron had been plotting for years, from his house in Madrid, to regain power in a country devastated by guerrilla warfare and inflation. I had several indications that the moment of his victory was near. But the publishers, who probably had a very approximate knowledge of Argentina, unanimously rejected my book. According to them, Peron was dead and buried, and my work was of no interest to anybody. Just then, the Government of Buenos Aires agreed to reinstate the full civil rights of the General, allowing his return to Argentina after seventeen years of exile, as well as the possibility to give interviews to union leaders, and to have tumultuous demonstrations in his favour. . . . If released by an important publisher and adequately publicized, the volume would have

^[14] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico, *Il Brasile*, ERI, Turin, 1969.

^[15] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico, *I Caudillos. Biografia di un Continente*, Corbaccio, Milan, 1994.

^[16] See Enrico Serra in *Manuale di storia dei trattati e di diplomazia*, ISPI, Milan, 1980, p. 305.

^[17] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Peron mito e realtà*, Pan Editrice, Milan, 1973.

aroused curiosity, sold many copies, and been translated into various languages. But the modest Pan Editrice which undertook the project didn't have the capacity to widely distribute it. Despite good reviews, my work had little impact, and subsequent biographers of this odd personality have not used it.^[18]

Not many diplomats have published books before entering the service. Nevertheless, we can mention Roberto Ducci, who published three books on history^[19] before passing the Foreign Service examination in 1937; and Andrea Cagiati who, as a student, published the first edition of his *Diplomacy from Its Origins to the Seventeenth Century*^[20].

The unique genre and style of most of the books in this study reflect the personalities of the authors and, in a more general sense, they also indicate the changing role of diplomats and the position they hold within modern society. On this subject, the words of Roberto Gaja seem appropriate:

There is no doubt that long ago, the diplomatic career constituted the upper echelon of the Government Ministries, and that during the course of half a century – not only in Italy – its prestige has suffered a collapse. . . . As early as the 1950s, Quaroni, who was unquestionably one of the finest and most courageous minds of our diplomatic corps, would write that, in the *theatrum mundi*, the diplomat may no longer have a place on stage, but at least he was in the first row. Thirty years later, even Quaroni's statement no longer seems to be completely true. Nowadays, in fact, the diplomat has to struggle to

^[18] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Giorni Lontani. Note e memorie*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989, pp. 601–602.

^[19] *Un conflitto tra Francia e Corsica nella Roma del secolo XVIII* (1931, under the pseudonym of Boninsegna), *Prima era di Napoleone* (1933) and *Il territorio del Bacino della Saar* (1934). See also his autobiography, *La bella gioventù* (1996, pp. 39–52) regarding these early works.

^[20] Cagiati, Andrea, *La diplomazia dalle origini al XVII secolo*, Cantagalli, Siena, 1947.

find a seat in the parterre, from where he can appreciate or criticise the show and then report back to those who couldn't attend or couldn't purchase the ticket.^[21]

Gaja was not the only one who attempted to define the changing role of diplomats. Many other diplomatic authors have touched on this issue. In his book, *Impossible Peace*^[22], Renato Bova Scoppa offers an effective description:

The diplomat should provide precise elements for an objective evaluation and, with due caution, attempt to predict events, while trying at all costs to avoid prophecies like those of Nostradamus. The primary problem is the collection of data. The main activity of the diplomat, in fact, consists in gathering notes, information, and news that will enable him to report with absolute adherence to reality, be it political or economic. Improvisation is the worst enemy of real diplomacy. It's true that modern life forces even diplomats to give concise summaries, as is true for journalists, but woe unto the diplomat who succumbs to the journalistic imagination.

In the same vein, we cannot omit the definition of diplomats that Roberto Ducci has written: "An ambassador, or at least a mediocre ambassador, is tempted to be diplomatic (in the worst sense of the word) with his own government, too: he tries to guess what it likes and conceals what it does not."^[23]

^[21] Roberto Gaja, "Professione: diplomatico (1945-1990)", *Affari Esteri*, n. 94, April 1992, p. 376.

^[22] Bova Scoppa, Renato, *La pace impossibile*, Rosenberg and Sellier, Turin, 1961, p. 9.

^[23] Ducci, Roberto, *I contemporanei*, Editip, Turin, 1976, p. 89.

3

MEMOIRS

Many ambassadors at the end of a career cannot resist the temptation to write their memoirs, often full of facts and accounts of events that they have witnessed. The reasons behind this kind of book are described by an Italian civil servant, Enzo Vicari:

I believe that each one of us has the duty of witnessing his own life. He can choose to do so through storytelling to his sons, so that they can transmit it to the grandsons according to the old oral tradition. Or he can publish echoes of facts and voices that would otherwise get lost.^[1]

As well, Ettore Baistrocchi, an Italian diplomat, with his typical humour, has tried to describe the mechanism that drives some diplomats to write about their lives.

Once retired, we could give vent to our bad mood and, for some, our nostalgia for the career, offering our services as experts in international affairs to newspapers and specialised magazines. As well, we could share our personal experiences through the publication of memoirs and essays. Those who opt for this second solution are probably induced by that same irresistible force that often convinces the most hardened sinner to reveal, in the intimacy of the confessional, his misdeeds; the extrovert to tell his business mainly to those who do not want to hear it; and the politician to tempt voters with

^[1] Vicari, Enzo, *Giuro di essere fedele*, Longanesi Editore, Milan, 1994, p. 7.

promises, sometimes in good faith, that in practice he will never maintain.^[2]

Memoirs, more than other books written by diplomats, represent an important source of knowledge, not only for historians, but also for young diplomats or for all those interested in this career. Reading or studying memoirs is probably the best method to learn the many unspoken rules of the profession. Memoirs offer the best occasion to examine the pros and cons of a profession so diversified and so little known in some of its inner aspects. The famous Italian journalist, Piero Ostellino, has stated that

the profession of the diplomat is essentially an empirical profession that can be learned by doing, following step by step what is done by superiors, sometimes with a lot of patience, always with humility and some common sense and intelligence.^[3]

Thus, reading someone else's experience can be a virtual meeting with older colleagues with whom otherwise it would be impossible to work and from whom it would be impossible to learn.

Ludovico Incisa di Camerana, an Italian diplomat, describes another reason for writing diplomatic memoirs:

The diplomatic condition combines observation of facts and the illusion of prophecy. These two aspects of an apparently privileged human condition represent the exciting and frustrating implications of a sometimes surprising profession. . . . The high number of diplomatic memoirs is due to this contradiction between excitement and frustration, between hope and disappointment, between optimism and pessimism that constantly accompanies professional life: it is the expression of an attempt of posthumous recovery of its own work, trying to give to it the

^[2] Baistrocchi, Ettore, *Nomadi in feluca*, Bulzoni Editore, Rome, 1989, p. 12.

^[3] Ostellino, Piero, *Il diplomatico*, Vallecchi Editore, Florence, 1972, p. 131.

meaning that has been evasive, nearly elusive, while events were taking place.^[4]

Giving a third reason for writing memoirs, Professor Enrico Serra, who has written several books on diplomats and diplomacy, has perfectly described the positive and negative historic values of memoirs:

These writings represent, first of all, testimony that can be particularly relevant when other sources on a particular event are not available. . . . Another positive aspect of memoirs is the contribution that they can give to a better understanding of the official documentation, often cold and elusive, on a specific problem. . . . Therefore, memoirs constitute sources that should absolutely not be neglected, but that can, on the contrary, be important. Nevertheless, they are also instruments that should be used with extreme care. Memoirs have the limitations that generally are inevitable in autobiographies. They have an egocentric and unilateral vision of events, with a marked tendency to self-praise and self-defence. What is an important event for the protagonist is not necessarily so objectively from the historic point of view. It is rare that the version provided of an accident exactly matches reality. This explains why you can have different versions of the same meeting given by the participants, and not necessarily in bad faith. . . . The emotional state of the author probably is the main danger in this type of writing. Memoirs represent a source subsidiary to the official source, and cannot pretend to substitute for it.^[5]

As well as the emotional state of the author, we could add that another danger present in memoirs derives from the style of nar-

^[4] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico, "Palazzo Chigi: anni roventi" in *Affari Esteri*, n. 31, 1976, pp. 544–545.

^[5] Serra, Enrico, *Manuale di storia dei trattati e di diplomazia*, ISPI, Milan, 1980, pp. 306–307.

ration. Memoirs may tend to slip from the description of details with historical value to the description of minor details very close to gossip that satisfies only the nostalgia (if not the vanity) of the author. In this case, the text is generally heavy with an innumerable series of characters or insignificant facts that makes it impossible to follow the historical development of events. Unfortunately, some diplomats have been tempted to write in this style.

It would be interesting if, as a counterbalance to the subjectivity of memoirs, we could find studies that placed ambassadors and their work in context. Studies of the accounts of Secretary Generals or Directors General of Political Affairs of Italy would be ideal. Such literature would surely be very interesting and complementary to the numerous memoirs written by Italian diplomats dedicated to periods spent abroad. Regretfully, no such literature exists. The only exception is the volume by Egidio Ortona (published after his death), *The Farnesina Years: Pages of the Diary 1961–1967*^[6]. Therefore, this study completely lacks a “Roman perspective” on domestic diplomatic events of the period we have studied.

Many Italian diplomats have published memoirs. Some have published their memories in a number of volumes. For example, Pietro Quaroni published a first volume with the title *An Ambassador's Memoirs* in 1954^[7], a second volume, *Diplomatic Bags: An Ambassador's Memoirs* appeared in English in 1966^[8], and, finally, a third volume, *The World of an Ambassador*, in 1965^[9]. Quaroni has been a very prolific author, with over fifteen books^[10] and his

[6] Ortona, Egidio, *Gli anni della Farnesina. Pagine del diario 1961–1967*, Servizi Promozione Attività Internazionali (SPA), Milan, 1998.

[7] Quaroni, Pietro, *Ricordi di un ambasciatore*, Garzanti, Milan, 1954.

[8] The original volume was published in Italian: Pietro Quaroni, *Valigia diplomatica* (Garzanti, Milan, 1956). The book has also been published in German and French.

[9] Quaroni, Pietro, *Il mondo di un ambasciatore*, Ferro Edizioni, Milan, 1965.

[10] Quaroni started publishing in 1935. His first book was published under the pseudonym “Latinus” with the title *L'Italia e i problemi internazionali* [*Italy and International Problems*]. He also published some of his books in German. In fact, Quaroni was Italian Ambassador to Germany from 1958 to 1961.

publications are mentioned in different parts of this study. On his writing style and on his diplomatic abilities, we can mention the comment by the historian Ennio di Nolfo:

the prince of Italian diplomats of his time, the reading of his dispatches has been for me a source of great pleasure. . . . I have to say that it has been difficult for me to find a diplomat who wrote so incorrectly, but with such intelligent ideas.^[11]

Another important diplomat who has released his memoirs is Egidio Ortona, who, in the ten years between 1984 and 1993, published four volumes of diaries. With the title, *War Diplomacy*^[12], he published his diaries related to the period 1937–1943 during which time he was Secretary at the Embassy of Italy in London (until 1940) and then in Zara before his return to Rome. Three other volumes published before this describe a long period that Ortona spent in the United States in various positions. The collective title of *American Years* is differentiated with very meaningful subtitles: *The Reconstruction 1944–1951*^[13], *The Diplomacy 1953–1961*^[14], and *The Cooperation 1967–1975*^[15].

Sergio Romano, well known abroad for his publications and his activity of commentator, has published his memoirs in two books. As he has described the first, *Across the Century: Reminder for the End of the Twentieth Century*^[16],

this long *curriculum vitae* has a limited purpose. It is not an autobiography, but simply the recalling of the Italian and international stories of which the

^[11] Interview published in *Eventi* (monthly of the Italian Prime Minister's Office), January–February 1995, p. 18.

^[12] Ortona, Egidio, *Diplomazia di guerra (diari 1937–43)*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1993.

^[13] Ortona, Egidio, *Anni d'America – La ricostruzione 1944–1951*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1984.

^[14] Ortona, Egidio, *Anni d'America – La diplomazia 1953–1961*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1986.

^[15] Ortona, Egidio, *Anni d'America – La cooperazione 1967–1975*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989.

^[16] Romano, Sergio, *Attraverso il secolo: promemoria per la fine del '900*, Scheiwiller, Milan, 1999, p. 108.

author had knowledge when he was a boy and of which he was witness in thirty-five years spent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Romano's second book, *A Conservative's Memoirs: The Story of a Century in the Memories of a Witness*^[17], continues from the previous and widens its contents and its perspective. At the beginning of this book, Romano observes:

I have read with pleasure many books of memoirs, but I almost always have had the impression that personal stories and the exposure to the reader of [the author's] soul are narcissistic exercises, deprived of elegance and of modesty. A man or a woman should tell only . . . what others have a right to know. Every confession or confidence hides an apologetic intention or, even worse, a form of self-indulgency. I know that there are some extraordinary exceptions (Casanova, for example), but I believe that a gentleman should, as the English say, "neither justify [one]self nor complain."

Nonetheless, we have his memoirs to enjoy.

We could name many other interesting memoirs. Just to point out some titles, we mention *The Paths of Life: A Diplomat's Memoirs*^[18] by Andrea Cagiati and *Faraway Days: Notes and Memoirs*^[19] by Paolo Vita-Finzi. Authors often structure memoirs temporally and describe situations that they have lived and characters that they have met in their various postings, starting from the beginning of their career. However, Roberto Caracciolo di San Vito's *The King's Glasses: Por Bien Ver*^[20] is different from others. The author adopts an original approach, dividing his life between

[17] Romano, Sergio, *Memorie di un conservatore. Il racconto di un secolo nei ricordi di un testimone*, Longanesi, Milan, 2002, p. 7.

[18] Cagiati, Andrea, *I sentieri della vita: ricordi di un diplomatico*, Editalia, Rome, 1990.

[19] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Giorni lontani. Appunti e ricordi*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989.

[20] Caracciolo di San Vito, Roberto, *L'occhialino del re – Por bien ver*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milan, 1984, p. 108.

what is “innate” and what has been “acquired,” using a clear and humorous style that characterises his writings. As an example of his sense of humour, we cite a comment that Caracciolo di San Vito makes regarding diplomatic receptions and cocktails:

It is well known that they are a necessary evil that put to the test memory, courtesy, stomach, and feet of those who are invited. . . . On the other hand, I have never met a real diplomat who truly enjoyed them.

Renato Bova Scoppa has written several books of memoirs (e.g., *Impossible Peace*^[21]), some of which are devoted to specific periods or events of his career. In his *Conversations with Two Dictators*^[22], he describes, through his personal testimonies, the Portuguese President Salazar and the Romanian Mihai Antonescu. As well, Adolfo Alessandrini, with his *Diplomatic Bag*^[23], has narrated some episodes of his career covering a period from 1925 to 1967, while Enrico Aillaud in *An Ambassador's Memoirs*^[24], describes a career starting in 1940 that brought him many postings in Central-Eastern Europe. The subtitle of his book is *Behind the Curtain and Other Stories*.

