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VIEWS OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ROME 10074/1

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, IT, US

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

SUMMARY. ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) DIRECTORATE MEMBER

LUCIANO BARCA PREDICTED THAT A LIMITED PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD AMONG THE PARTIES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARC WOULD BE REACHED BY JUNE 21 BARRING OBSTACLES PLACED BY ONE OR MORE OF THE

POLITICAL PARTIES. FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF THE ACCORD, HE SAID DISCUSSIONS WOULD BEGIN ON THE WAY TO GUARANTEE THAT THE AGREED

PROGRAMS WOULD ACTUALLY BE CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT.

THE PCI WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH PERIODIC COLLEGIAL MEETINGS

BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES, ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT MEET SOCIALIST (PSI) DEMANDS.

THE COMMUNISTS EXPECT THAT THERE WILL BE SOME LIMITED FORM OF GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE AS PART OF THE GUARANTEE PROCESS, ALTHOUGH

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THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT INCLUSION OF A TECHNICIAN WITH SPECIFIC TIES TO THE LEFT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS AT THIS POINT. THE PCI IS UNHAPPY WITH THE CONDUCT OF AMBASSADOR GARDNER WHO HAS CALLED

UPON OTHER PARTY SECRETARIES BUT HAS NOT MADE A GESTURE TOWARDS THE PCI. FINALLY BARCA HAD A FEW PERSONAL COMMENTS TO MAKE

ABOUT PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING THE COURSE OF A LENGTHY, PRIVATE CONVERSATION ON JUNE 14 WITH EMBOFF, PCI DIRECTORATE MEMBER AND ECONOMIC

SPECIALIST LUCIANO BARCO VOICED OPTIMISM THAT A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD BETWEEN THE PARTIES OF THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL

ARC WOULD BE COMPLETED BY JUNE 21. ACCORDING TO BARCA, MOST OF THE REALLY TROUBLESOME ISSUES OF THE SOMEWHAT LIMITED ACCORD

HAVE ALREADY BEEN RESOLVED AND A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE CONTINUES TO EXIST AMONG THE EXPERTS WORKING ON THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE ACCORD. HE EXPECTS THAT ON SUCH ISSUES AS THE UNIONIZATION OF THE POLICE

AND REORGANIZATION OF MONTEDISON THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO DISAGREE AND LEAVE THEM FOR LATER CONSIDERATION IN A PARLIAMENT-

ARY CONTEXT. AT THIS STAGE, BARCA CONSIDERED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO AN ACCORD AND THE ONE GROUP

WHICH COULD LEAD TO A RUPTURE IN THE CURRENT PROCESS.

ACCORDING TO BARCA, THE REPUBLICANS (PRI) WOULD LIKE NOTHING

MORE THAN TO RETURN TO GOVERNMENT (WITH PARTY PRESIDENT LAMALFA AS DEPUTY PREMIER) WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN THE MAJORITY SUPPORT-

ING THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM ADVANCED BY THE PRI, SOMETHING THE PCI WILL REFUSE TO DO. (BARCA ADDED THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ALSO

WANT DESPERATELY TO RETURN TO PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT.)

2. FOLLOWING THE COMPLETION OF THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD, BARCA SAID THE PARTIES WOULD GET DOWN TO A DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL

ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT, I.E. THE METHOD OF GUARANTEEING THAT THE PROGRAMS UPON WHICH AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED WILL BE CARRIED OUT. BARCA SUGGESTED THAT THE PCI HAD LIMITED GOALS IN THIS

CONTEXT AND WOULD ESSENTIALLY BE SATISFIED WITH FORMAL AGREEMENT FOR PERIODIC COLLEGIAL MEETINGS WHERE PROGRESS ON IMPLEMENTATION

OF THE PROGRAMS WOULD BE REVIEWED. HOWEVER, HE CONCEDED THAT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD NOT RPT NOT SATISFY THE PSI AND CONSEQUENTLY IT WAS
MOST LIKELY THAT SOME FORM OF A GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE WOULD
HAVE TO OCCUR. WHILE THE PSI WANTS THE INCLUSION IN THE GOVERN-
MENT OF TECHNICIANS SPECIFICALLY LINKED TO THE PARTIES OF THE

