

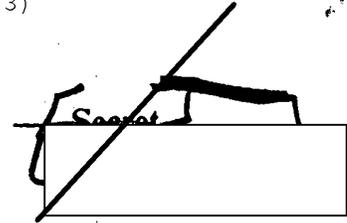
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Directorate of  
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# Peace Groups and Leaders in INF Basing Countries



A Research Paper

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# Peace Groups and Leaders in INF Basing Countries



A Research Paper

This paper was prepared by [redacted] Office of  
Central Reference, and [redacted] Office of  
European Analysis.

[redacted]

Comments and queries are  
welcome and may be addressed to [redacted]

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This paper was coordinated with the Directorate of  
Operations, the National Intelligence Council  
Analytic Group, and the National Intelligence  
Council [redacted]

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### Peace Groups and Leaders in INF Basing Countries [Redacted]

**Overview**  
*Information available  
as of 25 October 1982  
was used in this report.*

This research paper discusses the most prominent peace organizations and leaders in [Redacted] countries designated by NATO as hosts for Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) basing: [Redacted]

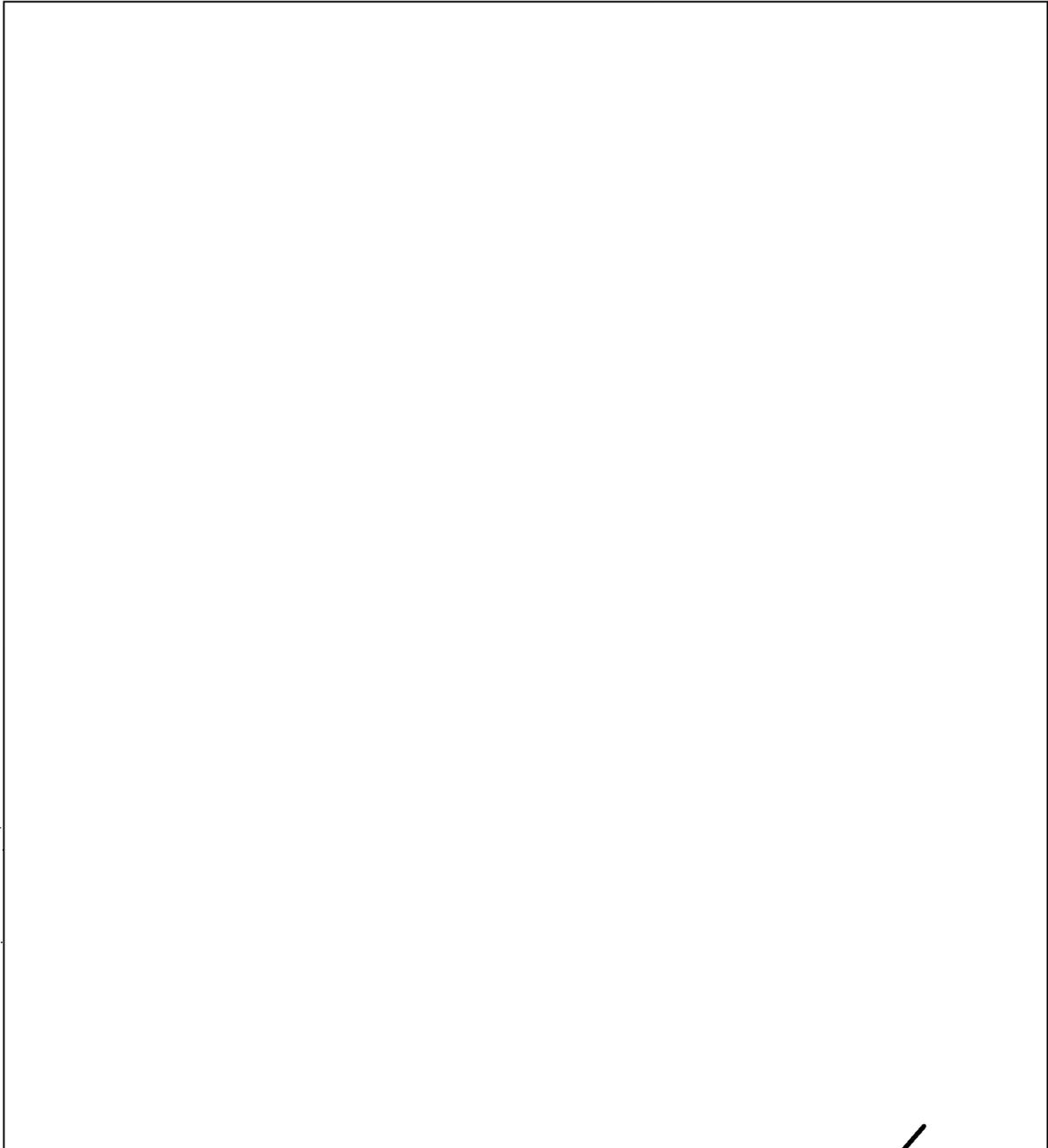
Italy.

