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(C) COSSIGA (3) - THE POLITICIAN AND PRIME MINISTER

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1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.
2. LIKE MANY PRAGMATIC ITALIAN POLITICIANS, COSSIGA IS A DIFFICULT MAN TO QUANTIFY IN TERMS OF IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND POLITICAL VIEWS. HE SHARES THE FIRM BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY AND COMMITMENT TO WESTERN VALUES COMMON TO CHRISTIAN
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DEMOCRATIC LEADERS. BUT BEYOND THAT, HE IS A POLITICIAN WHO HAS WENDED HIS WAY ACROSS THE SPECTRUM FROM HIS PARTY'S RIGHT TO LEFT WING AND BACK AGAIN TOWARD THE CENTER. HE HAS BEEN BOTH AN APOLOGIST FOR GREATER ACCOMMODATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND A SEVERE CRITIC OF THE COMMUNISTS FOR THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO CUT THEIR CLOSE TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE ENJOYS PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH COMMUNIST

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LEADERS SUCH AS BERLINGUER (HIS COUSIN) AND PECCHIOLI. HE HAS ALSO THE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT OF THE STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC REFORM GROUP (WHOM HE INCLUDED IN THE CABINET FOR THE FIRST TIME).
3. IT WOULD BE TEMPTING TO VIEW COSSIGA SIMPLY AS A MAN FOR

ALL SEASONS, A POLITICAL CHAMELEON. THIS IS PARTICULARLY ENTICING BECAUSE OF COSSIGA'S PROCLIVITY TO SAY WHAT HE CONSIDERS HIS LISTENER WOULD LIKE TO HEAR. ITALIAN POLITICIANS AND JOURNALISTS WHO KNOW THE PRIME MINISTER WELL, OR WHO HAVE OBSERVED HIM CLOSELY, HOWEVER, CONSIDER IT ERRONEOUS TO DISMISS COSSIGA MERELY AS A CLEVER OPPORTUNIST. TO BE SURE, THE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT COSSIGA IS A REALIST ENDOWED WITH AN EXQUISITE INTUITIVE SENSE FOR CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. HOWEVER, THEY POINT OUT THAT ALTHOUGH COSSIGA HAS MOVED BETWEEN DC FACTIONS WITH DISCREET EASE, HE HAS NEVER CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF ONE GROUP OR ANOTHER. HIS VIEWS HAVE ALWAYS REMAINED THOSE OF AN INDEPENDENT MIDDLE-OF-THEROAD MODERATE. STANDING IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

4. IT IS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE COSSIGA'S AFFABLE AND EXTROVERTED PERSONALITY WITH HIS STANDING IN HIS OWN PARTY AS SOMETHING OF A POLITICAL LONER. HIS MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC FACTIONS HAS ALWAYS BEEN A MATTER OF CONVENIENCE RATHER THAN POLITICAL ALLIANCE. ALTHOUGH

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NOMINALLY PRESENTLY A MEMBER OF THE LEFT-WING "BASE" FACTION, COSSIGA SHARES LITTLE IN COMMON WITH OTHER CURRENT LEADERS-DE MITA, MISASI, GRANELLI AND MARCORA. IN FACT, COSSIGA

RECENTLY MADE APOINT OF TELLING THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE CONSIDERS DE MITA'S VIEWS ON THE PCI TOO ACCOMMODATING.

5. COSSIGA HAS NEVER HELD HIGH PARTY OFFICE NOR DID HE EVER DEVELOP A PERSONAL POWER BASE IN THE PARTY. EVEN IN HIS NATIVE SARDINIA, HE DID NOT HEAD THE PARTY ELECTION LISTS UNTIL AFTER HE HAD BEEN APPOINTED MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IN 1976. UNTIL THEN, HE OWED HIS ADVANCEMENT IN THE PARTY TO THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP HE DEVELOPED, FIRST WITH SEGNI, AND THEN WITH MORO. HIS EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN GOVERNMENT.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS INVARIABLY REMAINED ALOOF FROM FACTIONAL PARTY INTRIGUES. HE IS NOT CLOSE TO ANY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC "NOTABILE." ANDREOTTI RETAINED COSSIGA IN THE INTERIOR PORTFOLIO IN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HE HEADED AFTER THE 1976 ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, THE TWO MAKE NO SECRET OF THEIR DISLIKE FOR ONE ANOTHER. LAST YEAR COSSIGA JOINED THE "FRIENDS OF ZACCAGNINI" GROUP. ZACCAGNINI'S ASSOCIATES