Memoirs contain many pages of subtle humour on bureaucracy. For example, Alberto Berio, in *From the Andes to the Himalayas: A Diplomat's Memoirs*^[25], writes, referring to the preparation of *letterine d'ufficio* (simple office notes) to which he was destined at the beginning of his career:

Everybody believes that writing office notes is a simple thing. However, it is a very difficult activity. It reminds me of the game of golf. Have you ever observed a golf player? If you have never practiced

^[21] Bova Scoppa, Renato, *La pace impossibile*, Rosenberg e Sellier, Turin, 1961.

^[22] Bova Scoppa, Renato, *Colloqui con due dittatori*, Ruffolo, Rome, 1949.

^[23] Alessandrini, Adolfo, *Valigia diplomatica*, Edizioni Bottazzi, Suzzara, 1984. The same title was used by Pietro Quaroni for one of his books published in 1956.

^[24] Aillaud, Enrico, *Un ambasciatore racconta*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1998.

^[25] Berio, Alberto, *Dalle Ande all'Himalaya: ricordi di un diplomatico*, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples, 1961, pp. 30–31.

the game, you will have the impression that to strike the ball with the club is the simplest thing in the world. But if you take a club in your hand for the first time, you have to try many times before you can succeed. The club will rotate in your hands, it will pass over the ball or to its right or its left, and . . . the ball will stay imperturbably in its place, laughing at your efforts. A slow and patient job of training is needed to form the wrist and to get the forearm used to the necessary movement. If you keep on trying, you will succeed and then you can start to play golf. Naturally, this won't be enough to become a golf pro; it is, however, a necessary condition, if insufficient, to go on. Well, the office note is the same thing in the life of a bureaucrat. The first time it seems that it is going to be easy. Instead, how many disappointments for so many office notes need to be done and redone, corrected and amended by you and by your head office! Finally, after trying and retrying you will succeed in getting on the right track. From that moment on, you can begin your run on the honourable road of bureaucracy. But don't think that since you have learnt to write an office note your career is ensured and you are going to become a Director General. Never dream of it! As with golf: it is a necessary condition, but not sufficient.

Many books of memoirs are linked to specific events or periods. For instance, Felice Benuzzi in *No Picnic on Mount Kenya*, published originally in English^[26], has narrated an adventure during his imprisonment in East Africa, when he succeeded in escaping, mocking the English, and climbing Mount Kenya. Likewise, another narration linked to a specific event is *Secret Mission: Tangiers: August 1943*^[27], where Alberto Berio describes

^[26] The book has also been published in Italian (*Fuga dal Kenya*), in German (*Flucht ins Abenteuer. Drei Kriegsgefangene besteigen den Mount Kenya*) and in French (*Fugue au Kenya*).

^[27] Berio, Alberto, *Missione segreta – Tangeri, Agosto 1943*, Dall'Oglio, Milan, 1947.

the first secret contacts between Italy and the British government in the summer of 1943. The author was charged by the Italian government, immediately after July 25, 1943, with this difficult and dangerous assignment.

4

BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

If we consider the professional activities and background of diplomats, it is normal to expect that they would publish books on international affairs. Italian diplomats are no exception, having written many books in this field. We can make an interesting analysis by grouping these publications by main topic.

Some subjects have inspired more than one author. In particular, many diplomats who have spent part of their career in Moscow have written books on Soviet foreign policy (or, more recently, Russian foreign policy). Since they have been written at different times and, therefore, in different situations, they offer various points of view on Russia (or the former Soviet Union). For example, Paolo Vita Finzi's wide range studies, *Caucasian Diary*^[1] and *Land and Freedom in Russia Yesterday and Today*^[2], are comparable to Luca Pietromarchi's *The Soviet World*^[3], important enough to have been translated into five languages. Particularly numerous are essays on the changes in Russia that started at the end the eighties. Sergio Romano, Italian Ambassador in Moscow until 1989, published many books on this particular period (*Russia on the Verge*^[4], *The Decline of the USSR as a World Power and Its Consequences*^[5], and *Travel around Russia*^[6]. Other authors

[1] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Diario caucasico*, Ricciardi, Milan, 1975.

[2] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Terra e libertà in Russia ieri e oggi*, Pan Editrice, Milan, 1972.

[3] Pietromarchi, Luca, *Il mondo sovietico*, Bompiani, Milan, 1962.

[4] Romano, Sergio, *La Russia in bilico*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989.

[5] Romano, Sergio, *Il declino dell'URSS come potenza mondiale e le sue conseguenze*, Longanesi, Milan, 1990.

[6] Romano, Sergio, *Viaggio intorno alla Russia*, I Libri de La Stampa, Turin, 1993.

include Massimo Baistrocchi with *What is changing in Gorbachov's USSR?*^[7] and *The Former USSR: The Problem of Nationality in the Soviet Union from Lenin to CIS*^[8]; Silvio Fagiolo with *Gorbachov's Russia*^[9]; Maurizio Massari with *The Great Turn: Political Reform in the USSR, 1986–1990*^[10]. Roberto Toscano has dealt with a particular aspect of Russian policy in the Perestroika period in his *Soviet Human Rights Policy and Perestroika*^[11] (published only in English). Two other authors have written on the relationship between Russia and China: Pietro Quaroni, in 1967, with *Russia and China*^[12] and, four years later, Gabriele Paresce with *Russia and China: Four Centuries between War and Peace*^[13].

Several diplomats have dealt with issues related to the European Union. Generally, they have all served for a certain period at the Permanent Mission of Italy to the European Union in Brussels. For example, Rocco Antonio Cangelosi has published three important books on European issues. The first, from 1987, was *From Spinelli's Treaty Project to the European Single Act: The History of a Lost Reform*^[14]; here, he retraces the events from the constitution of the Crocodile Club by Altiero Spinelli to the ratification of the Single European Act. In his second, written with Vincenzo Grassi, entitled *From the Communities to the Union: The Maastricht Treaty and the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference*^[15],

[7] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *Che cosa cambia nell'URSS di Gorbaciov?*, Mursia, Milan, 1990.

[8] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *Ex URSS: la questione delle nazionalità in Unione Sovietica da Lenin alla CSI*, Mursia, Milan, 1992.

[9] Fagiolo, Silvio, *La Russia di Gorbaciov. Il nuovo corso della politica russa settanta anni dopo l'Ottobre*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1988. Fagiolo had previously published another book on the Soviet Union: *I gruppi di pressione in URSS* (Laterza, Bari, 1977).

[10] Massari, Maurizio, *La grande svolta: la riforma politica in URSS, 1986–1990*, Guida, Naples, 1990.

[11] Toscano, Roberto, *Soviet Human Rights Policy and Perestroika*, University Press of America, Cambridge, MA, 1989.

[12] Quaroni, Pietro, *Russia e Cina*, Garzanti, Milan, 1967.

[13] Paresce, Gabriele, *Russia e Cina (quattro secoli tra guerra e pace)*, Bompiani, Milan, 1971.

[14] Cangelosi Rocco, Antonio, *Dal progetto del trattato Spinelli all'Atto Unico Europeo. Cronaca di una riforma mancata*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1987.

[15] Cangelosi Rocco, Antonio and Grassi, Vincenzo, *Dalle comunità all'Unione. Il trattato di Maastricht e la Conferenza intergovernativa del 1996*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1996.

he describes the different phases that led to the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The third book, edited with Giuseppe Buccino, has the title *Toward a European Constitution: From Amsterdam to Laeken*^[16] and includes contributions by other Italian diplomats who had parts in the European process at the turn of the century. Stefano Baldi adopted the same format of contribution by several diplomats for the 2002 volume, *Europe and International Politics: New Horizons of Italian Diplomacy*^[17].

Cosimo Risi has also edited three books on the European Union, focussing on its evolution of the European construction. In particular, in his *The External Action of the European Union*^[18] he has put together the contributions of several other diplomats to discuss the current situation and the possible future perspectives of the Common Foreign Policy of the European Union. Two other important volumes on European Union political dynamics are *Not only the Euro: The Political Philosophy of the European Union*^[19] by Pasquale Ferrara and *The Legitimate Europe: Principles and Processes of Legitimation in the Construction of Europe*^[20] by Nicola Verola.

In regard to European issues, we cannot fail to mention Mario Fridegotto's *The Schengen Agreement: International and Internal Consequences for Italy*^[21]. In this text, the author has studied the effects of Italy's adhesion to the so-called Schengen Agreement.

In the first decades of the European Community, many diplomats dedicated attention to the development of the European Union. In 1965, Pietro Quaroni, for example, published *Europe at*

[16] Buccino Grimaldi, Giuseppe and Cangelosi, Rocco Antonio (editors), *Verso la costituzione europea. Da Amsterdam a Laeken*, Philos Edizioni, Rome, 2002.

[17] Baldi, Stefano (editor), *Europa e politica internazionale: nuovi orizzonti della diplomazia italiana*, Giuffrè, Milan, 2002.

[18] Risi, Cosimo (editor), *L'azione esterna dell'Unione Europea*, Editoriale Scientifica, Naples, 2007.

[19] Ferrara, Pasquale, *Non di solo Euro. La filosofia politica dell'Unione Europea*, Città Nuova, Rome, 2001.

[20] Verola, Nicola, *L'Europa legittima. Principi e processi di legittimazione nella costruzione europea*, Passigli, Florence, 2006.

[21] Fridegotto, Mario, *L'accordo di Schengen: riflessi internazionali ed interni per l'Italia*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1992.

a *Crossroads*^[22], in which he examined the situation of European construction. He discusses the most important steps of the past (such as the European Coal and Steel Community, the failure of the European Defense Community and the Common Market) and some of the problematic aspects, such as Great Britain in the Common Market and the constitution of a political community. Guglielmo Rulli was one of the earliest Italian diplomats to write on European issues. In 1945, he published *USE, United States of Europe?*^[23], where he affirmed European unity and a prominent role for Italy in the process of unification. Gerardo Zampaglione published two books following the ten years (1963 to 1973) he spent in Brussels as Director General in the Council of Ministers of the European Communities: *A Foreign Policy for a United Europe*^[24] and *Europe and the Community Bodies*^[25].

Italian diplomats have also studied and analysed some aspects of the United Nations. Vincenzo Tornetta has edited the book, *The United Nations of 2000: Toward a New International Order*^[26], which contains essays by various diplomats. Vincenza Lomonaco has studied a specific sector of the United Nations with her book *United Nations and Humanitarian International Aid*^[27]. Stefano Baldi has edited two books containing a series of writings by diplomats on United Nations issues. Both *Italy at the UN: Aspects of Italian Diplomatic Action and of the Italian Presence at the United Nations*^[28] (edited with Giuseppe Nesi) and *The United Nations Up Close: Aspects and Problems of Italy's Activity in the United Na-*

[22] Quaroni, Pietro, *L'Europa al bivio*, Ferro Edizioni, Milan, 1965.

[23] Rulli, Guglielmo, *USE, Stati Uniti d'Europa?*, Casella, Naples, 1945.

[24] Zampaglione, Gerardo, *Una politica estera per l'Europa unita*, Edizioni Cinque Lune, Rome, 1978.

[25] Zampaglione, Gerardo, *L'Europa e gli organismi comunitari*, ERI, Turin, 1979.

[26] Tornetta, Vincenzo (editor), *Le Nazioni Unite del 2000. Verso un nuovo ordine internazionale*, Edizioni Fratelli Laterza, Bari, 1991.

[27] Lomonaco, Vincenza, *Nazioni Unite e soccorso umanitario internazionale*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1988.

[28] Baldi, Stefano and Nesi, Giuseppe (editors), *L'Italia al Palazzo di vetro. Aspetti dell'azione diplomatica e della presenza italiana all'ONU*, Collana Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche dell'Università di Trento, Trento, 2005.

tions^[29] (edited with Cinzia Buccianti) contain contributions on the functioning of the United Nations in New York. Ranieri Tallarigo has edited the book *Italy at the UN 1993–1999. The Years with Paolo Fulci. Diplomacy as a Teamwork*^[30] which contains a collection of essays written by fifteen diplomats on their unique experience during the seven years when Fulci was Permanent Representative at the Permanent Mission of Italy to the UN.

Many important Italian diplomats have published on nuclear issues. Roberto Gaja was one of the first to deal with this question. In 1959, he published *The Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb*^[31] and, in 1964, *Foreign Policy and Nuclear Weapons*^[32]. It is worth noting that both books were published under the pseudonym of Roberto Guidi, since the opinions he expressed were not in line with the official ones. Later in his life, in 1986, Gaja again published on nuclear challenges with the book *Introduction to Nuclear Age Foreign Policy*^[33], where he analysed the political consequences to the international community deriving from the existence and the development of nuclear weapons. Other diplomats who have written on nuclear issues (all as editors) are Fausto Bacchetti with *Nuclear Strategy*^[34] in 1964; Emilio Bettini, in 1968, with *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*^[35]; and Vincenzo Tornetta, in 1987, with *Nuclear Deterrence and Christian Morality*^[36].

[29] Baldi, Stefano and Buccianti, Cinzia (editors), *Le Nazioni Unite viste da vicino. Aspetti e problemi dell'attività dell'ONU e dell'azione dell'Italia*, CEDAM, Padova, 2006.

[30] Tallarigo, Ranieri (editor), *L' Italia all'ONU 1993–1999. Gli anni con Paolo Fulci: quando la diplomazia fa gioco di squadra*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (Cz), 2007.

[31] Gaja [Guidi], Roberto, *Le conseguenze politiche della bomba atomica*, Biblioteca della "Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali," Florence, 1959.

[32] Gaja [Guidi], Roberto, *Politica estera e armi nucleari*, Cappelli, Bologna, 1964.

[33] Gaja, Roberto, *Introduzione alla politica estera dell'era nucleare*, Franco-Angeli, Milan, 1986.

[34] Bacchetti, Fausto (editor), *La strategia nucleare*, Edizioni di Comunità, Milan, 1964.

[35] Bettini, Emilio (editor), *Il trattato contro la proliferazione nucleare*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1968.

[36] Tornetta, Vincenzo (editor), *Deterrenza nucleare e morale cristiana*, Fratelli Laterza, Bari, 1987.

Other aspects of modern diplomacy, closely related to philosophy, have been analysed by some Italian diplomats. In particular, Roberto Toscano has studied some of the principles that regulate international affairs and are at the basis of peaceful living in common. Ethics is the subject of his book, *The Face of the Enemy: The Challenge of Ethics in International Relations*^[37], while the complex relationship between terrorism and international law is discussed in his *Violence: Its Rules*^[38]. These stimulating books confront the reader with deep thoughts and difficult questions.