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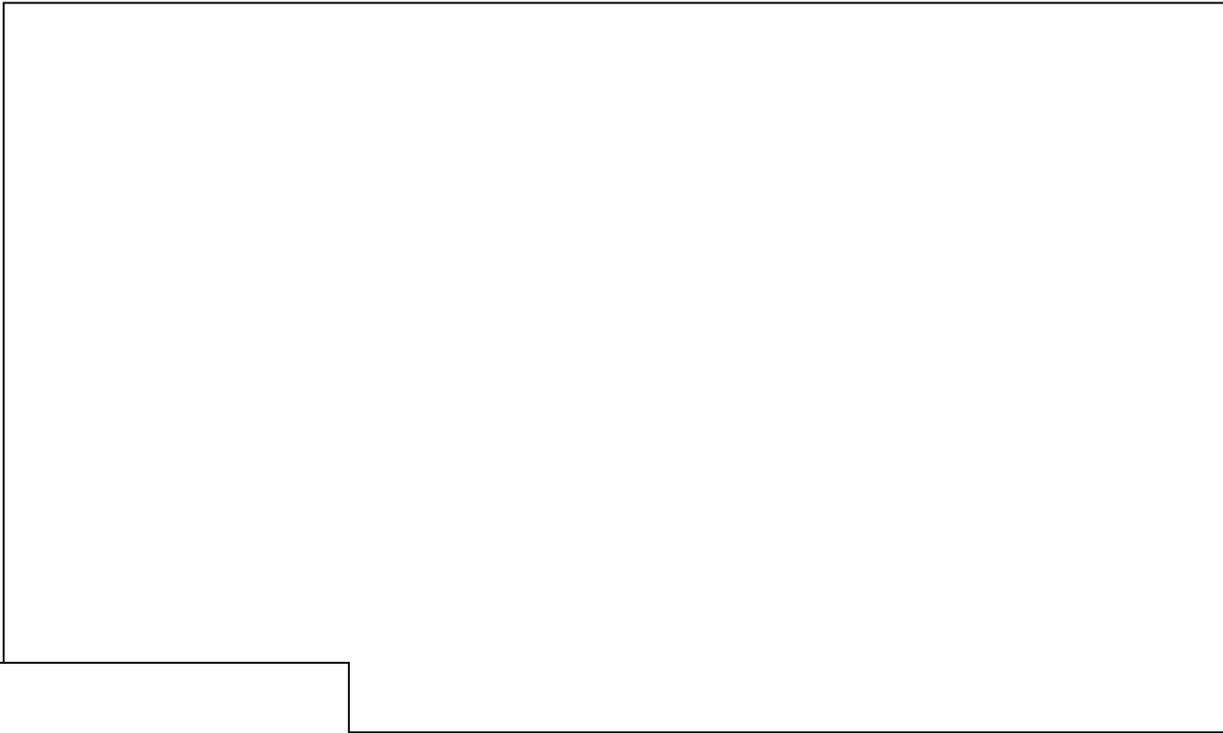
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(Italy)