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LEFT AS GUARANTEES, BARCA STATED THE PCI FEELS IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE AT THIS PARTICULAR JUNCTURE TO PUSH FOR THIS TYPE OF SOLUTION. FROM THE PCI STANDPOINT, THESE FEW TECHNICIANS WOULD

BE CAPTIVES OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (DC) MAJORITY IN THE CABINET AND THEREFORE COULD ACCOMPLISH FEW REAL ACHIEVEMENTS

WHILE AT THE SAME TIME IDENTIFYING THE PARTIES OF THE LEFT DIRECTLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN THE EYES OF THE ELECTORATE.

3. IN BARCA'S VIEW, THE LIKELY OUTCOME OF THE PUSHING AND

SHOVING ON THE GUARANTEES WOULD BE A CABINET RESHUFFLE INVOLVING, AS PROPOSED BY THE PSI, A MERGING OF THE MINISTRIES OF TREASURY

AND BUDGET, WITH A TECHNICIAN HAVING BOTH A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION TAKING OVER THE COMBINED MINISTRY. HE SUG-

GESTED THAT THERE ARE FEW MEN AROUND THAT WOULD FIT THIS DESCRIPTION, BUT NAMED FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER OSSOLA AS A STRONG

CANDIDATE. BARCA WAS NOT TOTALLY SURE THAT THE PSI COULD ACCEPT
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A RESHUFFLE FAR SHORT OF ITS INITIAL ASPIRATIONS, AND SAID

IT WAS THE SOCIALISTS WHO COULD THEREFORE CREATE A GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS IN THE SECOND STAGE OF INTER-PARTY BARGAINING. NEVER-

THELESS THE PSI HAS REASONS TO AVOID RESORTING TO CAUSING A CRISIS, AND THEREFORE BARCA WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT AN EVENTUAL

ACCORD ON GUARANTEES COULD BE REACHED. AS FOR WHETHER THE PCI WOULD ACTUALLY ENTER THE VOTING MAJORITY IN THE PARLIAMENT,

BARCA SAID THAT THE PARTY'S PARLIAMENTARIANS WOULD VOTE FOR LEGISLATION APPROVED UNDER THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD; OTHERWISE

THEY WOULD VOTE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARTY INTEREST ALTHOUGH THE PCI WOULD NOT BE TOLD BY OTHERS HOW THEY SHOULD VOTE OR WHETHER

THEY ARE MEMBERS OF THE MAJORITY OR NOT.

4. BARCA TERMED THE PARTY'S CURRENT FORTUNES IN SOUTHERN ITALY

AS DIFFICULT. RECENT ELECTION RESULTS IN CASTELLAMARE DI STABBIA AND CAPUA HAD NOT BEEN ENCOURAGING, AND HIS EXPERIENCE FROM

RECENT TRIPS TO CAMPOBASSO, FOGGIA AND PALERMO SUGGESTED THAT THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF CONFUSION AMONG MEMBERS OF THE

BASE OF THE PARTY AND IN THE RANKS OF PCI SUPPORTERS. HE COMMENTED THAT HE FOUND HIMSELF TALKING AS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT

WHILE DC REPRESENTATIVES ARE TALKING AS THOUGH THEY ARE PART OF THE OPPOSITION. BARCA SEES THE PARTY'S DIFFICULTIES AS OF SHORT-TERM DURATION, EXPRESSING THE OPINION THAT THE CURRENT

SITUATION IF IT LONG CONTINUES WILL WORK TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE DC AND TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE PCI.

5. ACCORDING TO BARCA, THE PARTY'S LONG-HERALDED MIDDLE-TERM

PLAN IS NOW AT THE PRINTERS. IT WILL BE ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE AND THEN WILL BE DEBATED THROUGHOUT

THE COUNTRY PRIOR TO BEING CONSIDERED BY AN EVENTUAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING. BARCA CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT THE PLAN

CONTAINS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF INNOVATIVE PROPOSALS, AND SAID HE HAD VOTED AGAINST ONE PORTION OF IT WHICH DEALS WITH A SERIES

OF PROBLEMS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WITHOUT TACKLING THE ISSUES DIRECTLY. EVEN WHILE THE PLAN IS AT THE PRINTERS,

THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE IS SEEKING TO REVISE THIS PORTION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DRAFT TO MAKE IT MORE ACCEPTABLE.