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NOW SUSPECT THAT COSSIGA MAY SWITCH HIS SUPPORT TO FORLANI, THE DC SECRETARY'S CHIEF RIVAL AT THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS. WE EXPECT, HOWEVER, THAT COSSIGA WILL EXERCISE GREAT CARE NOT TO INVOLVE HIMSELF IN THE INTERNAL MANEUVERING FOR THE SECRETARYSHIP. SINCE THE GOVERNMENT'S SURVIVAL

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IS INTIMATELY RELATED TO THE OUTCOME OF THE CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, COSSIGA WILL SEEK TO REMAIN AS OUTWARDLY NEUTRAL AS POSSIBLE ON THE MATTER.
7. COSSIGA'S DESIGNATION AS PRIME MINISTER AUTOMATICALLY
RAISES HIS STATURE IN THE PARTY TO THAT OF A MAJOR POLITICAL
LEADER. TO BE SURE, HIS FUTURE IN THE DC WILL DEPEND IN
LARGE MEASURE ON HOW HE CONDUCTS HIMSELF IN THE COMING
MONTHS. COSSIGA IS VERY MUCH AWARE OF THIS. IT IS WELL
TO BEAR IN MIND THAT, IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

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THE PRIME-MINISTERSHIP AND PARTY LEADERSHIP ARE NOT SYNONYMOUS.

THE PRIME-MINISTERSHIP NONETHELESS CONVEYS GREAT INFLUENCE

IN THE PARTY. EVEN IN THE FUTURE, THE POSITION ENTITLES

COSSIGA TO EX-OFFICIO MEMBERSHIP IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC

DIRECTORATE. COSSIGA'S NOMINATION THEREFORE REPRESENTS A NEW FACTOR IN THE INTERNAL CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC

POWER BALANCE.

COSSIGA AND THE COMMUNISTS

8. OF ALL THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, COSSIGA

ENJOYS PERHAPS THE CLOSEST RAPPORT WITH COMMUNIST LEADERS SUCH AS BERLINGUER AND PCI SHADOW INTERIOR MINISTER PECCHIOLI. HE HAS LONG SERVED AS AN INTERMEDIARY FOR HIS PARTY WITH THE PCI ON THE MOST SENSITIVE POLITICAL AND SECURITY PROBLEMS. COSSIGA HAS BEEN CRITICIZED AS OVERLY ACCOMMODATING TO THE COMMUNISTS, PARTICULARLY DURING HIS YEARS AS INTERIOR MINISTER. DEFENDING HIMSELF AGAINST SUCH CHARGES, COSSIGA MAINTAINS THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WOULD HAVE HAD TO ACCEPT FAR MORE DISADVANTAGEOUS COMPROMISES HAD HE NOT TAKEN THE INITIATIVE HIMSELF ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE POLICE UNION AND INTELLIGENCE REORGANIZATION. IN THIS, COSSIGA RESEMBLES MORO, HIS MENTOR, WHO DEFEND HIS STRATEGY OF GRADUAL ACCOMMODATION TO THE COMMUNISTS AS A MEANS OF PRESERVING THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS' ABILITY TO CONDITION THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHOICES.

9. SOME OF COSSIGA'S LESS CHARITABLE CRITICIS ATTEMPT TO PIN A PRO-COMMUNIST LABEL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY POINTING OUT THAT HE IS A SECOND COUSIN TO BERLINGUER. COSSIGA JOCULARLY DISMISSES SUCH INSINUATIONS BY SAYING: "I DON'T KNOW WHO SHOULD BE MORE EMBARRASSED, BERLINGUER OR ME." IN HIS RECENT INTERVIEW WITH "STERN," BERLINGUER HIMSELF

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NOTED THAT HE ALWAYS KEPT HIS PERSONAL RELATIONS DISTINCT FROM HIS POLITICAL LIFE.

