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(C) THE PCI REORGANIZATION: CAST IN THE BERLINGUER MOLD

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Review 20 Mar 2014

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1989

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AMCONSUL GENOA

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E.O. 12065: GDS 8/14/85 (HOLMES,H.A.) OR-M

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJ: (C) THE PCI REORGANIZATION: CAST IN THE BERLINGUER MOLD

REF: (A) ROME 18554 (B) ROME 19541

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: MOST OF THE MAJOR APPOINTMENTS HAVE NOW BEEN
MADE TO THE LEADERSHIP POSITIONS WITHIN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY (PCI). AS SUCH, THE PCI SEEMS INCREASINGLY CAST IN
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THE BERLINGUER MOLD WITH NO MAJOR REFORMERS OR LEADERS WITH
LARGE CONSTITUENCIES IN THE PARTY PROMOTED TO THE TOP
LEVELS. MOST IF NOT ALL OF THOSE PROMOTED ARE KNOWN
BERLINGUER SUPPORTERS OR AT LEAST KNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE BERLINGUER LINE. WHAT'S THE SECRET OF
BERLINGUER'S SUCCESS?
LIKE ANY CHESS MASTER, HE HAS SEIZED AND CONTROLS THE MIDDLE
GROUND WHILE DIVIDING AND CONQUERING OPPONENTS ON THE FLANKS.

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WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS? THE PCI IS PROBABLY NOT GOING
TO MOVE VERY FAR IN ANY DISTINCT IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION IN THE NEXT
FEW YEARS.
END SUMMARY

3. THE STRUCTURE: WE HAVE ALREADY DESCRIBED FOR THE DEPARTMENT (REFTELS) THE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE
PARTY STRUCTURE. THE
STATED GOAL, ACCORDING TO OUR PCI CONTACTS, IS TO STREAMLINE
THE PARTY ORGANIZATION. THE UNSTATED GOAL, IT SEEMS TO US,
IS TO ENSURE THAT THERE ARE NO STRONG DISSENTERS FROM THE BERLINGUER LINE IN ANY LEADERSHIP
POSITION.

A. THE SECRETARIAT. IT WAS REDUCED FROM 9 TO 7 MEMBERS.
ALESSANDRO NATTA AND PIO LA TORRE WILL ACT AS DE FACTO VICE
SECRETARIES WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT
OF THE PARTY, I.E., A SECRETARIAT WITHIN A SECRETARIAT. A
NOVELTY WAS THE CREATION OF FIVE NEW DEPARTMENTS (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PARTY PROBLEMS, PROGAGANDA
AND INFORMATION,
CULTURAL AFFAIRS, ECONOMIC MATTERS). NAPOLITANO HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR PARTY AFFAIRS; MINUCCI WILL
SEE TO PROPAGANDA AND
INFORMATION, AND CHIAROMONTE WILL HAVE THE OVERALL COORDINATING
ROLE FOR ECONOMIC MATTERS. NEITHER THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(PAJETTA) NOR THE CULTURAL AFFAIRS (TORTORELLA) DEPARTMENTS
ARE REPRESENTED IN THE SECRETARIAT. OUR PCI CONTACTS HAVE DEPICTED
THEIR ABSENCE AS OF LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE. YET IT IS CLEAR THAT
THE ACCENT WITHIN THE PARTY IS ON THE BREAD AND BUTTER QUESTIONS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION, ECONOMIC
MATTERS, THE SOUTH,

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AND YOUTH. IN OTHER WORDS FOREIGN POLICY AND CULTURAL MATTERS
MAY HAVE A LOWER PRIORITY IN THESE NEXT FEW YEARS. THE DEPARTMENT WILL ALSO COORDINATE THE UNPUTS
FROM THE FIVE STANDING

COMMISSIONS (PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY, PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS OF PROPAGANDA AND PRESS, AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, AND PROBLEMS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION), WHICH ARE COMPOSED OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE NEW PRESIDENTS OF THESE COMMISSIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN NAMED. HOWEVER, BUFALINI, WHO WAS REMOVED FROM THE SECRETARIAT, IS EXPECTED TO HEAD THE FOREIGN POLICY COMMISSION, AND WILL SERVE AS THE BERLINGUER COUNTERWEIGHT TO PAJETTA. (BUFALINI IS ALSO CONSIDERED TO BE THE PCI EMISSARY TO THE DC AND THE VATICAN.)