Intolerance and related themes are the subjects of the book, *The Enemies of Dialogue: Reasons and Perversions of Intolerance*^[39] by Michelangelo Jacobucci. This volume contains many interesting reflections on racism and religious fundamentalism.

^[37] Toscano, Roberto, *Il volto del nemico. La sfida dell'etica nelle relazioni internazionali*, Guerini e Associati, Milan, 2000.

^[38] Toscano, Roberto, *La violenza, le regole*, Einaudi, Turin, 2006.

^[39] Jacobucci, Michelangelo, *I nemici del dialogo. Ragioni e perversioni dell'intolleranza*, Armando Editore, Rome, 2005.

5

HISTORY

History has always been a stimulating subject for diplomats, not only because they may have assisted the events that made history, but also because of their cultural and academic backgrounds. Therefore, it is not surprising that some diplomats become university lecturers, abandoning their career in diplomacy. Among the diplomats who most recently made this leap, Giuliano Bertuccioli stands out as one of the most important Italian sinologists. Likewise, Fabio Grassi teaches history and international relations. Many other diplomats, while still in service, take part in academic activities; others become lecturers once retired. Among the latter, we find Sergio Romano, Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, Vittorio Farinelli, and Pasquale Baldocci.

As for Italian history in general, Sergio Romano has written several titles in the area. Particularly important is his *History of Italy from the Risorgimento to Today*^[1]. Originally published in French in 1977^[2], it has been a success in both Italian and French. In 1998, Romano published an up-to-date edition^[3]. The study carried out by Stefano Baldi and Raimondo Cagiano de Azevedo, *The Italian Population: A Demographic History from 1946 to Today*^[4], describes a short period and considers only the demographic aspects of Italy's recent history.

^[1] Romano, Sergio, *Storia d'Italia dal Risorgimento ai giorni nostri*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milan, 1978.

^[2] Romano, Sergio, *Histoire de l'Italie du Risorgimento à nos jours*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1977.

^[3] Romano, Sergio, *Storia d'Italia dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, Longanesi, Milan, 1998.

^[4] Baldi, Stefano and Cagiano de Azevedo, Raimondo, *La popolazione italiana. Storia demografica dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2005.

Italian Diplomats have made several studies of historical personages. We note, for instance, Roberto Ducci's 1933 *The First Age of Napoleon*^[5], where the author analyses the youth of the French emperor. As well, Antonello Pietromarchi wrote about Napoleon's brother, Luciano Bonaparte, in two books: *Luciano Bonaparte: A Roman Prince*^[6] – also published in France^[7] – and *Luciano Bonaparte: Napoleon's Brother and Enemy*^[8].

Sergio Romano has written numerous books in this field; in particular, he has published several interesting biographies of Italian notables. For example, he has written *Crispi: Project for a Dictatorship*^[9], and *Giuseppe Volpi: Industry and Finance between Giolitti and Mussolini*^[10], concerning Giuseppe Volpi, a corporate manager who signed the peace treaty with Turkey in 1912. After the latter, he published on popular political figures, such as Giovanni Gentile, or *Giolitti: The Style of Power*^[11]. Romano also wrote *Giovanni Gentile: Philosophy as Power*^[12]. A new edition, titled *Giovanni Gentile: A Philosopher in Power during the Regime*, was published in 2004.

The rich literary production of Sergio Romano includes more than biographies. He also studied and wrote about eighteenth and nineteenth century European history. These writings include *The Fourth Shore: The Libyan War 1911–1912*^[13], and *The False Protocols: The Jewish Plot from the Russia of Nicolas II to Today*^[14]. Romano has also published on Italian political events

[5] Ducci, Roberto, *Prima età di Napoleone*, Vallecchi, Florence, 1933.

[6] Pietromarchi, Antonello, *Luciano Bonaparte principe romano*, Città Armoniosa, Reggio Emilia, 1980.

[7] *Lucien Bonaparte*, Perrin, Paris, 1985.

[8] Pietromarchi, Antonello, *Luciano Bonaparte. Il fratello nemico di Napoleone*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Verona, 1994.

[9] Romano, Sergio, *Crispi, Progetto per una dittatura*, Bompiani, Milan, 1973, reprinted in 1986.

[10] Romano, Sergio, *Giuseppe Volpi, industria e finanza tra Giolitti e Mussolini*, Bompiani, Milan, 1979. Translated into French with the title: *Giuseppe Volpi et l'Italie moderne* (Ecole Française de Rome, 1984).

[11] Romano, Sergio, *Giolitti, lo stile di potere*, Bompiani, Milan, 1989.

[12] Romano, Sergio, *Giovanni Gentile. La filosofia al potere*, Bompiani, Milan, 1984.

[13] Romano, Sergio, *La quarta sponda. La guerra di Libia 1911–1912*, Bompiani, Milan, 1977.

[14] Romano, Sergio, *I falsi protocolli. Il "complotto ebraico" dalla Russia di Nicola II a oggi*, Corbaccio, Milan, 1992.

with his *Italy Breaking Loose*^[15] and *Between Two Republics: The Year of Berlusconi and Italy's Perspectives*^[16]. These writings also include his *The Parallel Italys: Why Italy Fails to Become a Modern Country*^[17] from 1996. His most recent works continue to deal with international politics, as does the series that started with *The Places of History*^[18], and continued with *The Faces of History: The Protagonists and the Open Issues of Our Past*^[19], *The Boundaries of History*^[20], and *The Judgements of History*^[21].

Domenico Vecchioni has written several books on historical figures that are not well known. Among these we find *Birger Dahlerus: The Last Attempt to Avoid the Second World War*^[22], *Raul Wallenberg: The Man Who Saved 100,000 Jews*^[23], and *Cynthia: The Spy Who Changed the Course of the Second World War*^[24]. He has also written a book dealing with the more famous, Evita Peron: *Evita Peron: The Madonna of the Descamisados*^[25], which has had two editions (1989 and 1995). Vecchioni also has published studies of more distant historical periods in his *The Tudor Fleet 1483–1603: The Birth of English Sea Power*^[26], and studies on more recent issues, such as *The Beagle Canal: A Confrontation between Argentina and Chile*^[27]. He is not the only diplomat to

[15] Romano, Sergio, *L'Italia scappata di mano*, Longanesi, Milan, 1993.

[16] Romano, Sergio, *Tra due repubbliche. L'anno di Berlusconi e le prospettive dell'Italia*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milan, 1995.

[17] Romano, Sergio, *Le Italie parallele. Perché l'Italia non riesce a diventare un paese moderno*, Longanesi, Milan, 1996.

[18] Romano, Sergio, *I luoghi della storia*, Rizzoli, Milan, 2000.

[19] Romano, Sergio, *I volti della storia. I protagonisti e le questioni aperte del nostro passato*, Rizzoli, Milan, 2001.

[20] Romano, Sergio, *I confini della storia*, Rizzoli, Milan, 2003.

[21] Romano, Sergio, *I giudizi della storia*, Rizzoli, Milan, 2006.

[22] Vecchioni, Domenico, *Birger Dahlerus: l'ultimo tentativo di impedire la seconda guerra mondiale*, Eura Press, Milan, 1992.

[23] Vecchioni, Domenico, *Raoul Wallenberg. L'uomo che salvò 100.000 ebrei*, Eura Press, Milan, 1994.

[24] Vecchioni, Domenico, *Cynthia. La spia che cambiò il corso della seconda guerra mondiale*, Eura Press, Milan, 2002.

[25] Vecchioni, Domenico, *Evita Peron, la madonna dei descamisados*, Eura Press, Milan, 1989.

[26] Vecchioni, Domenico, *La flotta Tudor, 1485–1603: nascita della potenza marinara inglese*, Eura Press, Milan, 1988.

[27] Vecchioni, Domenico, *Il Canale di Beagle: Argentina e Cile a confronto*, Eura-Press, Milan, 1986.

show an interest in Argentina; Paolo Vita-Finzi has written a book about the life and political affairs of Peron in *Peron: Myth and Reality*^[28].

Several other less popular, but important, figures have been the subject of other studies by diplomats. We can recall Renzo Falaschi's 1985 biography, *Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora: His Thought and Work through Italian Documents*^[29], concerning one of the most important figures of Albania. In the book, *The Marquis of Ormea*^[30], Roberto Gaja wrote about a politician who is almost unknown in Italian history, although he was powerful at one time in the kingdom of Sardinia. Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero di Roasio (named Count of Roasio and Marquis of Ormea in 1722) lived between 1680 and 1745. Appointed special envoy of the Savoia Royal Family to Rome in 1726-1727, he obtained from the Holy See the acknowledgement of Vittorio Amedeo II as King of Sardinia, and concluded an agreement regarding the appointment of bishops favoured by the royal family. Others have written studies of less notable figures in Italian history. Gianni Marocco wrote on *Giambattista Vasco*^[31], a cleric and humanist who lived in the eighteenth century and was the author of several papers on economic issues. Francesco Maria Taliani wrote a *Life of Cardinal Gasparri: Secretary of State and Modest Priest*^[32], published in 1938, regarding the life of an Italian Cardinal who died in 1934. Cardinal Gasparri, the author of ecclesiastic code and Secretary of State of the Vatican in 1915, negotiated several treaties on behalf of Pope Pius XI and was instrumental to the Lateran Agreements in 1929.

Cardinal Gasparri is not the only religious figure that our group of authors has studied. Other priests have been described, such as brother Dolcino in *The Cross and the Pyre: A History of*

[28] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Peron mito e realtà*, Pan Editrice, Milan, 1973.

[29] Falaschi, Renzo, *Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora. Il pensiero e l'opera attraverso i documenti italiani*, Bardi, Rome, 1985.

[30] Gaja, Roberto, *Il Marchese d'Ormea*, Bompiani, Milan, 1988.

[31] Marocco, Gianni, *Giambattista Vasco*, Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Turin, 1978.

[32] Taliani, Francesco Maria, *Vita del Cardinal Gasparri Segretario di Stato e povero prete*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Verona, 1938.

Brother Dolcino and Margherita^[33]. Brother Dolcino was a heretic, burnt in 1307 because of his ideas on equality and poverty of the Church.

Cristina of Belgioioso^[34], which Ludovico Incisa of Camerana published in 1984, concerns one of the few female figures found in this study. The protagonist is Cristina Trivulzio, a patriot and a writer of the nineteenth century, who moved from Italy first to Switzerland and then to France. She worked for Italian independence, even funding Mazzini's ride to Savoia. Her charm and her gift for writing made her an important political personage in Paris of that time, where many artists and writers in exile used to gather around her.

Maurizio Serra is the only Italian diplomat who has published a study on a foreign diplomat. *The Tenant of the Quai d'Orsay*^[35] concerns Philippe Berthelot, the French Director of Political Affairs and then the Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1920–1932). Berthelot had a strong influence on French foreign policy.

In at least one case, two diplomats, in two different books, provide different views on the same historical period and events. The two books are *Rome, Berlin, Salò, 1936–1945*^[36] by Filippo Anfuso and *Why in Salò: Diary of the Italian Social Republic*^[37] by Luigi Bolla. Both books are about the Italian Social Republic (also known as the Salò Republic), the second and short-lived incarnation of a Fascist state led by Mussolini between the end of 1943 and 1945.

Several books describe foreign countries. They are often about countries where the diplomat-author worked. For example, Kuwait has been the subject of two works: Gerardo Zampaglione's

^[33] Sogno, Edgardo, *La croce e il rogo. Storia di fra Dolcino e Margherita*, Mursia, Milan, 1992.

^[34] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico and Trivulzio, Alberica, *Cristina di Belgioioso*, Rusconi, Milan, 1984.

^[35] Serra, Maurizio, *L'inquilino del Quai d'Orsay*, Sellerio, Palermo, 2002.

^[36] Anfuso, Filippo, *Roma, Berlino, Salò (1936–1945)*, Garzanti, Milan, 1950.

^[37] Bolla, Luigi, *Perché a Salò: diario della Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, Bompiani, Milan, 1982.

A History of Kuwait: From the Stone Age to the Oil Age^[38] and Stefano Beltrame's *History of Kuwait: The Arabs, Oil, and the West*^[39]. Another example is *History of India: Society and System from Independence to Today*^[40], where Francesco D'Orazi Flavoni describes and analyses fifty years of the history of the country.

Other books study the trend of Italian foreign policy. Two important diplomats, Sergio Romano and Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, have dealt with this subject. Romano's *Guide to Italian Foreign Policy*^[41] (originally published in 1993 and subsequently brought up to date several times) is meant to be a guide in the analysis of the complex dynamics of Italian foreign policy from the summer of 1943, when the regime started to feel the weight of the military and political defeat, to the summer of 1989, when Communism began to fail. Romano had written an earlier work with the Australian historian, Richard Bosworth – the 1991 *Italian Foreign Policy (1860–1985)*^[42]. Another study of foreign policy arising from Romano's teaching experience at Bocconi University is his 1995 *Fifty Years of World History: Peace and War from the Yalta Treaty to Today*.

Luigi Vittorio Ferraris wrote in 1996 a *Handbook of Italian Foreign Policy, 1947–1993*^[43]. This work is meant for consultation purposes, rather than for analysis and it organises, in quite a rough way, the decisions made in political processes in which Italy has been involved. It describes the facts, opinions, observations, different ideas, and disputes without taking any position, so to grant a global comprehension of the events narrated.

[38] Zampaglione, Gerardo, *Storia del Kuwait. Dall'età della pietra all'età del petrolio*, Edizioni Abete, Rome, 1980.

[39] Beltrame, Stefano, *Storia del Kuwait. Gli Arabi, il petrolio, l'occidente*, CEDAM, Padua, 1999.

[40] D'Orazi Flavoni, Francesco, *Storia dell'India. Società e sistema dall'indipendenza a oggi*, Marsilio, Milan, 2000. This book has also been translated into Spanish as *Historia de la India. De 1947 a nuestros días* (A. Machado Libros, Madrid, 2003).

[41] Romano, Sergio, *Guida alla politica estera italiana. Da Badoglio a Berlusconi*, Rizzoli, Milan, 2002.

[42] Romano, Sergio and Bosworth, Richard J. B. (editors), *La politica estera italiana (1860–1985)*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1991.

[43] Ferraris, Luigi Vittorio (editor), *Manuale della politica estera italiana 1947–1993*, Laterza, Bari, 1996.

Separately from the rest, we should note all those books that have been written as university textbooks. Among them are the two volumes of *Elements of the Theory of International Relations*^[44], published by Mario Mondello in 1982.

^[44] Mondello, Mario, *Elementi di “Teoria delle relazioni internazionali”*, Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali, Rome, 1982.

