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### VIEWS OF SENIOR PCI OFFICIAL SUMMARY. INA CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, A SENIOR ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) OFFICIAL SAID THAT HIS PARTY REMAINS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT LEAD TO CONCESSIONS

Canonical ID: 1978ROME07904\_d Date: 1978 May 2, 00:00 (Tuesday) Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED Character Count: 12813 Handling Restrictions -- N/A or Blank --Executive Order: X1 Locator: TEXT ON MICROFILM, TEXT ONLINE TAGS: DC - Christian Democratic Party in Italy Concepts: COMMUNISTS (/plusd/?q=& (/plusd/?q=&qftags=DC#result) | IT - Italy qfconcept=COMMUNISTS#result) | (/plusd/?q=&qftags=IT#result) | MORO, ALDO - Aldo Moro (/plusd/?q=& KIDNAPPING (/plusd/?q=& qfconcept=KIDNAPPING#result) | qftags=MORO%2C+ALDO#result) | PCI -POLITICAL LEADERS (/plusd/?q=& Italian Communist Party (/plusd/?q=& qftags=PCI#result) | PINT - Political qfconcept=POLITICAL+LEADERS#result) | POLITICAL PARTIES (/plusd/?q=& Affairs--Internal Political Affairs (/plusd qfconcept=POLITICAL+PARTIES#result) | /?q=&qftags=PINT#result) | RB (/plusd /?q=&qftags=RB#result) TERRORISTS (/plusd/?q=& qfconcept=TERRORISTS#result) Enclosure: -- N/A or Blank --Type: TE - Telegram (cable) Office Origin: -- N/A OR BLANK --Archive Status: Electronic Telegrams Office Action: ACTION EUR - BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN AFFAIRS From: ITALY ROME (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFORIGIN=ITALY Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US %23%23ROME#RESULT) Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014 TO: FRANCE PARIS (/PLUSD/?O=& QFDESTINATION=FRANCE %23%23Paris#result) | Italy Florence (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFDESTINATION=ITALY %23%23FLORENCE#RESULT) | ITALY GENOA (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFDESTINATION=ITALY %23%23Genoa#result) | Italy Milan (/plusd/?q=&qfdestination=Italy %23%23Milan#result) | Italy Naples (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFDESTINATION=ITALY %23%23NAPLES#RESULT) | ITALY PALERMO (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFDESTINATION=ITALY %23%23Palermo#result) | North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (/plusd/?q=& QFDESTINATION=NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)#RESULT) | SECRETARY OF STATE (/PLUSD/?Q=& QFDESTINATION=SECRETARY OF STATE#RESULT) | SPAIN MADRID (/PLUSD/?Q=& QFDESTINATION=SPAIN %23%23Madrid#result) | United Kingdom LONDON (/PLUSD/?Q=&QFDESTINATION=UNITED KINGDOM%23%23LONDON#RESULT) | US (/PLUSD/?O=&OFDESTINATION=US#RESULT)

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WITH EXTREME LEFTIST TERRORISTS. THE PCI HAS NO INFORMATION SUPPORTING ALLEGATIONS BY A MEMBER OF ITS LEADERSHIP REGARDIND POSSIBLE AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE BRIGATE ROSSE (BR), AND THE PARTY DIRECTORATE HAS DIRECTED HIM TO REFRAIN FROM REPEATING THESE. THE KIDNAPPING AND ITS INHERENT POLICICAL IMPACT WILL IMPEDE EFFORTS TO TRANSFORM THE COMMUNIST YOUTH FEDERATION (FGCI) INTO A MASS ORGANI-

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APPARENT SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) INCLINATON TO DEAL WITH THE TERRORISTS AND ABOUT PRESSURES FROM MORO'S FRIENDS IN THE DC FOR A MODIFICATION IN THE RIGID POSITION UNTIL NOW ASSUMED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. 3. POLITICAL IMPACT. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BARCA SIAD IT IS FAR TOO SOON TO MEASURE THE REAL IMPACT OF THE MORO KIDHAPPING ON THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION. UNTILNOW THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IS THE SENSE OF UNITY THAT HAS DEVELOPED AMONG THE FIVE PARTIES OF THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY, SOMETHING THAT WOLD NOT HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED SO EASILY HAD THE VANTIES GOOD, PARLIAMENTARY LIFE IS PROCEEDING AT A GOOD PACE AND THE PCI HAS A FAVORABLE ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTIES GOOD, PARLIAMENTARY LIFE IS PROCEEDING AT A GOOD PACE AND THE PCI HAS A FAVORABLE ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTIES OF THE DARIOUS MINISTERS TO DATE. BARCA ALSO POINTED TO AN IMPROVED PCI RELATIONSHEP WITH CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE DC NOT TRADITIONALLY FIRIENDLY TO THE PCI. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE PCI HAS REVISED ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE STRENGHTS OF CERTAIN DC LEADERS BASED ON THEIR HANDLING OF THE CURRENT CRISIS, MENTIONING IN PARTICULAR DC CHAMBER OD DEPUTIES LEADER