B. THE DIRECTORATE. IT WAS REDUCED IN SIZE FROM 36 TO 32 MEMBERS. OUSTED FROM THE DIRECTORATE WERE THOSE RESPONSIBLE AT THAT LEVEL FOR SOUTHERN PROBLEMS, INFORMATION AND TV, AND CULTURAL MATTERS AS WELL AS TWO REGIONAL SECRETARIES. NO PARTY NOTABLE, HOWEVER, WAS DROPPED. AS WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED, THERE WAS AN INFUSION OF SOME YOUNG BLOOD (BASSOLINI, GUERZONI, VENTURA), INTO THE DIRECTORATE. ACCORDING TO SOME OF OUR PCI CONTACTS, THE DIRECTORATE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND UPGRADED. AND IT HAS BECOME THE REAL POWER CENTER IN THE

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C. MISCELLANEOUS. SEVERAL SECTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE OUTSIDE THE PURVIEW OF ANY SPECIFIC DEPARTMENT;

WOMEN'S SECTION-ADRIANA SERONI

PROBLEMS OF THE STATE (INTERNAL SECURITY)- UGO PECCHIOLI

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS- ARMANDO COSSUTTA

PUBLIC EDUCATION- ACHILLE OCCHETTO

THE SOUTH- EMANUELE MACALUSO

PECCHIOLI AND COSSUTTA WERE RECONFIRMED IN THEIR SENSITIVE POSITIONS; MACALUSO, WHO WAS A STRONG CONTENDER FOR THE SECRETARIAT AND WHO IS CLOSE TO BERLINGUER, WAS GIVEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SOUTHERN REGION.

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D. REGIONAL SECRETARIES. REGIONAL SECRETARIES FOR PUGLIA, THE VENETO AND PIEDMONT ARE NOT YET NAMED.

THE LATTER POSITION IS KEY TO THE FUTURE PCI STRATEGY SINCE TURIN REGISTERED ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC DECLINES IN WORKER SUPPORT FOR THE PCI. GIANNI CERVETTI, A BERLINGUER MAN, WHO WAS RECENTLY DROPPED FROM THE SECRETARIAT, WAS TO HAVE GONE TO TURIN BUT LOCAL OBJECTIONS BLOCKED THE ASSIGNMENT. HE HAS INSTEAD BEEN ASSIGNED AS REGIONAL SECRETARY FOR LOMBARDY (MILAN) AND HIS TASK WILL BE TO CONVINCING THE PARTY'S WORKER BASE OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE STRATEGY.

4. COMMENT: AS THE PIECES CONTINUE TO FALL INTO PLACE, THE EMERGING IMAGE OF THE PCI IS ONE THAT HAS BEEN CAST IN THE BERLINGUER MOLD. THE COMPLAINT AMONG THE TRADITIONAL MEMBERSHIP IS THAT BERLINGUER HAS SACRIFICED THE PCI AS A TRADITIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY SHORT-TERM INTERESTS. THE LIBERAL ELEMENTS, WHILE THEY APPLAUD THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARTY TOWARDS AN INDEPENDENT COURSE, FEEL THAT IN DOING SO THE PCI HAS WATERED DOWN

ITS COMMITMENT TO REAL CHANGE IN ITALIAN SOCIETY AND HAS ACCEPTED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC REFORMISM. THUS, THE COMPETING WINGS OF THE PARTY REACH THE SAME CONCLUSIONS FOR DIFFERENT REASONS. AS ONE PCI CONTACT PUT IT, A WORKERS' PARTY DOES NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE REVOLUTIONARY BUT IT HAS TO BE COMMITTED TO CHANGE.

NEVERTHELESS, BERLINGUER CONTROLS THE MIDDLE GROUND AND THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS THAT THE FLANKS ARE CAPABLE OF UNITING TO DISLodge HIM AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

5. WHILE BERLINGUER EMPHASIZED THE THEMES OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE AND EUROCOMMUNISM AT THE JULY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER HE WILL DO THE SAME AT THE WIND-UP OF THE L'UNITA FESTIVAL, WHICH TAKES PLACE IN MILAN ON SEPTEMBER 16, WHEN BERLINGUER WILL ADDRESS THE MULTITUDES FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE ELECTIONS.

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OUR GUESS IS THAT THE PCI LEADER, JUST AS HE DID IN GENOA

LAST YEAR, WILL EASE UP ON THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE THEMES
AND REAFFIRM THE TRADITIONAL NATURE OF THE PCI AS A COMMUNIST
PARTY. THUS, GIVEN ITS STRADDLING POSTURE, THE PCI IS
UNLIKELY TO MOVE VERY FAR IN ANY DISTINCT IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION
IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS.
GARDNER

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