BOOKS ON ITALIAN EMIGRATION AND ITALIANS ABROAD

Italian diplomats have published relatively few books on emigration and Italian communities abroad. Of the 935 books listed in *Rassegna Bibliografica sull'emigrazione italiana e sulle comunità italiane all'estero (1975–1988)*^[1], only eight were written by diplomats. This is a very limited number when we consider that Italian consulates in the world are nearly always headed by diplomats.

One book that deals with emigration in general is Nino Falchi's *International Migration Pressures*^[2]. In this text, the author analyses ways to positively influence international movements of populations. In addition, Giuseppe Cipolloni has considered *Migrants from Marginalisation to Participation*^[3], although this text is presently rather dated.

A number of studies treat specific Italian communities abroad. Gianni Marocco has published *On the Other Bank of the Rio Plata: Italians in Uruguay*^[4], where he reconstructs the stories of Italian emigration to Uruguay. Gerardo Zampaglione has written, among many other books, *Italians in Illawarra*^[5], where he presents the past and the traditions of the Italian community of a particular region of Australia. As well, Stefano Baldi dealt with a

[1] Tassello, Graziano (editor), *Rassegna bibliografica sull'emigrazione italiana e sulle comunità italiane all'estero (1975–1988)*, Fratelli Palombi Editori, Rome, 1988. This volume was published on the occasion of the Second National Conference on Emigration.

[2] Falchi, Nino, *International Migration Pressures*, International Organization for Migration, Geneva, 1995.

[3] Cipolloni, Giuseppe, *Gli emigrati dalla emarginazione alla partecipazione*, Vallecchi, Florence, 1979.

[4] Marocco, Gianni, *Sull'altra sponda del Plata. Gli italiani in Uruguay*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1986.

[5] Zampaglione, Gerardo, *Gli italiani in Illawarra*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1987.

small Italian community in Africa in his short essay, *Italians in Tanzania Yesterday and Today*^[6]. This study is one of the few concerning small Italian communities in Africa. In another study of emigrants to Africa, Pasquale Diana has written on *Italian Workers in the Belgian Congo*^[7]. In a historical approach, Mario Bolasco has written on the completion, by Italian workers, of the Damascus–Medina railway at the beginning of the twentieth century in his *Damascus–Medina: a Futuristic Railway (1901–1908). A Thousand Italian Workers in the Hejaz Desert*^[8].

Giovanni Germano in an illustrated volume, *The Italians of Western Canada: How a Community Centre is born*^[9], has described his experience as Consul in Vancouver. In a similar vein, Ludovico Incisa di Camerana has conducted studies that have been condensed in *Argentina, the Italians, Italy*^[10]. Another important work of this author is *The Great Exodus: History of Italian Migrations around the World*^[11]. Here, the author describes the history and the characteristics of Italians outside Italy from the Middle Ages to the present. This long-term perspective allows rethinking of the negative stereotype of the emigrant that has characterized a part of our history.

Among volumes directly or indirectly related to other migration issues, we can cite Mario Sica's *Towards European Citizenship*^[12], specifically related to the citizenship question; and the book by Mario Fridegotto on the Schengen Agreement, mentioned in Chapter 3, more focussed on visa developments in the European Union.

[6] Baldi, Stefano. *Gli italiani in Tanzania, ieri e oggi*, CSER, Rome, 1994. The text is also available online in English at <http://baldi.diplomacy.edu>.

[7] Diana, Pasquale, *Lavoratori italiani nel Congo belga. Elenco biografico*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa, Rome, 1961.

[8] Bolasco, Mario, *Damasco–Medina, ferrovia avveniristica (1901–1908). Mille operai italiani nel Deserto dell'Hejaz*, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1999.

[9] Germano, Giovanni, *Gli italiani del Canada Occidentale. Come nasce un centro comunitario*, Giunti Marzocco, Florence, 1978.

[10] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico, *L'Argentina, gli italiani, l'Italia*, Servizi Promozione Attività Internazionali (SPA), Milan, 1998.

[11] Incisa di Camerana, Ludovico, *Il grande esodo. Storia delle migrazioni italiane nel mondo*, Corbaccio, Milan, 2003.

[12] Sica, Mario, *Verso la cittadinanza europea*, Le Monnier, Florence, 1979.

BOOKS ON ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The number of books that Italian diplomats have written on economic issues and international cooperation is extremely limited. One of the few examples is Francesco Aloisi de Lardere's book, *From Development Assistance to Cooperation*^[1], which deals with the characteristics of international cooperation, in particular Italian cooperation, in the 1980s. In addition, the books of Francesco Ercolano, *The Foreign Debt of Developing Countries*^[2] and *The Liberalisation of Commerce and of the Movement of People*^[3] are on the theme of international cooperation.

Concerning economic issues, Roberto Palmieri has written on the Chinese economy in *The Chinese Economy in the Eighties: Development, Socialism, and Democracy*^[4]. Francesco Fransoni, with his *From Planned Economy to Market Economy: Privatisation in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*^[5], has analyzed the relatively slow process of transition to the market economy in ex-Soviet bloc countries, with emphasis on the fact that privatisation of planned economies has proven to be much longer, expensive, and complex than expected.

[1] Aloisi de Lardere, Francesco, *Dall'aiuto alla cooperazione*, Fratelli Palombi, Rome, 1988.

[2] Ercolano, Francesco, *L'indebitamento estero dei PVS*, Fratelli Palombi, Rome, 1990.

[3] Ercolano, Francesco, *Liberalizzazione del commercio e del movimento delle persone*, Fratelli Palombi, Rome, 1996.

[4] Palmieri, Roberto, *L'economia cinese verso gli anni '80. Sviluppo socialismo e democrazia*, Einaudi, Turin, 1979.

[5] Fransoni, Francesco, *Dal piano al mercato: le privatizzazioni in Europa orientale e nell'ex Unione Sovietica*, SIPI, Rome, 1995.

The limited number of this type of book is probably due to the fact that only in the last twenty-five years has economics assumed importance in international relationships and, above all, in developing countries. Since diplomacy in Italian cooperative policy has been and continues to be essential, it is possible and desirable that the number of books on the topic will increase.

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

The novels and short stories that Italian diplomats have written are not very numerous, but they represent an interesting and varied aspect of the publications of Italian diplomats. Some, such as Gian Paolo Tozzoli, have written series of short stories. Regretfully, the short stories and novels that Italian diplomats have written have generally not had wide distribution, no matter their quality. Nevertheless, the literary style of some diplomats has received recognition. For example, Giuseppe Ungaretti has written of Francesco Maria Taliani^[1]:

Taliani is often one of our best writers. Many of his pages, atrocious pages or delicious pages, are suited for anthologies. In addition, concerning moments of history that have changed our life, his descriptions . . . are done in a way possible only to someone who . . . has personally lived them and has a special awareness and sensibility.

In the field of diplomatic novelists, a special place must be reserved for Paolo Vita-Finzi who has received many commendations for his book *Apocryphal Anthology*^[2], originally printed in 1927 (when the author was 28 years old). This book is a series of parodies on important Italian writers and was subsequently published with another series written later.

Of course, in the stories or the novels written by diplomats, we may find autobiographic details or other references linked to the diplomatic experiences of the authors. This occurs in the first

^[1] From the Preface by Giuseppe Ungaretti to Taliani's *Veli stracciati* (Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milan, 1966).

^[2] Vita-Finzi, Paolo, *Antologia apocrifa*, Bompiani, Milan, 1978.

short story of Tozzoli's *Apotheosis of an Idiot*^[3], in which the protagonist, Vieri, prepares to sit for diplomatic selection. Numerous diplomats will recognise their own anguishes and worries in the description. Three books of fiction written by Boris Biancheri are also inspired, even if distantly, by autobiographic elements. In *The Amber of the Baltic*^[4], the author constructs an imaginary correspondence with his uncle Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (author of *The Leopard*) and in *Return to Stomersee*^[5], he presents a collection of three stories that represents "a punctual metaphor of our current world." In *The Fifth Exile*^[6], Biancheri follows the story of the Grabhau family across two centuries. Exile is a variation on a theme that takes the members of the family from Sweden to Russia to Rome to the United States.

Clearly resting on his experience are the books that Rosario Nicosia^[7] has published. Three of his novels (*The Affaire Valfrè*^[8], *Small Embassies*^[9], and *Goodbye Madagascar*^[10]) are based in Madagascar, where he was Ambassador from 1996 to 1999, and have as main character the Italian Ambassador. Each of these novels describes different crimes that need solution and each offers a humorous description of the diplomatic life in a small embassy of an African country.

The two books published by Diego Brasioli have also been inspired by autobiographic elements. *Tamer Coffeehouse*^[11] is a short story on a friendship between a Jew and an Arab that

[3] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *Apotheosi di un babbeo*, Shakespeare and Company, Milan, 1992.

[4] Biancheri, Boris, *L'ambra del Baltico – Carteggio immaginario con Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1994.

[5] Biancheri, Boris, *Il ritorno a Stomersee*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 2002. This volume won the Grinzane Cavour literary award in 2003.

[6] Biancheri, Boris, *Il quinto esilio*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 2006. This book won the Elsa Morante Narrativa literary award in 2006.

[7] All of Nicosia's novels have been published under the pen name of Guido Nicosia.

[8] Nicosia, [Guido] Rosario, *L'Affare Valfrè*, Di Renzo Editore, Rome, 2001.

[9] Nicosia, [Guido] Rosario, *Piccole ambasciate*, Di Renzo Editore, Rome, 2003.

[10] Nicosia, [Guido] Rosario, *Madagascar adieu*, Di Renzo Editore, Rome, 2004.

[11] Brasioli, Diego, *Il caffè di Tamer*, Mursia, Milan, 2002.

takes place in Jerusalem, while *The Stars of Babylon*^[12] consists of a series of short stories that have as a common element the opposition to war.

In less autobiographic stories, Roberto Gaja has published a novel that takes place in a small kingdom of India in the eighteenth century, where an enlightened prince tries to reach supreme wisdom and to govern in the best possible way. Unfortunately, *An Oriental Novel*^[13] was the last book written by the author before his death. Likewise, Silvio Mignano has written two novels with the same protagonist, the private investigator, Paolo Veronese. The two novels, *A Lesson on Love*^[14] and *Hell's Doors*^[15] describe two difficult cases resolved by the detective.

A number of Italian diplomats have translated foreign authors into Italian. Tracking these books is difficult because bibliographies do not always cite the name of a translator. Nevertheless, we can mention Paolo Vita-Finzi who has translated some of the work of the Argentinean writer, humanist, and nuclear physicist Ernesto Sábato (*El túnel*^[16] and *Abaddón el exterminador*^[17]). As well, Alberto Mellini Ponce De Leon has translated the book *War or Peace*^[18] by John Foster Dulles. During his youth, Raffaele Guariglia translated, from Russian, the book of Prince Grigorij Nikolaevic Trubezkoi, *Russia as a Great Power*^[19]. Sergio Romano translated from French the book, *Il manoscritto pervenuto misteriosamente da Sant'Elena* [*The Manuscript that Mysteriously Arrived from Saint Helena*], presented as a kind of fictional autobiography of Napoleon, but with an unknown author. Benedetto Gentile, son of the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, has translated many

[12] Brasioli, Diego, *Le stelle di Babilonia*, Mursia, Milan, 2007.

[13] Gaja, Roberto, *Una novella orientale*, Editore Novecento, Palermo, 1994.

[14] Mignano, Silvio, *Una lezione sull'amore*, Fazi, Rome, 2000.

[15] Mignano, Silvio, *Le porte dell'inferno*, Fazi, Rome, 2001.

[16] Sábato, Ernesto, *Il tunnel*, translation by Paolo Vita-Finzi, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1967.

[17] Sábato, Ernesto, *L'angelo dell'abisso*, translation by Paolo Vita-Finzi, Rizzoli, Milan, 1977.

[18] Dulles, John Foster, *Guerra o pace*, translation by Alberto Mellini Ponce De Leon, L. Cappelli, Bologna, 1952.

[19] Trubezkoi, Grigorij Nikolaevic, *La Russia come grande Potenza*, translation by Raffaele Guariglia, Treves, Milano, 1915.

books of important French writers. One of the most famous of his translations is *Le grand Meaulnes*^[20] by Alain Fournier.

Finally we should note Silvio Mignano, who has translated into Italian a selection of Cuban poems in the volume *The Island that Sings*^[21].

^[20] Fournier, Alain, *Il gran Meaulnes*; introduction by Emanuele Kanceff, translation by Benedetto Gentile, UTET, Turin, 1981.

^[21] Manera, Danilo (editor), *L'isola che canta*, translation by Danilo Manera and Silvio Mignano, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1998.

POETRY AND THEATRE

Only three diplomats, Sergio Romano^[1], Fabrizio Rossi Longhi^[2], and Antonio Cottafavi^[3] have written plays. All, except for that of Romano, are tragi-comedies. They were written at young ages and have not been followed with others.

However, many diplomats have written poetry. Gian Paolo Tozzoli has published several collections of poetry (*One Hundred Poems for a Life*^[4], *Mala Strana*^[5], and *Suddenly the World: Selected Poems 1970–1992*^[6]). As well, Massimo Baistrocchi has published many reflections as poetry (*Poems New and Stolen 1979–1980*^[7] and *You, in My Thoughts 1982–1987*^[8]). Roberto Ducci has not only published his own poems (*Innocence: Chants*^[9] and *Book of Music: Poems*^[10]), but has edited an anthology of poems by

[1] Romano, Sergio, *Felo da sé. Atto unico teatrale*, All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, Milan, 1969 and *Collezionismo*, Libri Scheiwiller, Milan, 1981.

[2] Rossi Longhi, Fabrizio, *Julien. La beffa di Mefistofele*, Casella, Naples, 1959.

[3] Cottafavi, Antonio, *L'imperatrice senza velo: le grandi tragedie della storia (Mayerling: dramma in due atti e tre quadri)*, Nuova Europa, Milan, 1969.

[4] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *Cento poesie per una vita*, Rusconi, Milan, 1973.

[5] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *Mala strana (1981–1985)*, All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, Milan, 1985.

[6] Tozzoli, Gian Paolo, *All'improvviso il mondo – poesie scelte 1970–1992*, Marotta, Naples, 1992.

[7] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *Poesie nuove e poesie rubate (1979–1980)*, All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, Milan, 1986.

[8] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *E col pensiero di te... 1982–1987*, All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, Milan, 1989.

[9] Ducci, Roberto, *L'innocenza – Cantilene*, Rebellato Editore, S. Donà di Piave, 1978.

[10] Ducci, Roberto, *Libro di musica – Poesie*, Rebellato Editore, Fossalta di Piave, 1980.

Gabriele d'Annunzio (*D'Annunzio Alive*^[11]). D'Annunzio is also one of the figures described in Ducci's 1976 *The Contemporaries*^[12]. Almost all these authors have also published books of different genre; Mario Alessandro Paulucci is the only diplomat who has published only poetry, having published between 1947 and 1983, seven volumes of poems.