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AFFAIR. BARCA REPLIED THAT A PCI DIRECTORATE MEETING AFFAIR. DAACA REFLED THAT A FCI DIRECTORATE HEETING HAD ORDERED MACALUSO AND OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP TO REFRAIN FROM REPEATING THESE UNSUPPORTED ACCUSATIONS SINCE THE PCI HAS NOTHING TO SUGGEST THAT THE CIA HAS ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE MORO KIDNAPPING. BARCA ALSO REVEALED THAT MACALUSO HAD BEEN REPRIMANDED FOR NOT HAVING INFOMRED HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF HIS STEPDAUGHTER WITH AN EXTREME LEFTIS GROUP. MACALUSO'S COMETOENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL PAGE 02

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STEP-DAUGHTER WAS ARRESTED RECENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLICE DISCOVERY OF AN EXTREME LEFTIST HIDEOUT NEAR NAPLES). CONTINUING ALONG THESE LINES EMBOFF THEN NOTED THAT BUFALINIS SPEECH TO THE MOST RECENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HAD A REFERNCE TO FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE MORO KIDNAPPING WHICH MOST WOULD TAKE AS A VEILED REFERENCE TO THE CIA. 7 . FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. BARCA AND EMBOFF ENGAGED INA

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014 LENGTHY DISCUSSIONOF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES DURING WHICH EMBOFF POINTED TO STRIKING SIMILARITY BETWEEN SOVIET AND PCI POSITINS ON VIRTUALLY ALL MAJOR QUESTIONS, LEADING ONE TO QUESTION THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PARTY ONE TO QUESTION THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PARTY FRO MOSCOW. PURSUING HIS POINT, EMBOFF TOOK THE MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN F AFRICA AND THE N-BOMB AS EXAMPLES. BARCA RESPONDED THAT IT WAS NOT EASY TO CONDUCT VARIOUS RLATIONSHIPS OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. REGARDING THE HORNOF AFRICA, HE SATED THAT CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ERITREA WOULD PRESENT A MAJOR DILEMMA FOR THE PCI, AND HE HOPED THAT THIS WOULD BE AVOIDED. REGARDING SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA, IT CAME ABOUT LARGELY AS THE RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF GIAN CARLO PAJETTA, THE SECRETARIAT MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. BARCA SUGGESTED HE WAS CRITICAL OF PAJETTA'S ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA. AND STAED THAT PAJETTA'S DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA, AND STAED THAT PAJETTA'S PERSONAL AMBITIONS MIGHT HAVE AFFECTED DECISIONS HE HAD MADE 8. WITH REFERENCE TO THE PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE

3. WITH REFERENCE TO THE PARTY SATIFIED TOWARDS THE U.S., BARCA SAID THAT THE STATIONING OF A L'UNITA CORRESPONDENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE SEEN AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT SINCE IT PERMITS THE PCI RANK-AND-FILE TO RECEIVE A MORE BALANCED IMAGE OF AMERICAN EVENTS THATN CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED. EMBOFF AGREED, BUT STAED THAT A GOOD DEAL OF L'UNITA COVERAGE OF THE UNITED STAES IS STILL NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PARTY'S PROFESSED POLICY OF DESIRING TO BE NEITHER ANTI-SOVIET NOR ANTI-AMERICAN. 9. THE SOCIALISTS. BARCA COMMENTED THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRRESS HAD CONCLUDED WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE RIGHT PROGRAM BY THE WRONG MAJORITY. HE CRITICIZED SOME OF HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES, AMONG THEM PAJETTA, FOR HAVING BACKED MISTAKENLY ENRICO MANCA IN HIS CHALLENCE AGAINST PARTY SECRETARY CRAXI. BARCA SAID IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CRAXI WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN RESHAPING THE NATURE OF HIS PARTY. OF HIS PARTY.

