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MILAN MEASURES MORO IMPACT SUMMARY. SURVEY OF LEADING MILAN NATIONAL OPINION MAKERS REVEALS UNANIMOUS CONCLUSION THAT ITALIAN POST-WAR POLITICS HAS TURNED PAGE. AN ERA HAS ENDED AND SO, BELIEVE ALL

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MILAN 0534

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT IT

SUBJECT: MILAN MEASURES MORO IMPACT

SUMMARY. SURVEY OF LEADING MILAN NATIONAL OPINION MAKERS

REVEALS UNANIMOUS CONCLUSION THAT ITALIAN POST-WAR POLITICS

HAS TURNED PAGE. AN ERA HAS ENDED AND SO, BELIEVE ALL,

HAS ROLE OF MORO WITH SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR DC. END SUMMARY

1. CONSULATE HAS NOW COMPLETED SERIES OF DOZEN INTERVIEWS

WITH MOST IMPORTANT LOCAL OPINION LEADERS AND DC POLITICIANS

TO DETERMINE THEIR ESTIMATE OF POLITICAL SITUATION FOLLOWING

MORO LETTER OF MARCH 29 URGING NEGOTIATION FOR HIS RELEASE.

INCLUDED WERE EDITORS OF THREE NATIONAL DAILIES, DC PRESIDENT

OF REGION, DC SECRETARY, SOCIALISTS ACOMMUNISTS AMONG OTHERS.

2. WE DISCOVER UNBROKEN UNANIMITY FOR VIEW THAT MORO KIDNAPPING HAS ENDED ERA OF POST-WAR ITALIAN HISTORY, POSSIBLY END OF FIRST ITALIAN REPUBLIC. ACCORDING TO BOTH EDITOR CONSERVATIVE FINANCIAL DAILY 24 ORE AND TO LEADING POLITICAL WRITER FOR LEFT-WING REPUBBLICA. WHILE ALL AGREE THAT PAGE HAS TURNED, EQUALLY AGREE THAT OUTLOOK MORE THAN EVER OBSCURE. YET SOME HARD CONCLUSIONS ALREADY IN.

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3. FIRST, MORO IS PROBABLY POLITICALLY FINISHED WHETHER HE SURVIVES PHYSICALLY OR NOT. ON LATTER POINT ESTIMATES VARY. ON FORMER, RANGE IS FROM ABSOLUTELY FINISHED TO VIRTUALLY SO. ALL POINT TO TWO MORO LETTERS AS HAVING DESTROYED HIS REPUTATION. EVEN THOUGH PROBABLY EXTRACTED BY FORCE, PLEADING TONE MAKES MORO APPEAR WEAK. INCON-

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CEIVABLE, SAID CATHOLIC CORRIERE EDITOR, THAT SUCH A MAN COULD NOW BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. ALL AGREE THAT DESTRUCTION OF MORO IS A BRIGATE ROSSE GOAL SUBSTANTIALLY ACCOMPLISHED.

4. SECOND, DC AND GOVERNMENT SERIOUSLY DISCREDITED. FAILURE OF POLICE AFTER MORE THAN 20 DAYS TO ARREST A SINGLE SUSPECT LINKED TO CASE - EVEN ONE OF PRESUMABLY LARGE NUMBER INVOLVED IN SIMULTANEOUS DELIVERY OF TERRORIST MESSAGES - IS TAKEN AS SIGN OF ITS INADEQUACY. WHILE REPUBBLICA WRITER RECALLED SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES OF FRG AT TIME OF SCHLEYER CASE, GENERALLY REACTION IS THAT GOVERNMENT, MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND POLICE HAVE GIVEN FURTHER PROOF OF DC INCOMPETENCE.

5. THIRD, TERRORISM IS HERE TO STAY. NONE OF OUR CONTACTS BELIEVES THAT BRIGATE ROSSE CAN BE ROUNDED UP AND PUT OUT OF BUSINESS. THEY VOLUNTEER THAT ITALY MUST BEGIN TO LEARN TO LIVE WITH TERRORISM FOR YEARS TO COME.