Peace demonstrations in Italy have been comparable in size to those in other INF basing countries, and public opinion surveys show that antinuclear sentiment extends considerably beyond groups that demonstrate.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, peace activism in Italy is concentrated more on the far left than is the case in other INF basing countries. During the past year, peace activity has increased, primarily because the Italian Communist Party (PCI) has decided that it can profit politically by exploiting the issue [redacted]

In principle, the Italian peace movement consists of more than 500 local, regional, and national committees and associations representing both secular and religious organizations across the political spectrum, with the exception of the extreme right. Yet most of the non-Communist groups have a small membership, and no strong national organization devoted exclusively to "peace" has arisen. The small Radical Party is militant and active, but its influence is weak. The activities of the PCI and, to a limited extent, the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) have been much more important to the peace movement [redacted]

In general, the peace movement has suffered from a leadership vacuum:

- No major political figure has made a full commitment to the peace movement.
- The movement itself has not produced a charismatic figure capable of transforming it into an independent force that can exert significant pressure on the Italian Government.

The preeminent role of the PCI in peace activity has not precluded differences within the movement over everything from ideology to tactics. While a broad community of purpose sometimes unites the diverse groups in demonstrations, major differences of attitude are never far from the surface and have even caused scuffles between rival groups on occasion.

[redacted] The Italian peace movement so far has focused mostly on organizing protest demonstrations and rallies and circulating petitions. Some groups advocate more [redacted]

vigorous tactics to impede GLCM base construction at Comiso, Sicily, and a few demonstrators have tried to obstruct construction vehicles. Acts of violence against INF cruise missile deployment may occur, but Italian security officials have said that the peace movement poses no threat to the stability of the government or to the successful installation of GLCMs in Sicily. [redacted]

In contrast to the peace movements in the other INF countries, the Italian movement focuses almost exclusively on issues that affect Italy and has had less contact with foreign peace activists than the movements in Northern Europe. In addition to the attention it receives in the media, and especially in the Communist press, the movement has generated its own publications to disseminate its message. [redacted]

[redacted] We believe that because many of the demonstrations have been planned and organized by long-established groups—especially political parties—these groups have financed them from their own resources. [redacted]

#### Origins of the Italian Peace Movement

The Italian peace movement attracts the young in general and the leftist oriented in particular. The movement began as an apparently spontaneous effort on the part of minor leftist political parties, the Italian Communist Youth Federation (FGCI), and some pacifist groups. The immediate popular success of the march for peace between the towns of Perugia and Assisi, which was sponsored by those groups in September 1981, attracted the attention of the PCI and some elements of the PSI, which saw in the peace movement a way to enhance their popularity with the electorate. In our judgment, the two parties feared that they were losing out on the peace issue with voters and quickly developed their own peace policies in an attempt to organize and channel the movement for their own political ends [redacted]

#### Roles of the PCI, the PSI, and Organized Labor

The PCI, the PSI, and the union federations are probably the only organizations capable of providing the peace movement with the leadership it needs to become an effective national force. [redacted]

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Demonstration in Comiso, Sicily, 4 April 1982.



PCI. Since the fall of 1981 the PCI has been the dominant force behind the larger demonstrations. Despite its major role in the peace movement, however, the PCI has been reluctant to pull out all the stops against NATO's INF program:

- The party wants the Italian people and other West European parties to regard it as a Western party and not as a slavish follower of the Soviet line.
- The PCI hesitates to attack the Socialists, who support NATO's INF position, because it needs continued cooperation from the Socialists to maintain its control in local government coalitions.