10. THE FGCI CONGRESS. ACCORDING TO BARCA, THE PARTY HAD HOPED THAT THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S CONGRESS HAD HOPED THAT THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S CONGF IN FLORENCE WOULD LEAD TO A REORGANIZATIONOF ITS STRUCTURE. THE DESIGN IS TO CREATE A MASS ORGANIZATION WHICH DOES OT HAVE A HIERARCHY IDENTICAL IN STRUCTURE TO THAT OF THE PCI HAND IN WHICH DOMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WOULD HAVE A REDUCED SIGNIFICANCE. IN ESSENCE, THE OBJECTIVE IS TO PERMIT ADHERENCE TO THE FGCI OF GROUPS NOT EORDMALLY ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNICT THOUGHT THE NOT FORMALLY ASSOCATED WITH COMMUNIST THOUGHT. THE MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS WILL ELECT, WITHOUT

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014 FIGLI OF VIELE DECLASSILLED/RELEASED US DEPARTMENT OF 3 FGCI OR PCI GUIDANCE, THE INDIVIDUALS THEY WULD WISH TO REPRESENT THEM ON THE APPROPRIATE FGCI GOVERNING BODY. THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS IS OVERSHADOWED BY THE MOR KIDNAPPING AND THE RISK THAT THE NEW ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE COULD BE INFILTRATED BY EXTREME LEFITISTS MEANS THAT THE FGCI REFORMS WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A MORE GRADUAL AND CAUTIOUS MANNER THAN HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN ANTICIPATED. 1. SPANISH PARTY CONGRESS. DUE TO DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE MORO KIDNAPPING. SECRETARIAT MEMBERS GERARDO CHIAROMONTE HAD TO DROP PLANS TO LEAD THE PCI DELEGATION CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL PAGE 04

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS. BARCA REVEALED THAT BERLINGUER HAD INTENDED TO MAKE AN UNANNOUNCED VISIT TO THE CONGRESS ON THE LAST DAY TO DEMONSTRATE HIS SUPPORT FOR CARRILLO, BUT THE MORO KIDNAPPING OBLIGED HIM TO CHANGE HIS PLANS. 12. PCI SECURITY. BARCA SAID THAT THE PARTY HAS STEPPED UP ITS SECURITY. BARCA SAID THAT THE PARTY HAS STEPPED UP ITS SECURITY. IN THE WAKE OF THE MORO KIDNAPPING, FOR BERLINGUER AND FOR ITS SECURITY SPOKESMAN,UGO PACCHIOLI. NONE OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP HAVE ARMED ESCORTS, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE VARYING THEIR DAILY SCHEDULES AND THE ROUTES THEY USE BETWEEN HOME AND OFFICE. BARCA REMARKED AS AN ASIDE, THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF GOVERMENT FUNDS, THE PCI HAD PURCHASED AN ARMORED CAR FOR BERINGUER'S POLICR EXCORT. (BERLINGUER WAS ALREADY TO THE CONGRESS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS, BARCA

RIDING AROUND IN AN ARMORED VEHICLE).GARDNER

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STEP-DAUGHTER WAS ARRESTED RECENTLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLICE DISCOVERY OF AN EXTREME LEFTIST HIDEOUT NEAR NAPLES). CONTINUING ALONG THESE LINES EMBOFF THEN NOTED THAT BUFALINIS SPEECH TO THE MOST RECENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HAD A REFERNCE TO FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE MORO KIDMAPPING WHICH MOST WOULD TAKE AS A VEILED REFERENCE TO THE CIA. 7 . FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. BARCA AND EMBOFF ENGAGED INA

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State to Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014 LENGTHY DISCUSSIONOF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES DURING WHICH EMBOFF POINTED TO STRIKING SIMILARITY BETWEEN SOVIET AND PCI POSITINS ON VIRTUALLY ALL MAJOR QUESTIONS, LEADING ONE TO QUESTION THE DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PARTY FRO MOSCOW. PURSUING HIS POINT, EMBOFF TOOK THE MIDDLE EAST, THE HORN F AFRICA AND THE N-BOMB AS EXAMPLES. BARCA RESPONDED THAT IT WAS NOT EASY TO CONDUCT VARIOUS RLATIONSTHEP SOVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. REGARDING THE HORNOF AFRICA, HE SATED THAT CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ERITREA WOULD PRESENT A MAJOR DILEMMA FOR THE PCI, AND HE HOPEN TAT THIS WOULD BE AVOIDED. REGARDING SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA, IT CAME ABOUT LARGELY AS THE RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF GIAN CARLO PAJETTA, THE SECRETARIAT MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. BARCA SUGGESTED HE WAS CRITICAL OF PAJETTA'S ANALYSIS OF BARCA SUGGESTED HE WAS CRITICAL OF PAJETTA'S ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ETHIOPIA, AND STAED THAT PAJETTA'S PERSONAL AMBITIONS MIGHT HAVE AFFECTED DECISIONS HE HAD MADE.