6. FOURTH, RELATED IS GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT BRIGATE ROSSE ARE GAINING GROUND. DEMONSTRATION OF IMPOTENCE OF STATE SAID TO ENCOURAGE YOUNG RADICALS TO BELIEVE THAT TERRORISTS, AFTER ALL, MAY BE RIGHT IN THINKING THEY CAN PREVAIL. WIDESPREAD APPEARANCE OF PRO-TERRORIST

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GRAFFITI, OF ANTI-MORO GAGS, AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF EXTRA

PARLIAMENTARY FOLLOWERS DESCRIBED AS SIGNS THAT BR
HAVE GAINED BY OPERATION SO FAR.

7. FIFTH, FUTURE OF DC HAS SUDDENLY BECOME TOTALLY UNPREDICTABLE. ASSUMING MORO IS GONE, PHYSICALLY
OR

POLITICALLY, LEADERSHIP OF PARTY UP FOR GRABS. AND
NO ONE BUT FORLANI, IN WHOM NONE OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS
EXPRESSED ANY FAITH, SEEMED TO THEM LIKELY. MOREOVER,
PRESIDENCY OF REPUBLIC ALSO BECOMES WIDE OPEN WITH
NO OBVIOUS REPLACEMENT FOR MORO. REMOVAL OF MORO
ALSO RISKS SPLIT IN DC OVER COMMUNIST ISSUE AS HE
SEEN AS ONLY LEADER OF STATURE ADEQUATE HOLD FACTIONS
TOGETHER AND FIND COMMON GROUND WITH PCI.

8. IT IS IN THOSE TERMS THAT OUR INFORMANTS HERE SEE
FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN ITALIAN SCENE SINCE KIDNAPPING.

9. ALL EQUALLY STRONG IN CONVICTION THAT STATE MUST
NOT NEGOTIATE WITH TERRORISTS FOR MORO RELEASE - EVEN
IF CHOICE IS HIS CERTAIN DEATH. REGIONAL PRESIDENT
GOLFARI (DC) DC PROVINCIAL SECRETARY FRIGERIO

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AND OTHER DC LEADERS AS WELL AS PRESS
AGREE THAT AFTER MUCH SOUL-SEARCHING, DC IS NOW DUG
IN ON THIS POSITION. AND THERE ALSO SAID TO BE
STRONG OPPOSITION WITHIN VATICAN TO POPE'S INITIAL
READINESS TO SERVE AS INTERMEDIARY. HOWEVER, THERE IS

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MILAN 0534

GENERAL SUSPICION OF SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH TERRORISTS.
BY FAMILY TO SAVE MORO BY BARGAIN, BY DC FRIENDS TO GAIN
TIME IN DESPERATE HOPE THAT POLICE WILL SOMEHOW DISCOVER
HIDING PLACE. NONE OF OUR CONTACTS BELIEVES THAT DC
OR GOVERNMENT COULD OR WOULD TRADE MORO FOR IMPRISONED
TERRORISTS - PARTLY BECAUSE POLITICAL BACKLASH FOR DC
WOULD BE STAGGERING IN THEIR ESTIMATE. IN FACT, MACABRE
AS IT MAY BE, WE ARE TOLD THAT VARIOUS DC MPS SAYING THEY
WOULD PREFER MORO DEAD TO DEPRIVE TERRORISTS OF THEIR
MISCHIVEOUS LEVERAGE.

10. OUTLOOK DESCRIBED AS VERY GRIM WITH LOCKHEED TRIAL OPENING, CURCIO TRIAL PROCEEDING, SOME ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS IN MAY, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO BE CHOSEN IN FALL, NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS EXPECTED IN SPRING 1979 AND EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS THAT SUMMER.

11. DI BELLA MUSED THAT FATE OF FIRST REPUBLIC HANGS ON SOME COP STUMBLING ON HIDING PLACE. A POLICE SUCCESS, EVEN IF MORO KILLED IN SHOOT OUT, WOULD TOTALLY CHANGE VERY GRAVE OUTLOOK.