6. BARCA EXPRESSED PCI UNHAPPINESS AT THE FACT THAT AMBASSADOR GARDNER HAS PAID CALLS ON THE SECRETARIES OF ALL THE PARTIES

OF THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL ARE--WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PCI--USUALLY WITH THE FANFARE OF A COMMUNIQUE. IN HIS WORDS,

QUOTE THIS WAS SOMETHING THAT EVEN AMBASSADOR VOLPE DID NOT DO. END QUOTE. (PCI FOREIGN SECTION CHIEF SERGIO SEGRE REPEATED

THE SAME COMPLAINT TO A VISITING AMERICAN ACADEMIC JUNE 16.) EMBOFF REPLIED THAT THE COMMUNIQUES WERE ISSUED BY THE PARTIES

INVOLVED AND NOT BY THE US EMBASSY. FURTHERMORE, AS PART OF OUR EFFORT TO STAY AWAY FROM BEING CHARGED WITH INTERFERENCE IN ITALIAN

INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WE ARE SEEKING TO AVOID STIMULATING UNWARRANTED MEDIA SPECULATION ABOUT CHANGES IN OUR POLICY TOWARD THE PCI WHICH IN FACT HAVE NOT OCCURRED. TO MAKE MOVES WHICH WOULD BE

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MISINTERPRETED WOULD ONLY INCREASE PRESSURE FOR US TO ISSUE

CLARIFICATIONS OF OUR POLICY. THIS IN TURN WOULD LEAD TO NEW
CHARGES OF INTERFERENCE IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS FROM THE PCI.

BARCA, IN ACCEPTING THE EXPLANATION, DID ADD THAT BY IGNORING
THE PCI, THE USG IS, IN EFFECT, INTERFERING IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS.

DURING THE CONVERSATION, EMBOFF TURNED DOWN A SUGGESTION FROM
BARCA THAT HE CALL ON PCI SECRETARIAT MEMBER GIANCARLO PAJETTA

(RESPONSIBLE FOR OVERALL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS) AT PARTY HEAD-
QUARTERS STATING THAT THIS COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AND LEAD

TO UNWARRANTED SPECULATION. (EMBOFF POINTED TO UNHAPPY EX-
PERIENCE OF LEAK FROM FRENCH COMMUNISTS OF CALL BY EMBOFFS ON

KANAPA AT HIS OFFICE.) AFTER DISCUSSION, BARCA ACCEPTED IDEA
THAT EMBOFF WOULD INVITE PAJETTA TO PRIVATE LUNCHEON AT NEUTRAL

PLACE.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM EMBOFF ABOUT REPORTS THAT
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BERLINGUER HAS BEEN ILL, BARCA SAID THAT HE HAS A CHRONIC EAR

PROBLEM WHICH HAS NOT RESPONDED TO MEDICAL TREATMENT. BARCA
ADDED WITH A SMILE THAT IN HIS OPINION IT WAS ALL QUOTE THE

RESULT OF A CASE OF NERVES. END QUOTE. HE ALSO NOTED THAT BER-
LINGUER HATES TO GIVE PRIVATE INTERVIEWS TO THE PRESS AND HAS

BEEN CRITICIZED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP FOR THIS.
FINALLY, HE OBSERVED THAT BERLINGUE HAS A HIGHLY PERSONALIZED

MANNER OF LEADING THE PARTY AND THAT FREQUENTLY HE DOES NOT
PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN THE DEBATE AT DIRECTORATE MEETINGS
EVEN IN THE FORM OF RESPONDING TO CRITICISM OF SOME OF HIS

ACTIONS. THIS IS TOTALLY DIVERSE FROM THE STYLE OF TOGLIATTI

WHO ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN EVERY DIRECTORATE MEETING AND CENTRAL
COMMITTEE DEBATE. GARDNER

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