8. WITH REFERENCE TO THE PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE U.S., BARCA SAID THAT THE STATIONING OF A L'UNITA CORRESPONDENT IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE SEEN AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT SINCE IT PERMITS THE PCI RANK-AND-FILE TO RECEIVE A MORE BALANCED IMAGE OF AMERICAN EVENTS THATN CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL PAGE 03

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THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED. EMBOFF AGREED, BUT STAED THAT A GOOD DEAL OF L'UNITA COVERAGE OF THE UNITED STAES IS STILL NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PARTY'S PROFESSED POLICY OF DESIRING TO BE NEITHER ANTI-SOVIET NOR ANTI-AMERICAN. 9. THE SOCIALISTS. BARCA COMMENTED THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRRESS HAD CONCLUDED WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE RIGHT PROGRAM BY THE WRONG MAJORITY. HE CRITICIZED SOME OF HIS PARTY COLLEGUES, AMONG THEM PAJETTA, FOR HAVING BACKED MISTAKENLY ENRICO MANCA IN HIS CHALLENGE AGAINST PARTY SECRETARY CRAXI. BARCA SAID IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CRAXT WILL BE SUCCESSENT IN BESHAPTNC THE NATURE WHETHER CRAXI WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN RESHAPING THE NATURE OF HIS PARTY.

10. THE FGCI CONGRESS. ACCORDING TO BARCA, THE PARTY HAD HOPED THAT THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S CONGRESS HAD HOPED THAT THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION'S CONG IN FLORENCE WOULD LEAD TO A REORGANIZATIONOF ITS STRUCTURE. THE DESIGN IS TO CREATE A MASS ORGANIZATION WHICH DOES OT HAVE A HIERARCHY IDENTICAL IN STRUCTURE TO THAT OF THE PCI HAND IN WHICH DOMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WOULD HAVE A REDUCED SIGNIFICANCE. IN ESSENCE, THE 0BJECTIVE IS TO PERMIT ADHERENCE TO THE FGCI OF GROUPS NOT FORMALLY ASSOCATED WITH COMMUNIST THOUGHT. THE MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS WILL ELECT, WITHOUT

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014 FGCI OR PCI GUIDANCE, THE INDIVIDUALS THEY WULD WISH TO REPRESENT THEM ON THE APPROPRIATE FGCI GOVERNING BODY. THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS IS OVERSHADOWED BY THE MOR INE FACI IMAI IME CONGRESS IS OVERSHADOWED BY THE MOR KIDNAPPING AND THE RISK THAT THE NEW ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE COULD BE INFILTRATED BY EXTREME LEFTISTS MEANS THAT THE FGCI REFORMS WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A MORE GRADUAL AND CAUTIOUS MANNER THAN HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN ANTICIPATED. 1. SPANISH PARTY CONGRESS. DUE TO DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE MORO KIDNAPPING. SECRETARIAT MEMBERS GERARDO CHIAROMONTE HAD TO DROP PLANS TO LEAD THE PCI DELEGATION CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL PAGE 04 ROME 07904 02 OF 02 021703Z

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS. BARCA REVEALED THAT BERLINGUER HAD INTENDED TO MAKE AN UNANNOUNCED VISIT TO THE CONGRESS ON THE LAST DAY TO DEMONSTRATE HIS SUPPORT FOR CARRILLO, BUT THE MORO KIDNAPPING OBLIGED HIM TO CHANGE HIS PLANS. 12. PCI SECURITY. BARCA SAID THAT THE PARTY HAS STEPPED UP ITS SECURITY. IN THE WAKE OF THE MORO KIDNAPPING, FOR BERLINGUER AND FOR ITS SECURITY SPOKESMAN, UGO PACCHIOLI. BERLINGUER AND FUR ITS SECURITY SPOKESMAN, UGU PACCHIULI. NONE OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP HAVE ARMED ESCORTS, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE VARYING THEIR DAILY SCHEDULES AND THE ROUTES THEY USE BETWEEN HOME AND OFFICE. BARCA REMARKED AS AN ASIDE, THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF GOVERNENT FUNDS, THE PCI HAD PURCHASED AN ARMORED CAR FOR BERINGUER'S POLICE EXCORT. (BERLINGUER WAS ALREADY DIDING ADVIND IN A DAMORED VEHTCLE, CARDNED RIDING AROUND IN AN ARMORED VEHICLE).GARDNER

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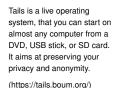
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