Since poems are generally hard to judge, it is very difficult to give an opinion on the quality of verses written by diplomats. Nevertheless, we cannot find any notable figure of diplomat-poet in Italy. Roberto Ducci shared this opinion in referring to Paul Claudel:

he was a diplomat (he concluded his career as ambassador in Washington and in Brussels), just like Giraudoux, Andrić, Saint-John Perse, Asturias; but who in Italy was ever again both a diplomat and poet, after Nicolò [Machiavelli]?^[13]

Although in Italy no diplomat poet has attained any fame, if we consider the international context, we have a rather different picture. Three career diplomat-poets have received the Nobel Prize. Saint-John Perse (pen name of Alexis Leger), a French diplomat from 1914 to 1940, received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1960. The following year, the Nobel Prize was awarded to Ivo Andrić, a Yugoslav diplomat between 1923 and 1939. Finally, Gheorghios Seferis (pen name of Gheorghios Seferiadis), a Greek diplomat from 1925 to 1961, received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1963. The early 1960s were particularly favourable to diplomats in literature. More details are available in the chapter on diplomacy and literature.

Massimo Baistrocchi describes the relationship between diplomatic activity and poetry in the following way:

I gathered once more my papers and my luggage
and left for the unknown, for new work and experi-

[11] Ducci, Roberto, *D'Annunzio vivente*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Vicenza, 1973.

[12] Ducci, Roberto, *I contemporanei*, Edizioni Editip, Turin, 1976.

[13] Ducci, Roberto, *I contemporanei*, op. cit.

ence, in my usual wandering and gipsy-like existence, in which I wander the world in a profession that I have deliberately chosen, but which does not know the scent of poetry because of its contents and objectives.^[14]

The publication of poetry by diplomats seems more inspired by an inner need to express oneself freely than the wish to share sensations and feelings developed during the career. Only verses with their detachment from reality can present an escape from a cold and bureaucratic style often imposed by the profession.

^[14] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *L'enigma della scrittura*, Bastogi, Foggia, 1984, p. 63.

OTHER BOOKS

In this residual chapter, we describe some books that we cannot place in previous chapters. Most of the books presented here are without links to the professional diplomatic career. Among these difficult-to-classify books, we can mention *The Last Minute*^[1] by Alberto Berio, one of the few Italian diplomats to deal with religious matters on the basis of the knowledge acquired during postings in foreign countries. Besides the work of Berio, Roberto Caracciolo di Sanvito's voyage among different "spiritualities" must be cited; in his *From East to West: The Pattern of Memory*^[2], he completes an ideal trip, describing the experiences accumulated along his career in the countries where he served as a diplomat.

We also include here the volume on the *History of Scouting in Italy*^[3] written by Mario Sica, in which he reconstructs the birth and dissemination in Italy of this important world youth movement. This is only one of many books that Sica has published on the Scout movement.

We find a place here, as well, for a book on *Ancient Civilisations of the Sahara*^[4] by Massimo Baistrocchi in which the author examines and describes Saharan cave art. Since 1989, Baistrocchi

[1] Berio, Alberto, *L'ultimo minuto*, M. Danesi, Rome, 1977.

[2] Caracciolo di San Vito, Roberto, *Da oriente ad occidente sul sentiero della memoria*, Edizioni Mediterranee, Rome, 1993.

[3] Sica, Mario, *Storia dello scoutismo in Italia*, Nuova Fiordaliso, Rome, 1996.

[4] Baistrocchi, Massimo, *Antiche civiltà del Sahara*, Mursia, Milan, 1986.

has also published annually a title in a private, limited edition series called *Gifts for My Friends*^[5].

Few books of photography appear in this study simply because Italian diplomats have not published many volumes of this kind. An exception is Morabito's *Indonesia: Archipelago of Wonders*^[6], completed during his posting to the Asian country. Likewise, Bangladesh has inspired the book, *Bengal*^[7], by Claudio Pacifico, rich in colour illustrations and with English and Italian texts, and conceived and completed while he was ambassador in that country. The book of photographs on *Rabari: The Last Nomads*^[8], published by Francesco D'Orazi Flavoni, is particularly reflective. This book concerns the nomadic shepherds who live in a forgotten corner of north-west India and displays the love that the author has always shown for the Indian sub-continent. Antonello Pietromarchi's *A Particular View: Count Primoli and the Image of the Belle-Epoque*^[9] is half-way between a volume of photography and a history. It contains numerous photos taken during the years at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century by Count Giuseppe Napoleone Primoli.

Another book founded on visual work, although not based on photography, is *How to Look at Contemporary Art and Live Happily. Fifty-Five Artworks from 1970 to 2000: Everything You Want to Know about Contemporary Art and Were Afraid to Ask*^[10]. In

[5] These are brief essays of various types related to the places or persons dear to the author. Titles that have been published include: *Pamyat* (1989), *Iskusstvo* (1990), *Hsiu Yee Wuh* (1991), *H. K. Addio* (1993), *Gbardaia* (1994), *Taccuini Sahariani I* (1995), *Taccuini Sahariani II* (1996), *Carissimitutti... Malaysia (1972–1975)* (1997), *Alfredo, Ettore, Marco (1875–1997)* (1997), *30* (1998), *Nel Borneo* (1998), *Nei Mari del Sud* (1999), *In Sicilia* (2000), *Mali* (2001), *Incontri* (2002), *Adinkra* (2003), and *Perle d'Africa* (2004).

[6] Morabito, Antonio, *Indonesia. Arcipelago delle meraviglie*, Laruffa Editore, Reggio Calabria, 1993.

[7] Pacifico, Claudio, *Bengala*, Edimond, Città di Castello, 2000.

[8] D'Orazi Flavoni, Francesco, *Rabari. Gli ultimi nomadi*, Stampa Alternativa, Terni, 1998.

[9] Pietromarchi, Antonello, *Un occhio di riguardo. Il conte Primoli e l'immagine della Belle-époque*, Ponte alle Grazie, Florence, 1990.

[10] Guglielmino, Giorgio, *Come guardare l'arte contemporanea e vivere felici. 55 opere dal 1970 al 2000: tutto quello che avreste voluto saper sull'arte contemporanea e non avete mai osato chiedere*, Umberto Allemandi & C., Turin, 2000.

this text, Giorgio Guglielmino explains some important works of contemporary art with simple and effective words.

One of the few books written with four hands by two Italian diplomats is *International Careers*^[11] by Stefano Baldi and Antonio Enrico Bartoli. It is a practical guide for all who are interested in job opportunities offered by international organisations and it includes some advice concerning the diplomatic career. Other books written with four hands by two Italian diplomats are those of Cangelosi and Grassi, and of Cangelosi and Buccino Grimaldi mentioned in the chapter on international affairs. Another book where both authors are Italian diplomats is that written by Maurizio Serra and Raimondo Manzini, *1943–1944: Revelations of the Resumption of Italian–Soviet Relations*^[12]. Stefano Baldi and Jovan Kurbalija have also collaborated in the only book that deals with information and communication technologies, the English volume titled *Internet Guide for Diplomats*^[13].

During thirty years, Adolfo Maresca has written many interesting works concerning the legal aspects of the practice of diplomatic and consular activities. His work represents a point of reference for those interested in the legal aspects of diplomatic activity and some volumes have been translated into Spanish and French. Among his most recent, we can mention the *Legal Diplomatic Dictionary*^[14] and *Practice in Diplomatic Law: Introduction to Diplomacy*^[15]. In the latter, Maresca shows diplomatic law as an autonomous discipline. Maresca has taught this topic for several years at the university “La Sapienza” of Rome. In addition to the work of Maresca, the two volumes of *Consular Law: Theory and Practice*^[16] that Gerardo Zampaglione has written deserve

[11] Baldi, Stefano and Bartoli, Antonio Enrico, *Carriere internazionali*, Il Sole 24 Ore, Milan, 2000.

[12] Serra, Maurizio and Manzini, Raimondo, *1943–1944: rivelazioni sulla ripresa dei rapporti italo-sovietici*, La Nuova Antologia, Florence, 2005.

[13] Baldi, Stefano and Kurbalija, Jovan, *Internet Guide for Diplomats*, Diplo- Foundation, Valletta, Malta, 2000.

[14] Maresca, Adolfo, *Dizionario giuridico diplomatico*, Giuffrè Editore, Milan, 1991.

[15] Maresca, Adolfo, *Teoria e tecnica del Diritto diplomatico – Introduzione alla diplomazia*, Giuffrè Editore, Milan, 1986.

[16] Zampaglione, Gerardo, *Diritto consolare, Teoria e pratica* vol. I, *Diritto consolare, Legislazione* vol. II, Stamperia Nazionale, Rome, 1992.

mention since they have been an important influence on many Italian diplomats who have served as consuls in their career. These volumes have been, for many years, the most important manual of consular law and practice.

Italian diplomats have published few books on languages, but *The Russian Language of Diplomats*^[17] by Luca Gori is an original exception. In this useful book, the author has gathered, on the basis of his experience, Russian verbs and expressions that are directly or indirectly related to diplomatic activity.

^[17] Gori, Luca, *Il russo del diplomatico*, Studio Editoriale Gordini, Padua, 2007.

DIPLOMACY AND LITERATURE

The literary genre traditionally associated with diplomats is the memoir. In recent years, however, many have ventured beyond this mode of expression to pursue a different inspiration and explore paths far from their professional experience. Ever since the birth of the modern state, between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, diplomats have probed the potential and the boundaries of the written text. They have many intellectual traits in common with writers and frequently find themselves at the crossroads of diplomacy and culture, politics and poetics, the art of negotiation and the art of rhetoric. The profession of diplomacy and that of writing share an approach to the world that seeks to decipher reality from the standpoint of an actor or interpreter, so to provide guidance for decision-makers.

Diplomat and writer take different approaches in seeking the truth: the former is policy-oriented, while the latter is concerned with exploring the deeper themes of existence and with passing on a message of absolute freedom to contemporaries. Unlike diplomats, a writer does not provide a detailed interpretation of data, situations, and characters. He focuses on creating a work inspired by ethical or social issues, with no limits to imagination. Furthermore, since diplomats are constantly involved in the analysis and description of events, they are often more devoted to accuracy of style. This accuracy may extend beyond the narrow margins of political communication, which is of necessity fast and concise. The delicate relationship with words, the limits of communication, and the constant search for the best possible form to express thoughts are the most common points of convergence between diplomacy and literature.

The relationship between diplomacy, historiography, and journalism illustrates these similarities. Although these three fields may operate from different perspectives and pursue different aims, they find common ground in their use of politics, economics, culture, and society as a vantage point. This broad affinity can often explain the decision of a diplomat or of a writer to switch from one field to another at some moment in his career.

We can trace the close connection between the diplomatic and the literary career to the time when the Ottoman Empire encroached on the territory of Christian Europe. At this time, prelates, with their vast culture, were in charge of negotiations, mediations, and good offices aimed at settling the rivalries and the conflicts that divided and weakened Europe. Often educated by the early humanists, these prelates complemented their studies of *jus gentium* and canon law with literary studies. Humanism rested on an Aristotelian interpretation of the world, which the Roman Church tenaciously defended through the centuries.

In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, literary production and diplomacy closely intertwined, and rulers typically gave official assignments to prominent writers, poets, philosophers, and historians. Starting with the Sicilian court of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), one of the birthplaces of Italian poetry, a long tradition of writers lent their knowledge in language, letters, and rhetoric to a rapidly developing society. Dante and Petrarch, to name two of the most illustrious figures, represented their powerful patrons on diplomatic missions.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, any remaining borders between diplomacy, as a politically neutral instrument, and literature, as a means of renewing ideas, vanished. During the Renaissance, with a re-discovery of classicism, diplomacy and literature merged. On the one hand, diplomacy was a privileged political instrument; on the other, literature was a tool for re-launching the central role of the human being in the Universe.

In the fifteenth century, Tuscany became not only a major cultural centre, but also a diplomatic force, boasting a series of renowned scholars, writers, and civic leaders such as Enea Silvio

Piccolomini, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Guicciardini, and Niccolò Machiavelli. Machiavelli, for example, although best known as a political theorist for his treatise, *The Prince*, and as a chronicler of Florentine history, was also a playwright, poet, and translator. His nemesis, Lorenzo de' Medici, was both a great statesman and a poet, the personification of refined political sensibility and literary aspiration.

In addition to Florence, other major city-states on the Italian peninsula became important cultural centres that spread their sphere of political and economic influence through their dedication to the new learning, creating prestigious humanist schools that produced a new class of diplomats. Rome, Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, as well as towns like Mantua, Ferrara, Urbino, and Rimini relied on a cultured and refined diplomacy to defend their interests at home and abroad.

The Republic of Venice took the lead among these Renaissance states in diplomatic affairs, thanks to its relations with the East, its modern system of government, and its skilled officials. Its orators and ambassadors were among the most important jurists and literati, already known in the Senate or in the councils for their political skill, social position, and culture. The most prominent figures of the aristocratic families – the Contarini, Badoer, Soranzo, Navagero, Gritti, Mocenigo, Morosini, and Dandolo – were often humanists. Their missions, distinguished by their high intellectual profiles, reflected the power of Venice in the sixteenth century.

Andrea Navagero, ambassador to Madrid from 1526 to 1528, promoted close relations with Spanish men of letters and artists, and introduced to the Spanish capital the works of Jacopo Sanzaro. The Venetian primacy was not limited to the technical aspect of international relations, but involved art, literature, and culture. Culture was considered an essential component of diplomacy, offering a new dimension to international relations in perfectly keeping with the new European cultural milieu.

The character of the Venetian ambassadors emerged in the literary style of their letters. In the late fifteenth century, diplomats abandoned Latin in their writings and developed a new style

closer to literary Tuscan, with its own effectiveness. Venetian diplomats wrote detailed notes about the institutions, armed forces, and economic resources of the courts where they were stationed. Some of the documents recall the works of the century's great artists. Gasparo Contarini's descriptive portrait of Charles V matches perfectly, in terms of precision and sophistication, the famous painting by Velazquez. The literary value of their dispatches is amply documented in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* [*Reports of Venetian Ambassadors to the Senate*], published in 1839 by Eugenio Alberi in the collection *Scrittori d'Italia* [*Writers of Italy*]. These reports have subsequently been translated, quoted as primary sources by historians, and treated as models by authors of treatises on the diplomatic arts.

With the decline of Italian courts in the late sixteenth century, the centre of power and learning shifted elsewhere. However, Venetian diplomatic traditions survived for two centuries, as shown by the role played by Venice at Carlowitz and Passarowitz with Ambassador Carlo Ruzzini.