10. IT IS DIFFICULT TO STATE WITH ANY CERTAINTY WHAT COSSIGA ACTUALLY THINKS ABOUT THE PCI. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHERS IN THE EMBASSY, COSSIGA TOOK THE VIEW THAT BERLINGUER AND HIS GROUP OF MODERATE REFORMERS WERE GENUINELY COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES. HOWEVER, HE DEPICTED BERLINGUER AS CIRCUMSCRIBED AND

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CONDITIONED BY HARDLINERS WHO WERE RESPONSIVE TO SOVIET PRESSURES FOR ORTHODOXY. COSSIGA ARGUED THAT IT WAS IN THE DC'S INTEREST NOT TO PUT BERLINGUER IN DIFFICULT LEST THIS LEAD TO A STRENGTHENING OF THE PRO-SOVIET FACTIONS. IN PUBLIC INTERVIEWS, COSSIGA DEFENDED MORO'S POLICY OF "CONFRONTO" AS A POLITICAL STRATEGY BUT WARNED THAT THE PCI DID NOT SHARE THE DC'S OBJECTIVES. HE SAID THAT THE PCI'S CONCEPT OF LIBERTY AND PLURALISM IS STILL FAR REMOVED FROM THAT OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. THE PCI'S OBJECTIVE IN THE "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" IS A COMMUNIST SOCIETY. "AND THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH WE REJECT," COSSIGA SAID.

RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALISTS

11. COSSIGA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY WERE BADLY STRAINED DURING THE MORO KIDNAPPING WHEN CRAXI CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT'S UNCOMPROMISING REFUSAL TO

AGREE TO THE TERRORIST DEMANDS. UNDER INTENSE PRESSURE TO SAVE MORO'S LIFE, COSSIGA COULD NOT HAVE APPRECIATED CRAXI'S EFFORTS TO INTERVENE ON "HUMANITARIAN" GROUNDS. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, RELATIONS SEEM TO HAVE IMPROVED, THE SOCIALISTS WERE PLEASED THAT COSSIGA HAS DISCREETLY CRITICIZED ZACCAGNINI'S HANDLING OF CRAXI'S BID TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE ALSO APPRECIATIVE OF COSSIGA'S DETERMINATION TO REMAIN "NEUTRAL" IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL DEBATE. THEY ARE PLEASED WITH BOTH THE COMPOSITION AND ORIENTATION OF COSSIGA'S GOVERNMENT.

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ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC, DEFENSE AND PUBLIC ORDER ISSUES
12. WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT COSSIGA'S VIEWS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. HE HAS HAD NO EXPERIENCE IN AN ECONOMIC MINISTRY. MOREOVER, NONE OF HIS CLOSE ADVISERS IS AN EXPERT IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. JUDGING FROM HIS OPENING ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT COSSIGA WILL TAKE A PRAGMATIC, PIECEMEAL APPROACH TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. IN ESCHEWING GLOBAL SOLUTIONS, COSSIGA IS MINDFUL OF THE PRECARIOUS POLITICAL STANDING OF HIS GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, IT IS ALSO AN APPROACH THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH COSSIGA'S INCLINATION TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND MEDIATION.

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13. COSSIGA HAS A GOOD DEAL MORE EXPERIENCE WITH DEFENSE ISSUES. HE HAS PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS AN UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE. AS A SARDINIAN, HE HAS TAKEN A DIRECT INTEREST IN PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE NATO SUBMARINE TENDER FACILITY AT LA MADDALENA. HE HAS CONSISTENTLY INDICATED FIRM SUPPORT FOR NATO. MORE THAN ANYTHING, HOWEVER, COSSIGA CONSIDERS HIMSELF AN EXPERT ON INTELLIGENCE MATTERS. FEW ITALIAN LEADERS HAVE COSSIGA'S EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE OF PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS, INCLUDING ITALIAN TERRORISM. FRANCESCO MAZZOLA, THE UNDERSECRETARY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S
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COORDINATION OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, IS NOT SURPRISINGLY A CLOSE COSSIGA ASSOCIATE. THE PRIME MINISTER CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE A DIRECT AND ENERGETIC INTEREST IN PUBLIC ORDER ISSUES.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US, THE USSR

14. COSSIGA HAS ALWAYS BEEN A GOOD FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES. IN 1965 HE VISITED THE UNITED STATES FOR NEARLY A MONTH UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM (IVP).

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HIS ASSOCIATES TELL US THAT HE STILL RECALLS THAT EXPERIENCE WITH PLEASURE. THE EMBASSY HAS HAD READY ACCESS TO COSSIGA OVER THE YEARS, PARTICULARLY DURING THE DELICATE PERIOD IN WHICH HE SERVED AS INTERIOR MINISTER. COSSIGA ALSO ENJOYS GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH ITALIAN-AMERICAN LEADERS.

15. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, COSSIGA HAS NEVER VISITED THE USSR. HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION IS DECIDEDLY NEGATIVE. HIS CRITICISM OF THE PCI IS GENERALLY IN TERMS OF THAT PARTY'S LINKS WITH THE USSR. WHILE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, COSSIGA OFTEN CHARGED THAT ITALIAN TERRORISM WAS SUPPORTED AND DIRECTED FROM THE EAST.

COSSIGA'S STYLE AS PRIME MINISTER

16. WE EXPECT THAT COSSIGA WILL CONTINUE TO RELY HEAVILY ON THE HANDFUL OF LONGTIME ASSOCIATES WHO HAVE HIS CONFIDENCE AND TRUST. SQUILLANTE, HIS CHIEF OF CABINET, IS A ROMAN LAWYER AND MAGISTRATE WHO HAS BEEN WITH COSSIGA SINCE 1974. MASALA, HIS FIRST COUSIN AND HEAD OF SECRETARIAT, IS ALSO A LAWYER. ZANDA, HIS PRESS CHIEF, IS ANOTHER SARDINIAN, THE SON OF A CAGLIARI POLICE CHIEF. WITH COSSIGA SINCE 1974,

ZANDA WAS PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE WITH THE US AND FOREIGN
PRESS DURING THE MORO KIDNAPPING. SALIMENI, HIS LEGAL ADVISOR, IS A PUBLIC LAW EXPERT WHO ALSO
SERVED COSSIGA
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AT INTERIOR. SERGIO BERLINGUER, HIS DIPLOMATIC ADVISER,
IS ANOTHER COUSIN. A CAREER DIPLOMAT WHOSE WIFE IS
BRITISH-BORN, BERLINGUER SERVED UNTIL RECENTLY AS HEAD OF
THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S PRESS SERVICE. NOT OVERLY ENERGETIC,
BERLINGUER, IS, LIKE OTHER COSSIGA ADVISERS, APPROACHABLE
AND WELL DISPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES. IN THE AMBASSADOR'S
FIRST CONVERSATION WITH COSSIGA AS PRIME MINISTER, COSSIGA
STRESSED THAT SERGIO BERLINGUER HAD HIS UTTER AND TOTAL
CONFIDENCE.

17. ALTHOUGH HE HAS EVANGELISTI'S TITLE AS SECRETARY OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, PIER GIORGIO BRESSANI WILL OPERATE QUITE
DIFFERENTLY FROM HIS FREEWHEELING PREDECESSOR. A TYPICAL MEMBER
OF THE MORO FACTION, BRESSANI IS INTROVERTED, SRCUPULOUS AND
HARDWORKING. HE IS NOT, AT LEAST NOW, PERSONALLY CLOSE TO COSSIGA
AND OWES HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEED TO CONTENT
THE ZACCAGNINI WING OF THE PARTY. UNLIKE EVANGELISTI, BRESSANI
WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH
THE PARTIES ON LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS. COSSIGA HAS ENTRUSTED THAT
SENSITIVE RESPONSIBILITY TO AN OLD COLLEAGUE, SENATOR ADOLFO
SARTI, FOR WHOM HE REVIVED THE OLD TITLE OF MINISTER WITHOUT
PORTFOLIO FOR RELATIONS WITH PARLIAMENT. A FRANCOPHILE AND MAN
OF CULTURE, SARTI IS AN INDEPENDENT MODERATE WHO IS CLOSELY
ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP OF 100 REFORMERS.

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18. WHAT WILL COSSIGA'S STYLE BE AS PRIME MINISTER? MUCH
WILL DEPEND ON THE PARAMETERS THAT THE PARTIES WILL SET
ON THIS TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF "TRUCE." COSSIGA'S CHARACTER TRAITS AND BACKGROUND STRONGLY
SUGGEST, HOWEVER,
THAT HE WILL EXERCISE HIS FUNCTIONS AS PRIME MINISTER
WITH ENERGY AND AUTHORITY. MERCURIAL AND SOMEWHAT DISORGANIZED, COSSIGA HAS NEVER LACKED THE WILL
AND COURAGE TO ACT.
WHILE A MINISTER, HE ONCE SAID THAT "MINISTERS WERE
INVENTED TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY". TODAY, HE WOULD
CERTAINLY SAY THE SAME ABOUT THE PRIME-MINISTERSHIP.
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