Thus the PCI waited until other West European groups had demonstrated against INF deployment before staging its own protests. The party played a prominent role in organizing a demonstration in Rome on 24 October 1981 that attracted 200,000 participants. This demonstration, while primarily focused against INF deployment in Italy, also criticized Soviet SS-20 deployment. The PCI also organized the demonstration on 4 April 1982 in Comiso, which attracted 30,000 participants, a demonstration in Milan on 17 April 1982 attended by nearly 100,000, and the demonstration on 5 June 1982 in Rome that drew more than 100,000

We believe that the PCI stepped up its agitation in late 1981 mainly because its leaders hoped to profit politically from being the main "force for peace" in Italy, and to focus the party's energies on something other than internal bickering over martial law in Poland. In our judgment, PCI leaders hoped that once the peace movement had become respectable in Western Europe, the party could take a leading role in Italian activity and in the process create difficulties for its rival, the PSI. They probably hoped that the Socialists, as members of the government that had supported NATO's dual decision on INF, would have to choose between remaining out of the movement, thereby appearing to be against peace, or playing second fiddle in what was already a PCI show. The second choice could have allowed the PCI to lead the Socialists into positions that would make relations with their coalition partners extremely awkward. The PCI has failed, however, to draw other major parties into the peace movement on its terms, and in order to avoid appearing too isolated, the Communists have tried to avoid obviously one-sided anti-Western positions during the past few months.

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**PSI.** The top leadership of the PSI has announced that it will support the deployment of INF if its preferred solution of the "zero option" proves unattainable. Nevertheless, the party has been feeling its way cautiously ever since the big upswing of peace activity last year, and its moves have not always been consistent. [redacted] The Socialist leadership was surprised by the popularity of the Perugia-Assisi march and embarrassed by its own absence from the impressive demonstration of October 1981. Later that fall the PSI made a brief attempt to establish its own peace credentials by organizing demonstrations in about 100 Italian cities. The party emphasized broad themes such as the need for a balanced reduction in arms and the negative effects of Soviet arms policy, and refrained from opposing the government policy on INF. These peace actions did not have the desired impact on the public, however, largely because the press and other parties denounced PSI activity as a blatant political maneuver. [redacted]

After some months of indecision, the PSI now seems inclined to refrain from peace agitation, even though some factions of the party are pressing for a more active stance. We believe that the party pulled back partly because its efforts were unsuccessful, but also because its leaders had decided that they could weather criticism for not being in the forefront of peace activity. Perhaps more significant, they were able to attack the PCI for what was termed extremist, anti-NATO, and anti-US activity. [redacted]

The PSI leadership has been unable to prevent some party members from participating in peace demonstrations. [redacted] the leadership counsels party members against such activity. Few Socialists appeared at the demonstration in Rome on 5 June, for example. Nevertheless, internal tensions persist. The president of the Sicilian Regional Assembly, a PSI member, has at times lent support to the demands of local anti-INF organizations, and the PSI leadership has been trying to bring him into line without making a public issue out of the disagreement. [redacted]

[redacted] Some Sicilian PSI members wanted to participate in the demonstration in Comiso but did not do so because of pressure from the national-level party leadership. [redacted]

**Organized Labor.** Another sector of society capable of greatly boosting peace activity in Italy is organized labor. During the fall of 1981, leaders of some major unions made public statements in support of the peace movement that appeared to presage major labor participation in marches and demonstrations. Since then, however, a vaguer and more moderate approach has been evident. [redacted]

[redacted] Labor is deeply divided on the question of participation in demonstrations (especially those dominated by the PCI), as well as on the specific issues addressed by the peace campaign. [redacted]

The Italian United Federation of Labor Unions is composed of the PCI-controlled General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL), the Christian Democratic Party-oriented Confederation of Italian Workers Syndicates (CISL), and the Union of Italian Labor (UIL), which is affiliated with the PSI and the Social Democratic and Republican Parties. The 10 million union members—almost half of the Italian working force—usually back the foreign policy decisions of the United Federation leadership. Generally supportive of detente and disarmament, the United Federation also acknowledges, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the need for the North Atlantic Alliance. [redacted]

The United Federation as a whole has taken the position that disarmament negotiations should be exhausted before proceeding with the NATO nuclear modernization program. Leaders of CISL and the UIL say that they will support the decision to deploy GLCM's at Comiso if negotiations fail; the CGIL, however, strongly opposes the installation of missiles at Comiso. The Geneva disarmament negotiations and the crisis in Poland have somewhat distracted trade union support for the peace movement. Organized labor did not help sponsor the Comiso demonstration, and CISL and UIL refused to participate in the one on 5 June. [redacted]

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