After the short-lived domination of the Spanish language, which did not influence the evolution of diplomatic style, the long-lasting reign of Louis XIV introduced French culture into the diplomatic world. The 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees ensured France's hegemonic role in Europe, thereby introducing French as the new diplomatic language, instead of Latin, which had dominated up to the Peace of Westphalia. The literary prestige of the *Grand Siècle* and the even stronger effect of the Enlightenment philosophers helped to secure to French a leading position in diplomatic relations. Style and content between diplomacy and literature became pronounced.

Talleyrand, following the formal elegance of Vergennes, reflects in his writings the clarity typical of Voltaire. Many of his letters resemble, in their stylistic perfection, the latter's *Siècle de Louis XIV*. Talleyrand's works constitute an important contribution to the development of a precise and refined diplomatic language. Chateaubriand and Stendhal were the first important French writers with official roles after Montaigne and Du Bellay, who had only occasional contacts with diplomacy. Chateaubriand's

Mémoires d'outretombe is one of the masterpieces of the diplomatic memoir, particularly relevant to a psychological description of the French atmosphere from the Revolution to the Bourbon restoration. Stendhal's art, on the other hand, is less subject to Romantic influences. His characters and plots seem more inspired by his experiences at consulates, and his works are eminently literary.

During the twentieth century, the traditional link between diplomacy and literature grew in importance, achieving its highest tribute in the award of the Nobel Prize in Literature to three diplomats. Saint-John Perse, alias Alexis Leger, Secretary-General of the *Quai d'Orsay* for several years, wrote brilliant verses between hermeticism and surrealism, dealing with exile, solitude, and alienation. During the prize ceremony in Stockholm, journalists asked him whether he considered himself the poet of diplomacy or the diplomat of poetry. He replied that Alexis Leger and Saint-John Perse had never met, not even at the *Quai d'Orsay*. Nevertheless, Leger did mention one connection between the diplomat and the intellectual, calling the poet "the bad consciousness of his time." During the same period, the Greek George Seferis (alias Georgios Seferiadis) received the same prize for his lyric poetry. The Yugoslav Ivo Andrić also received the Nobel Prize for his novels, *The Travnik Chronicle* and *The Drina Bridge*, which foreshadow the recent Balkan conflicts.

Paul Claudel, a major French poet, dramatist, and essayist, also earned a prestigious position in literature. A fervent Catholic, his work displays a marked sensitivity to the various cultural components of diplomacy. Jean Giraudoux, French novelist and playwright, satirised the habits and myths of diplomacy, always with elegance and humour. Romain Gary, a French diplomat from 1945 to 1961, wrote famous novels and even a screenplay. He was the only French author to win the prestigious Prix Goncourt twice: in 1956 for *Les racines du ciel* and in 1975 for *La vie devant soi*, under the pseudonym Emile Ajar.

These are only a few examples of diplomatic contributions to literature. The acknowledgement of this contribution – which has changed considerably from the Renaissance – confirms the strong similarities between the *forma mentis* of the diplomat and

that of the man of letters. They observe the same reality from different vantage points and perspectives. The diplomat tries to interpret this reality in view of political decisions that might contribute to international stability. The writer has complete expressive freedom in a never-ending horizon. Both of them, however, have the duty to be loyal to themselves and honest with the rest of the world.

The diplomat, whose functions often limit activity, often looks forward to emancipation from the routine of everyday work, in order to experiment with new forms of expression, contents, and discourses. It is hard for a person who is constantly looking for a creative symbiosis between word and thought not to use the language in its highest form, uncovering the deepest meanings of words. We can thus remember the advice of the poet Mario Luzi: “Fly high, word/grow in the depths.”^[1]

The advent of information technologies and the ubiquitous use of the Internet in diplomatic communication entail some risks of stylistic standardisation and consequent linguistic impoverishment. An evolution in this trend could, at the same time, encourage new literary vocations and stimulate renewed forms of expression in more flexible and detailed professional analysis and reflections. Affinities and confluences between diplomacy and literature have deep roots that will survive the rapid pace of changes in contemporary society, since they are fomented more by intellectual movements than by formal customs.

The most original contribution that a diplomat can make to the historical record of the time is objective testimony of political and social reality. A diplomat has a privileged position that can aid literary production. The mastery of language and its nuances can open up unlimited expressive spaces for the diplomat in an intellectual balancing act.

Francis Walder, in his imaginative *Saint-Germain ou la négociation*, a story of a truce between Catholics and Protestants in sixteenth-century France, describes a convincing analogy of the connection between diplomacy and literature. One of his charac-

[1] “Vola alta parola, / Cresci in profondità,” in Mario Luzi, *Per il battesimo dei nostri frammenti* (Garzanti, Milan, 1985).

ters says: “Nous autres, diplomates, nous avons pour domaine le vague, l’informulé, milieu de nos pensées ondoyantes, et nous souffrons lorsqu’à l’heure du traité il nous faut passer dans la prison terminale des mots. Nous sommes des poètes.”^[2]

^[2] Walder, Francis, *Saint-Germain ou la négociation*, Gallimard, Paris, 1958. This novel was awarded the 1958 Goncourt Prize. An English edition was published as *The Negotiators* (Heinemann, London, 1960).

LIST OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY ITALIAN DIPLOMATS ON DUTY AFTER 1946 (BY GENRE)

The authors of this study have grouped the titles into nine genres:

- (A) **Memoirs**
- (B) **History**
- (C) **International Relations**
- (D) **Migration**
- (E) **Economics**
- (F) **Law**
- (G) **Novels**
- (H) **Poetry and Theatre**
- (I) **Other**

The original titles have been translated into English only for reference purposes. All books published originally in a language other than Italian are marked in bold.

A. Memoirs

1. AILLAUD, Enrico. *Un ambasciatore racconta* [*An Ambassador's Memoirs*], FrancoAngeli, Milan, 1998, pp. 126.
2. ALESSANDRINI, Adolfo. *Valigia diplomatica* [*Diplomatic Bag*], Edizioni Bottazzi, Suzzara, 1984, pp. 222.
3. ANFUSO, Filippo. *Discorsi ai sordi* [*Speaking to the Deaf*], Ediltaroma, Rome, 1964, pp. 529.
4. BACCHETTI, Fausto. *Attraverso mezzo secolo – Memorie di un testimone dalla politica italiana alla diplomazia internazionale* [*Across Half a Century: Memories of a Witness to Italian Politics and International Diplomacy*], Il Mulino, Bologna, 1988, pp. 331.
5. BAISTROCCHI, Ettore. *Nomadi in feluca* [*Nomads in Cocked Hats*], Bulzoni, Rome, 1983, pp. 169.
6. BAISTROCCHI, Ettore. *Diplomatici allo sbaraglio* [*Diplomats at Risk*], Guida, Naples, 1984, pp. 205.
7. BAISTROCCHI, Ettore. *Frugando nel passato* [*Searching the Past*], Bulzoni, Rome, 1990, pp. 207.
8. BASTIANINI, Giuseppe. *Volevo fermare Mussolini. Memorie di un diplomatico fascista* [*I Wanted to Stop Mussolini: Memoirs of a Fascist Diplomat*], Rizzoli, Milan, 2005, pp. 414.
9. BENARDELLI, Mainardo. *Yol. Prigioniero in Himalaya* [*Prisoner in the Himalayas*], EsseZeta – Arterigere, Varese, pp. 248.
10. BENUZZI, Felice. *No Picnic on Mount Kenya*, Kimber, London, 1952, pp. 230.
11. BENUZZI, Felice. *Flucht ins Abenteuer. Drei Kriegsgefangene besteigen den Mount Kenya* [*Escape to Adventure: Three Prisoners of War Climbing Mount Kenya*], Hans E. Günther, Stuttgart, 1953, pp. 296.

12. BENUZZI, Felice. *Fuga sul Kenya* [*Escape to Mount Kenya*], Tamari, Bologna, 1966, pp. 343.
13. BENUZZI, Felice. *Fuga sul Kenya: al di là del filo spinato: l'avventura, la montagna, la libertà* [*Escape to Mount Kenya: Beyond the Barbed Wire. The Adventure, the Mountain, the Freedom*], Centro Documentazione Alpino, Turin, 1991, pp. 288.
14. **BENUZZI, Felice. *Fugue au Kenya* [*Escape to Mount Kenya*], Hoëbeke, Paris, 1998, pp. 328.**
15. BENUZZI, Felice. *Fuga sul Kenya: 17 giorni di libertà* [*Escape to Kenya: Seventeen Days of Freedom*], Centro di Documentazione Alpino, Turin, 2001, pp. 247.
16. BERIO, Alberto. *Missione segreta – Tangeri, agosto 1943* [*Secret Mission – Tangiers, August 1943*], Dall'Oglio, Milan, 1947, pp. 140.
17. BERIO, Alberto. *Dalle Ande all'Himalaya: ricordi di un diplomatico* [*From the Andes to the Himalayas: A Diplomat's Memoirs*], Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples, 1961, pp. 189.
18. BETTINI, Emilio. *La Cina “dai trattati ineguali” vista in prima persona: Ricordi diplomatici* [*The China of “Unequal Treaties” Seen First-Hand: Diplomatic Memoirs*], Alfa-beta, Bologna, 1994, pp. 119.
19. BOTTAI, Bruno. *Fascismo familiare* [*Fascism in the Family*], Edizioni Piemme, Casale Monferrato, 1997, pp. 239.
20. BOVA SCOPPA, Renato. *Dalla capitale del Re dei Re al paese di Gesù* [*From the Capital of the King of Kings to the Village of Jesus*], Luigi Brizio, Savona, 1926, pp. 61.
21. BOVA SCOPPA, Renato. *Dal Mar Rosso al Nilo Azzurro* [*From the Red Sea to the Blue Nile*], Alpes, Milan, 1931, pp. 300.
22. BOVA SCOPPA, Renato. *Russia rossa* [*Red Russia*], Libreria del Littorio, Rome, 1932, pp. 377.

23. BOVA SCOPPA, Renato. *Colloqui con due dittatori* [*Conversations with Two Dictators*], Ruffolo, Rome, 1949, pp. 197.
24. BOVA SCOPPA, Renato. *La pace impossibile* [*The Impossible Peace*], Rosenberg e Sellier, Turin, 1961, pp. 343.
25. CAGIATI, Andrea. *I sentieri della vita: ricordi di un diplomatico* [*The Paths of Life: Memories of a Diplomat*], Editalia, Rome, 1990, pp. 349.
26. CALAMAI, Enrico. *Niente asilo politico: diario di un console italiano nell'Argentina dei desaparecidos* [*No Political Asylum: The Diary of an Italian Consul in the Argentina of the "Desaparecidos"*], Editori Riuniti, Rome, 2003, pp. 252.
27. CALAMAI, Enrico. *Faremo l'America. L'impossibile normalità di un console italiano in Argentina negli anni della dittatura* [*We Will Make America: The Impossible Ordinary Life of an Italian Consul in Argentina during the Dictatorship*], Edizioni Angolo Manzoni, Turin, 2003, pp. 125.
28. CAMPANELLA, Raffaele. *Riflessioni di un uomo comune* [*Thoughts of an Ordinary Man*], Edimond, Città di Castello, 2006, pp. 128.
29. CARACCILO DI MELITO, Filippo. *Diario di Napoli 1943–1944* [*Naples Diary 1943–1944*], Passigli, Firenze, 1992, pp. 200.
30. CARACCILO DI MELITO, Filippo. *Caracciolo di Castagneto Filippo: Pagine scelte fra le carte di Filippo Caracciolo di Castagneto, raccolte a cura dell'Automobile Club d'Italia in occasione dell'Assemblea del 27 novembre 1965* [*Caracciolo di Castagneto Filippo: Selected Pages from the Papers of Filippo Caracciolo di Castagneto*], Tilli, Rome, 1965, pp. 92.
31. CARACCILO DI SAN VITO, Roberto. *L'occhialino del re – Por bien ver* [*The King's Eyeglass – To See Better*], Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Milan, 1984, pp. 284.
32. CARACCILO DI SAN VITO, Roberto. *Da oriente ad occidente sul sentiero della memoria* [*From East to West along*

- the Path of Memory*], Edizioni Mediterranee, Rome, 1993, pp. 165.
33. CHELLI, Claudio. *Storie del tempo non perduto. L'utilità della diplomazia nelle testimonianze di un ambasciatore* [*Stories of Time Well Spent: The Usefulness of Diplomacy as Testified by an Ambassador*], Marsilio, Milan, 2001, pp. 212.
34. DE COURTEN, Francesco. *Diario di Algeria (1996–98)* [*Algerian Diary 1996–1998*], Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2003, pp. 420.
35. DE VERGOTTINI, Tomaso. *Miguel Claro 1359. Recuerdos de un diplomatico italiano en Chile 1973–1975* [*Miguel Claro 1359: Memoirs of an Italian Diplomat in Chile 1973–1975*], Editorial Atena, Santiago, 1991, pp. 319.
36. DE VERGOTTINI, Tomaso. *Cile: diario di un diplomatico (1973–1975)* [*Chile: Memoirs of a Diplomat 1973–1975*], Koinè/Nuove Edizioni, Rome, 2000, pp. 255.
37. DIANA, Pasquale. *La più bella ambasciata* [*The Most Beautiful Embassy*], L'arte Tipografica, Naples, 1969, pp. 302.
38. d'ORLANDI, Giovanni. *Diario vietnamita 1962–1968* [*Vietnamese Journal 1962–1968*], Edizione Trentagiorni Società Cooperativa, Rome, 2006, pp. 976.
39. DUCCI, Roberto. *Twenty-Four Hours at No. 4 Grosvenor Square*, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1978, pp. 48.
40. DUCCI, Roberto. *La bella gioventù* [*Beautiful Youth*], Il Mulino, Bologne, 1996, pp. 211.
41. FUMAROLA, Angelo Antonio. *Sensazioni del Belgio* [*Impressions of Belgium*], Nistri-Lischi, Pisa, 1940, pp. 238.
42. GAJA, Roberto. *Per un reggimento di Dragoni o della fedeltà* [*For a Regiment of Dragoons or on Loyalty*], L'Arciere, Cuneo, 1990, pp. 198.
43. GENTILE, Benedetto. *Ricordi e affetti* [*Memories and Affects*], Le Lettere, Florence, 1988, pp. 110.