12. GRAVE FOR OUR CONTACTS IN PART BECAUSE THEY WORRIED ABOUT INCREASED PROBABILITY THAT PCI WILL BE BROUGHT

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INTO GOVERNMENT. THEY AGREE THAT UNDERLYING THRUST OF TERRORISM IS TO MAKE PCI SEEM MORE NECESSARY TO SAVE STATE IN FACE OF DC INADEQUACY. NO ONE SEEMS TO DOUBT THAT PCI COULD RESTORE LAW AND ORDER WHICH IS EVER BUILDING DEMAND OF PUBLIC. SO FAR PCI SAID TO HAVE MADE NO EFFORT TO BE BROUGHT INTO CABINET AND NONE OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS EXPECTED THAT BARRING SOME SHARP WORSENING OF SITUATION - WHICH NONE WOULD EXCLUDE.

13. WORKING AGAINST PCI INCLUSION IN CABINET WAS ELIMINATION OF MORO. HE ALONE HAD PRESTIGE AND SKILL TO HOLD DC TOGETHER AT SAME TIME MAKING DEAL WITH PCI. IN HIS ABSENCE, GIORNALE EDITOR SURMISED, DC COULD WELL TURN ITS BACK ON PCI IN MAJORITY IN PREFERENCE FOR NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS. OTHERS THOUGHT DC HAD CROSSED THAT RUBICON AND IN FACT FOUND PCI MORE ESSENTIAL THAN EVER.

14. ELECTORAL IMPACT OF MORO CASE GENERALLY SEEN AS ACCENTUATING POLARIZATION ALREADY IN PROGRESS ALTHOUGH NONE VERY CONFIDENT OF ESTIMATE UNTIL MORO DRAMA FULLY PLAYED OUT. ARGUMENT WAS THAT VOTER, FEARFUL OF CHAOS AND VIOLENCE WOULD TURN TO ONE OF MASS PARTIES TO RESTORE ORDER. WHILE DC REGIONAL PRESIDENT BELIEVED PCI LOSING SUPPORT DUE TO BRIGATE ROSSE ORIGIN IN MARXISM AND ITS CHAMPIONSHIP OF COMMUNISM, THAT HYPOTHESIS HAD NO OTHER SUPPORT. ACCORDING TO OTHERS, BRIGATE ROSSE AND PCI LONG KNOWN AS ENEMIES AND NO CONFUSION. MOREOVER, PCI VOTER, LIKE VOTERS FOR PSI, PSDI, AND OTHER MINOR GROUPS IS MARXIST WHO DOESN'T BELIEVE MARXISM EQUALS TERRORISM. NEW INFLUX OF MIDDLE OF ROAD VOTES GOING TO PCI COMES FROM PEOPLE OF WHOM BACK PCI PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT WILL RESTORE LAW AND ORDER.

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15. ONE SERIOUS ERROR IN PCI HANDLING OF CASE, GOLFARI BELIEVE, WAS CRITICISM OF POLICE ROUND UP EARLIER IN WEEK WHEN THERE SEEMED LITTLE GROUND FOR SOME ARRESTS. PCI AND LEFT IN GENERAL CRITICAL OF THAT OPERATION. BUT THIS COULD IMPAIR PCI IMAGE AS SYMBOL OF LAW AND ORDER WHEN, ACCORDING TO SOME HERE, PUBLIC WANTS TOUGH REPRESSION OF TERRORISTS AND NOT MUCH WORRIED ABOUT LEGALITIES. CONTRARY VIEW TAKEN BY REPUBBLICA MAN WHO SAID INDISCRIMINATE ROUND-UP LAYED INTO HANDS OF TERRORISTS BY GIVING THEM EVIDENCE THAT POLICE

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WERE OPPRESSIVE.

17. SUCH WAS CLIMATE AS WE MEASURED IT IN MILAN AT CLOSE OF DAY, APRIL 5.

16. SOURCES OF TERRORISM CONSTANT THEME WITH FREQUENT ASSURANCE THAT ITALIANS TOO UNSKILLED OR TOO DECENT TO CARRY OUT MORO OPERATION. DC SECRETARY, LONG TIME POLITICO, INSISTS TERRORISTS ARE BACKED BY SOVIETS THROUGH CZECHS TO SABOTAGE PCI WHICH HAS BECOME TOO INDEPENDENT FOR THEM. FRIGERIO CONCEDED, HOWEVER, THAT IF THIS IS SOVIET STRATEGY, IT IS HAVING REVERSE EFFECT BY BRINGING PCI CLOSER TO GOVERNMENT.FINA

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(<https://tails.boum.org/>)



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