44. GUARIGLIA, Raffaele. *Ricordi: 1922–1946* [*Memoirs: 1922–1946*], Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples, 1950, pp. 782.
45. **GUARIGLIA, Raffaele. *La diplomatie difficile: memoires 1922–1946* [*Difficult Diplomacy: Memoirs 1922–1946*], Librairie Plon, Paris, 1955, pp. 410.**
46. GUARIGLIA, Raffaele. *Primi passi in diplomazia e rapporti dall'ambasciata di Madrid, 1932–1934* [*First Steps in Diplomacy and Reports from the Embassy in Madrid, 1932–1934*], Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples, 1972, pp. 411.
47. GUASTONE BELCREDI, Enrico. *La carriera. Pagine di vita diplomatica* [*My Career: Pages from a Diplomatic Life*], Rubbettino, Catanzaro, 2006, pp. 566.
48. INDELICATO [AMBRI], Alberto [Marino]. *Memorie di uno stato fantasma. Berlino 1987–1990* [*Memoirs of a Phantom State: Berlin 1987–1990*], Edizioni Lindau, Turin, 2004, pp. 272.
49. JANNUZZI, Giovanni. *Servizio di stato* [*State Service*], Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2007, pp. 248.
50. LANZA [SIMONI], Michele [Leonardo]. *Berlino: ambasciata d'Italia 1939–1943* [*Berlin: The Italian Embassy 1939–1943*], Migliaresi, Rome, 1946, pp. 418.
51. **LANZA [SIMONI], Michele [Leonardo]. *Berlin, ambassade d'Italie* [*Berlin: The Italian Embassy*], R. Laffont, Paris, 1947, pp. 493.**
52. LIBRANDO, Gaetano. *Diplomazia commerciale: memorie di carriera* [*Commercial Diplomacy: Memoirs of a Career*], G. Pastena, Rome, 1959, pp. 390.
53. LO RE, Maurizio. *Filippo Paulucci. L'italiano che governò a Riga* [*Filippo Paulucci: The Italian Who Governed Riga*], Books & Company, Livorno, 2006, pp. 272.
54. LUCIOLLI, Mario. *Palazzo Chigi: anni roventi. Ricordi di vita diplomatica italiana dal 1933 al 1948* [*The Palazzo Chigi: The Burning Years. Memoirs of Italian Diplomatic Life from 1933 to 1948*], Rusconi, Milan, 1976, pp. 234.

55. MARIENI, Alessandro. *Ricordi di un diplomatico: dal fascio allo sfascio* [*A Diplomat's Memoirs: From Fascism to Decay*], San Marco, Tresscore Balneario, 1992, pp. 222.
56. MASOTTI, Pier Marcello. *Ricordi d'Etiopia di un funzionario coloniale* [*The Ethiopian Memoirs of a Colonial Officer*], Pan Editrice, Milan, 1981, pp. 252.
57. MEZZALAMA, Francesco. *L'avventura diplomatica. Ricordi di carriera* [*The Diplomatic Adventure: Memories of a Career*], Rubbettino, Catanzaro, 2006, pp. 298.
58. MORENO, Mario Martino. *Dalle palme di Sanremo alle palme dell'oriente* [*From the Palms of Sanremo to the Palms of the Orient*], Philobiblon Edizioni, Ventimiglia, 2005, pp. 93.
59. NISIO, Girolamo. *La parabola di Asmara: ricordi di Eritrea* [*The Parable of Asmara: Memories of Eritrea*], Mezzina, Molfetta, 1976, pp. 128.
60. NISIO, Girolamo. *Ricordi d'infanzia in Israele* [*Memories of a Childhood in Israel*], Bastogi, Foggia, 1985, pp. 92.
61. NISIO, Girolamo. *Danza con le gazzelle* [*Dancing with Gazelles*], Mezzina, Molfetta, 1996, pp. 238.
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The table contains data on genre and number of books that each author has published.

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No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.		
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I	
1	Bruno Aglietti	1977		3									3
2	Enrico Aillaud	1976	1										1
3	Adolfo Alessandrini	1967	1										1
4	Francesco Aloisi de Lardere	2004					1						1
5	Filippo Anfuso	1951	1	7						1			9
6	Lorenzo Angeloni				2	1							3
7	Mirko Ardemagni	1966		8	1							2	11
8	Valerio Astraldi				1*								1*
9	Enrico Angelli	d. 1996			1								1
10	Fausto Bacchetti	1982	1		1								2
11	Antonio Badini	2007			1								1
12	Ettore Baistrocchi	1970	3									1	4
13	Marco Baistrocchi	d. 1997										3	3
14	Massimo Baistrocchi				2						8	10	20

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre									Tot.
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
15	Stefano Baldi			2	3	1					2+1*	8+1*
16	Pasquale Baldocci	1993								1		1
17	Emilio Barbarani	2007							1			1
18	Antonio Enrico Bartoli										1*	1*
19	Elena Basile									1		1
20	Emilio Paolo Bassi	1987			1							1
21	Maurizio Basso Amolat	1963									1	1
22	Giuseppe Bastianini	1961	1									1
23	Alberico Amor Bavaj	1972			1						1	2
24	Gloria Marina Belleli						1					1
25	Stefano Beltrame			1	1							2
26	Mainardo Benardelli		1		1+1*							2+1*
27	Felice Benuzzi	1975	6								1	7
28	Vincenzo Berardis	1953		1	2							3
29	Alberto Berio	1963	2								1	3
30	Giuliano Bertuccioli	1981			2						12	14
31	Emilio Bettini	1980	1	1	1							3
	Valeria Biagiotti				1							1
32	Boris Biancheri	1997			2				3			5
33	Giuseppe Biondelli	1954			1			2				3
34	Mario Boffo								2			2
35	Ernesto Quintino (Mario) Bolasco	1984				1						1
36	Luigi Bolla	1973		1								1
37	Mario Bondioli Osio	2003		1								1
38	Clemente Boniver	1970			1							1
39	Giorgio Bosco	1999		1				1				2

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I
40	Giovanni Jack Bosio	1956						1				1
41	Salvatore Botta	1976								1		1
42	Bruno Bottai	1997	1									1
43	Renato Bova Scoppa	1957	5		1						1	7
44	Piero Brancoli Busdraghi	2000		1								1
45	Diego Brasioli								2			2
46	Fausto Brunetti	2005		1								1
47	Giuseppe Buccino Grimaldi				1*							1*
48	Andrea Cagiati	1987	1		4							5
49	Enrico Calamai	1997	2									2
50	Raffaele Campanella		1									1
51	Paolo Canali	1976		1	1							2
52	Rocco Antonio Cangelosi				1+2*							1+2*
53	Stanislao Cantono di Ceva	1968		1								1
54	Filippo Caracciolo di Melito	1954	2							2	4	8
55	Roberto Caracciolo di San Vito	1972	2		2						1	5
56	Franco Carbonetti	1960			1							1
57	Giuseppe Cassini				1							1
58	Giovanni Castellani Pastoris	2003			1							1
59	Alessandro Cattaneo						1					1
60	Giuseppe Cerulli Irelli	1970			1							1
61	Claudio Chelli	1985	1									1
62	Rosa Maria Chicco										1	1
63	Giuseppe Cipolloni	2003				1						1
64	Ugo Colombo Sacco				5						1	6
65	Maurilio Coppini	1965				1						1

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I
66	Francesco Corrias	2000		1								1
67	Gaetano Cortese							2				2
68	Alessandro Cortese de Bosis	1991		2							1	3
69	Antonio Cottafavi	1955		1					1	1		3
70	Gaia Danese									1		1
71	Enrico De Agostini				1							1
72	Francesco de Courten	1998	1								1	2
73	Amedeo de Franchis	2006									1	1
74	Tomaso de Vergottini	1999	2									2
75	Andrea Della Nebbia			1								1
76	Pasquale Diana	1952	1			1					1	3
77	Carlo di Nola	1950		4								4
78	Francesco D'Orazi Flavoni	2000		2	1							3
79	Giovanni D'Orlandi		1									1
80	Roberto Ducci	1979	2	4	5					3		14
81	Francesco Ercolano						2					2
82	Silvio Fagiolo	2005			4							4
83	Renzo Falaschi	1980		1								1
84	Giovanni (Nino) Falchi	1977				1						1
85	Alessandro Ferranti				2						1	3
86	Pasquale Ferrara				1							1
87	Dorello Ferrari	2001			1							1
88	Luigi Vittorio Ferraris	1987			9							9
89	Guglielmo Folchi	1986			2							2
90	Paolo Foresti	2004			1							1
91	Rossella Franchini Sherifis				1*							1*

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I
92	Francesco Fransoni				1		2					3
93	Mario Fridegotto				1							1
94	Angelo Antonio Fumarola	1973	1	2					4			7
95	Roberto Gaja	1977	1	1	5				1			8
96	Giulio Cesare Garaguso	1989			1							1
97	Luigi Gasbarri	1976			3							3
98	Benedetto Gentile	1949	1	1								2
99	Fernando Gentilini				2							2
100	Pietro Gerbore	1947		2	5						1	8
101	Giovanni Germano	2005				1						1
102	Raffaele Gesini	1981							1			1
103	Marco Giomini									1		1
104	Luciano Giretti	1976					2				1	3
105	Elio Giuffrida	1984									1	1
106	Luca Gori										1	1
107	Fabio Grassi	1982		6	1							7
108	Vincenzo Grassi				1*							1*
109	Emanuele Grazzi	1947		1								1
110	Francesco Maria Greco				1							1
111	Raffaele Guariglia	1946	3	1								4
112	Enrico Guastone Belcredi		1									1
113	Giorgio Guglielmino									5	3	8
114	Gianfranco Incarnato								3			3
115	Ludovico Incisa di Camerana	1995		1	13	2					1	17
116	Alberto Indelicato	1997	1	2	1							4
117	Michelangelo Jacobucci	2000			2							2

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre									Tot.
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
118	Giovanni Jannuzzi	2001	1	1	1				2	3		8
119	Michele Lanza	1971	2	3					1			6
120	Fernando Lay	d. 1990			1							1
121	Gaetano Librando	1958	1									1
122	Maurizio Lo Re	2007	1						1			2
123	Vincenza Lomonaco				1							1
124	Mario Lucioli	1975	1	1								2
125	Giuseppe Walter Maccotta	1980		1								1
126	Massimo Magistrati	1964		2								2
127	Daniele Mancini				1							1
128	Raimondo Manzini	1977		1								1
129	Adolfo Maresca	1976						20				20
130	Alessandro Marieni	1973	1									1
131	Costanzo Marinucci de' Reguardati	1970		2								2
132	Giovanni Marocco			1		1					1	3
133	Pier Marcello Masotti	1976	1									1
134	Augusto Massari											
135	Maurizio Massari				1	1						2
136	Grammenos Mastrojeni								1		2	3
137	Dante Matacotta	1976		1					1			2
138	Alberto Mellini Ponce de Leon	1956		3								3
139	Fabio Messineo				1							1
140	Francesco Mezzalama	1985	1									1
141	Silvio Mignano								3	1		4
142	Giuseppe Mistretta								1			1
143	Andrea Giuseppe Mochi Onory							1				1

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I
144	Mario Mondello	1976			1							1
145	Ferdinando Mor	1986									2	2
146	Antonio Morabito										1	1
147	Martino Mario Moreno		1	1	4						11	17
148	Guido Natali	1977			1							1
149	Rosario Nicosia	1999							5			5
150	Girolamo Nisio	1987	5							1	1	7
151	Roberto Nocella				1							1
152	Giorgio Novello				1*							1*
153	Armando Odenigo	1954	1	1						1		3
154	Roberto Orlando										2	2
155	Mario Orsini Ratto	1949			3	1			4			8
156	Egidio Ortona	1975	5		1							6
157	Claudio Pacifico		3	1							1	5
158	Enrico Padula			1								1
159	Roberto Palmieri						2					2
160	Gabriele Paresce	1965			3							3
161	Mario Alessandro Paulucci	1970								7		7
162	Luca Peruzzi									1		1
163	Rinaldo Petri gnani	1991			3							3
164	Luigi Petrucci	1952			1							1
165	Antonello Pietromarchi	1999	1	8								9
166	Luca Pietromarchi	1960		2	11						1	14
167	Pasquale Pinto	d. 1955								1		1
168	Gian Franco Pompei	1980	1									1
169	Vincenzo Prati				1							1

No.	Name	Year Ret.	Genre								Tot.	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		I
196	Vincenzo Tornetta	1982			3							3
197	Antonio Toscani Millo	1973			1							1
198	Roberto Toscano				3							3
199	Giovanni (Gian) Paolo Tozzoli	1991			7				6	3		16
200	Diego Ungaro				1							1
201	Domenico Vecchioni			12								12
202	Antonio Verde				1							1
203	Nicola Verola				1							1
204	Eros Vicari	1978		2	1	1				1		5
205	Paolo Vita-Finzi	1964	3	1	5				1			10
206	Leonardo Vitetti	1960		3						1		4
207	Gerardo Zampagione	1982		3	5	4					1	13
208	Lamberto Zannier				1*							1*
209	Guido Zecchin	1967	1									1
210	Vittorio Zoppi	1963		1								1
	Totale		99	182	229	26	12	27	47	47	93	762
		%	13	24	30	3	2	4	6	6	12	100

Notes:

Those books marked with * have been co-authored by diplomats. Even if the book has been attributed to all authors, it has been counted only once in the total per genre.

When the year of retirement is preceded by letter d. it means that the person has passed away while in active service (therefore before reaching retirement age).

THE RESEARCH IN NUMBERS

As previously mentioned, we have grouped the seven hundred and sixty-two books analysed in this study into nine categories. A glance at Table 1 tells us that the genre with the highest number of publications is International Relations with 30% of the total number of volumes.

Table 1. Books published by genre

<i>Genre</i>	<i>Books</i>	<i>%</i>
International Relations	229	30%
History	182	24%
Memoirs	99	13%
Various	93	12%
Poetry and Theatre	47	6%
Novels	47	6%
Law	27	4%
Migration	26	3%
Economics	12	2%
TOTAL	762	100%

It is followed by History with 24% and then by Memoirs with 13%. These first three groups together include nearly 70% of all publications, a clear indication that Italian diplomats tend to publish in their professional field or concerning subjects that they have treated during their professional life. Categories of more creative works, like Novels or Poetry, contain only 12% of publications, a very limited number even if we add to it the books that evade easy classification (12% of the total). All of these

together come to some 24%, which means that only one book out of four is unrelated to professional activity.

If we consider the authors and the number of books that they have published (Table 2), we have to reserve special consideration to Ambassador Sergio Romano. He has published by far the greatest number of volumes: more than sixty. It is significant that he has written nearly 10% of all books listed in this study. Well-known to the public, his production includes several books that have become best sellers in Italy and elsewhere. He is also a famous editorialist and commentator in Italian newspapers (in particular, in the *Corriere della Sera*) and on television. The topics of his essays vary from international affairs to history and memoirs. Immediately after Sergio Romano in number of books, we find Massimo Baistrocchi who not only is a writer, but a painter as well. Interestingly, in the more than two hundred authors considered here, only seven are women (3.5% of the total). This is probably due to the fact that the number of women in the Italian diplomatic career is still relatively low^[1] (14%).

Table 2. Books published by author (top ten authors)

<i>Author</i>	<i>Books</i>
Sergio Romano	67
Massimo Baistrocchi	26
Adolfo Maresca	20
Pietro Quaroni	19
Edgardo Sogno	16
Ludovico Incisa di Camerana	16
Gian Paolo Tozzoli	15
Luca Pietromarchi	14
Roberto Ducci	14
Giuliano Bertuccioli	13

^[1] The *Annuario Statistico* [Statistical Yearbook] published every year by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy provides official data on the Ministry. In 2006 the diplomatic career consisted of 983 diplomats (843 males and 140 females). For further information the Statistical Yearbook is also available online at the site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs <http://www.esteri.it>.

It is also interesting to consider books published in languages other than Italian. As shown in Table 3, some 90 books, or 12%, have been published in a foreign language, usually French or English. Many of these are translations of books originally published in Italian, indicating that books written by Italian diplomats have been conceived (and distributed) primarily for an Italian audience and are little known outside Italy.

Table 3. Books published by language

<i>Language</i>	<i>Books</i>
Italian	668
French	37
English	20
German	15
Spanish	15
Dutch	1
Danish	1
Rumanian	1
Greek	1
Chinese	1
Japanese	1
Hungarian	1
Total	762

The total of some seven hundred and sixty books is a considerable number of books; as well, the more than two hundred authors is certainly a respectable number. Yet, can we say from these figures that diplomats (at least, Italian diplomats) have been prolific in terms of publication of books? In order to answer this question correctly, we have to consider a number of factors.

If we examine all potential authors, that is, all the diplomats that have been or still are in service in the period 1946–2007 (the “universe” in statistical terms), we find that some 1,200 diplomats have retired since 1946 and that some 1,000 more are presently in service. Hence, about 2,200 people could have writ-

ten books. This means that only one Italian diplomat out of ten (to be more precise, 8%) has written at least one book – not an outstanding percentage for a group whose members spend their lives “pen in hand”!

PHOTOGRAPHIC BOOKS ON ITALIAN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

A special category of books remains, those books concerning Italian embassies or residences of Italian ambassadors. These are books of photographs that, regrettably, often do not have an author, even though conceived and edited by the ambassador who, at the time of publication, was serving in the embassy pictured in the book.

The volume is often a tribute to the house or the buildings where the ambassador spent time. In most cases, these books are widely illustrated and have a limited text. The text, often in both Italian and English, is typically devoted to the history of the buildings. Even though they are not-for-sale books and, therefore, printed in limited editions and not easy to find, they offer a unique opportunity to look at places otherwise inaccessible to the public.

Among the diplomats who have edited books of this kind, we can mention Gaetano Cortese, who published *The Embassy of Italy in Brussels* in 2000, available in Italian and in French. As well, we can note Ferdinando Salleo's 1992 *The Embassy of Italy in Moscow*, available in Italian and in English. In 1997, Maurizio Moreno edited *The Embassy of Italy in Prague*, while Luca Daniele Biolato (together with Tadeusz Jaroszewski) published *The Szlenkier Palace: Embassy of Italy in Warsaw*. A number of others are available, including Pasquale Baldocci's 1993 bilingual Italian and English, *The Residence of the Ambassador of Italy in Tanzania*. *The Embassy of Italy in Berlin* was published by Silvio Fagiolo in 2005 and is dedicated to the restored building that hosts the Embassy inaugurated in 2003. Fagiolo describes well the meaning of some of these buildings: "Embassies are spaces that summarize

sometimes striking and dramatic human and political paths in the relationship between peoples and countries.”

In 2005, Stefano Ronca edited the book, *The Embassy of Italy in Bucharest*. Ronca also provides an interesting description of the diplomatic residence:

For the diplomat, the house has a greater importance than one can have for other professions. You expect the residence of an ambassador to reflect the character, the taste, the culture, the hospitality and the heat of the country that he represents.

Other volumes have been dedicated to the *Embassy of Italy in Lisbon*, to the *Embassy of Italy in London*, to the *Embassy of Italy in Vienna*, and to the Embassy of Italy and its garden in Tokyo.

The most complete survey of buildings hosting Italian embassies is the series of eight volumes that Mariapia Fanfani, the wife of Amintore Fanfani, the one-time Prime Minister of Italy, published between 1969 and 1989 under the title *The Embassies of Italy in the World*. In this series, she has documented one hundred and thirteen diplomatic embassies. According to Leonardo Vergani, as reported in the seventh volume:

Mariapia Fanfani began her photographic reports in the sixties. She got in contact with our embassies, as did all journalists travelling in foreign countries that were torn to pieces by war and by natural calamities, where diplomatic personnel is constantly in the frontline. It was then that she thought about dedicating these volumes, by now seven, to the embassies, to those houses of Italy that represent not only the voice of our country in foreign countries, but also the meeting point, the point of mediation, the point of rapid intervention. In our embassies people work, under extremely difficult conditions, to continue action in favour of peace, to save our citizens who sometimes risk their lives. . . . Our embassies more and more often succeed in continuing a

dialogue in a world upset by the most merciless and blind terrorism, averting breaking the thin thread of hope. In the tragedies of our daily way of living, our embassies become irreplaceable points of reference.

Other countries have similar kind of books. As an example, the book *Building Diplomacy* published by the photographer Elizabeth Gill Lui in 2004 (Cornell University Press) deals with the architecture of United States missions abroad. The author has realised the book after having travelled to fifty countries to photograph American embassies, chanceries, and ambassadorial residences.

Other buildings have also been photographed and published. The book, *Where Diplomacy Meets Art*^[1], widely illustrated, follows the history of the buildings that have housed the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the words of the author,

For the first time, this book presents to the eyes of the general public the interiors of the state reception rooms in the successive historical buildings of Italian diplomacy: the Palazzo delle Segreterie di Stato in Turin; the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; the Palazzo della Consulta, the Palazzo Chigi, the Farnesina, and the Villa Madama in Rome.

^[1] Colombo Sacco di Albiano, Ugo, *Dove la diplomazia incontra l'arte*, Colombo, Rome, 2006.

USING THE INTERNET FOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

The Internet has become an invaluable tool in bibliographic research. Access to both private and public sources is readily available through the Internet. Regretfully, research using the most famous search engines (Google or Yahoo) gives very partial results, and only for well known persons or for recently published books. Even though Google sometimes allows searches inside a digital version of a book, and it may be possible to discover titles or diplomatic authors mentioned in bibliographies of other books on related matters, one needs to investigate and develop other sources of information.

Most publishing houses have sites that provide comprehensive descriptions of the books they have published that are still in print. For books still in print, another important online source comes to mind. Amazon [<http://www.amazon.com>] is a large dealer with websites available in different languages for different markets (such as the UK and France). Generally, the description of a book on an Amazon site is not limited to basic data, but contains a brief description, a photograph of the cover of the volume, and sometimes a review.

For those books no longer in print, catalogues from antique bookstores can be extremely useful. These catalogues can be helpful for discovering new titles or editions of known works published in a language different from the original. Many of these catalogues are available on the Internet.

Other private sites can be particularly useful in the search for out of print books or for information concerning them. For example, AbeBooks [<http://www.abebooks.com>] is one of the biggest online marketplace for books and lists over 100 million

new, used, rare, and out-of-print books. At July 2007, more than 13,500 booksellers from 57 countries had listed their books on the AbeBooks site. In some cases, details or a short description of the book is provided. As well, Mare Magnum Librorum [<http://www.maremagnum.com>] presents a catalogue of catalogues of antique bookstores. Different versions of the site are available in different languages (Italian included).

BookFinder.com [<http://www.bookfinder.com>] is a search engine for many catalogues of online bookstores, including several less known sources. Other consortiums of book dealers include alibris.

The e-Bay [<http://www.ebay.com>] is the most famous site for online auctions. Many books are traded daily through this service. Sometime it can be a source for discovery (and for convenient purchase, of course) of books written by diplomats. This service is a particularly effective outlet for American and English book dealers.

For books not written in English, local online stores often have websites available. For instance, Internet Bookshop Italia [<http://www.internetbookshop.it>], Libreria Universitaria [<http://www.unilibro.it>], and BOL – Mondolibri [<http://www.bol.it>] have all been very useful for this study.

Concerning public sources, national libraries are the best starting point, although sometimes access is limited. The online catalogues of national libraries can provide information regarding new titles of given authors. For example, for this study the investigators searched the names of all Italian diplomats using the online facility of the Italian bibliographic system of national libraries [Sistema bibliografico nazionale at <http://www.sbn.it>]. The Italian national library system catalogue links to a thousand Italian libraries and has access to some 4.5 million bibliographic records.

One of the biggest libraries for research in international affairs is the Library of Congress in Washington [<http://catalog.loc.gov>]. It purportedly includes every book in English, as well as a considerable number in foreign languages. It contains about 12 million bibliographic references. Likewise, the site of the Univer-

sity of Queensland in Australia [<http://www.library.uq.edu.au/ssah/jeast/index.html>] contains links to online catalogues of other national libraries around the world. The University of California – Berkeley [<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Libweb/>] maintains an important webpage containing links to libraries online. It contains some 6,600 references to sites in 115 countries. Another important source is WorldCat [<http://www.worldcat.org>], the world's largest bibliographic database that catalogues the content of more than 50,000 libraries in more than ninety countries. It has more than 1 billion references (in 2007).

In searching for the publications of diplomats, it is always useful to search the personal websites of diplomats. Although the number of personal websites of Italian diplomats is limited, they are generally dedicated to the publications or other activities of the author. We list a few:

Stefano Baldi – <http://baldi.diplomacy.edu>

Massimo Baistrocchi – <http://www.massimo-baistrocchi.com>

Diego Brasioli – <http://www.diegobrasoli.net>

Franco de Courten – <http://www.francodecourten.it>

Edgardo Sogno – <http://www.sogno.org>.

We make one last, but extremely important observation. Although the Internet is a very useful tool for bibliographic study, libraries remain the best place to search for information. This is proven by the many hours that we spent in the Library of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, containing some 200,000 volumes devoted to international affairs.

POSTFACE

by Andrea Bardi

In some debates that followed the previous editions of this book, questions were raised on diplomats being authors in so many and diverse fields. An academic scholar, in particular, asked how diplomats could be entitled to authentic literary legitimacy and wondered whether a space for them ever existed in literature.

While diplomacy is commonly related to economics, finance, defence, intelligence, law, human rights, architecture, environment, and even archaeology, it is only occasionally linked to science, art or poetry, although handbooks on negotiation, protocol, style and international law have belonged for centuries to a classical genre.

Moreover manuals on the behaviour of diplomats have been written with humour and even sarcasm by journalists, novelists, and career diplomats: Daniele Varè's "Perfect diplomat" mentioned in his *Laughing Diplomat* is a reference, compared to the less frivolous Counsellor Tuzzi portrayed by Robert Musil. These characters are the inevitably comical features of the Belle Époque diplomacy, officially dead after the First World War and only shortly revived before the outbreak of the Second World War.

Diplomatic customs and traditions have little to share with erroneous misinterpretations of Machiavelli, Talleyrand, and other supporters of politics diverging from ethics or humanism. The "Looking Glass" moves from a different profile and discloses horizons of knowledge and experience based on the ultimate and inner significance of the words in terms of expressiveness. Merging in the terminal ground of communication, diplomacy like literature must solve the equation $\text{EXPRESSION} = \text{WORD} = \text{COMPREHENSION}$ by striving to decipher this enigma using the key of seduction.

In a novel on a hard negotiation, Francis Walder insisted on a relation between diplomacy and poetry. According to him diplomats are poets since their thoughts are often unformulated and vague. Such a convergence is evident in the techniques of negotiation where some formulations appear rather indefinite, while diplomatic dispatches, as well as novels and other writings, are conditioned by stylistic rules, coercive for the reader's sake.

An affinity between thought and word, form and contents, prose and poetry is evident in Saint-John Perse's "vers libres", in a sort of biblical emphasis sounding like a long musical chord:

"Très haut regard porté sur l'étendue des choses et sur le cours de l'Être, sa mesure! ... "

Through a deeply aesthetical impact, his verses implicitly reveal the impending symbiosis diplomat/poet, frequently recurrent in some lyrics as in this prophetic excerpt from *Vents III*:

"Et le poète aussi est avec nous, sur la chaussée des hommes de son temps.

Allant le train de notre temps, allant le train de ce grand vent. Son occupation parmi nous: mise en clair des messages. Et la réponse en lui donnée par illumination du cœur.

Non point l'écrit, mais la chose même. Prise en son vif et dans son tout.

Conservation non des copies, mais des originaux. Et l'écriture du poète suit le procès-verbal.

(Et ne l'ai-je pas dit? les écritures aussi évolueront. – Lieu du propos: toutes grèves de ce monde.)"

A conclusive quotation of Saint-John Perse once again refers to a relationship diplomacy – literature existing ever since the times of Lorenzo de' Medici, Philippe de Commines and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, eminent figures who faced the future without omitting the past, as:

"Celui qui veille, entre deux guerres, à la pureté des grandes lentilles de cristal".

And this seems a favourable omen to the effectiveness of the research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In such a long project as this has turned out to be (the idea was first discussed in 1991), it would be impossible to list all those who have contributed to it. Some of them have consciously provided specific references of authors and titles. Others have contributed unconsciously, sometimes just mentioning in a discussion comments regarding a colleague who had “written a book”.

However, we offer special thanks to the Diplomatic Institute of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in particular, to the Director, Maurizio Serra, who has actively supported the publication of a similar book in Italian.

Despite all the efforts and the constant updating, we cannot and will never claim that our bibliographic listing is exhaustive. It is not and probably it will never be. This is a work in progress and we hope to add many other books to it. Accordingly, we have developed a website, available at <http://baldi.diplomacy.edu/diplo>, to provide all updates concerning the book. At this website, it is possible to find a list of titles and authors identified after the publication of this volume and other information related to books written by diplomats.

The current study presents and analyzes books published by Italian diplomats from the post-war period to today. The more than seven-hundred and fifty titles listed give a broad and varied picture of diplomats and the diplomatic world. This volume evokes not only the talent for describing situations and characters, but also the broad, diverse interests that distinguish the members of this profession.

Diplomats are born with a pen in their hand. They write countless reports, analyses, and memos during their 35 to 40 years of service, and are forced to acquire a certain familiarity with the pen or the computer. Therefore, writing becomes a daily activity. This continuous engagement with writing sometimes sparks a desire to compose something more permanent and deep than the usual fleeting report likely read only by a close circle of colleagues. The books that diplomats publish are scarcely known sides of diplomats.

This study also takes a broader view of relations between diplomacy and literature, examining the primary moments and protagonists of this relationship.

This book should prove useful not only to researchers and international policy scholars, but also to all those interested in knowing more about the world of diplomats.

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