

IL CORRIERE DELLA SERA

Montanelli: il Corriere naviga in pessime acque, dal punto di vista economico, ma non crollerà. E' troppo importante. E' un'istituzione nazionale e quindi il governo lo salverà se proprio Rizzoli e Piero Ottone non dovessero trovare un nuovo finanziatore. E Repubblica? Montanelli: sono favorevole alla sua nascita, perché potrebbe giocare un ruolo molto costruttivo nella politica italiana.

MILAN NEWSPAPER DEVELOPMENTS: MEMCON INDRO MONTANELLI, DIRECTOR IL GIORNALE, ENZO BETTIZA, FOREIGN POLICY EDITOR AND CONGE, SEPT 30, 1975, MILAN

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1. MONTANELLI WAS MUCH RELIEVED ABOUT THE OUTLOOK FOR IL GIORNALE. HE NO LONGER FELT THAT HE WAS ABOUT TO GO UNDER SINCE HIS FINANCING HAD BEEN FIRMED UP AGAIN.
2. THE SITUATION AT THE CORRIERE WAS DIFFERENT. IT WAS IN DEEP CRISIS. CEFIS WAS UNABLE (OR UNWILLING) TO CONTINUE TO UNDERWRITE ITS LOSSES. RIZZOLI WAS THEREFORE FACED WITH A DESPERATE SITUATION AT THE END OF THIS YEAR. FIRST, WAS HOW TO PAY THE CHRISTMAS BONUS (THE 13TH MONTH). THERE WAS NO MONEY. SECOND, AND HARDER, WERE RIZZOLI'S DEBTS TO THE FORMER OWNERS. AGNELLI HAD SO FAR BEEN PAID NOTHING AND WAS OWED ABOUT 15 BILLION LIRE DUE AT THE END OF THE YEAR. GIULIA CRESPI HAD BEEN PAID ONLY 3/4 OF HER SHARE. AND A THIRD OWNER HAD SETTLED FOR THE RIZZOLI OFFICE BUILDING IN NEW YORK PLUS A HUGE PLANTATION IN KENYA. MOREOVER, THERE WERE THE ANNUAL OPERATING LOSSES OF ABOUT 18-20 BILLION LIRE FOR THE COMPANY AS A WHOLE.
3. RIZZOLI WAS IN A BIND. HE HAD ASKED AGNELLI TO BUY BACK IN
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BUT AGNELLI HAD FLATLY REFUSED ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE LOSSES WERE UNBEARABLE. RIZZOLI HAD ALSO ASKED THE PCI FOR 10 BILLION LIRE WHICH MONTANELLI BELIEVED HAD BEEN ADVANCED THROUGH SOME CHANNEL. BUT THAT WAS QUICKLY CONSUMED EVEN IF LOANED. RIZZOLI HAD ALSO TRIED TO GET A GOVERNMENT LOAN BUT MINISTER OF FINANCE VISENTINI HAD REFUSED. RIZZOLI ALSO APPROACHED VINCENZO MONTI, OWNER OF THE RESTO DEL CARLINO AND A SUGAR MAGNATE. MONTI SAID THAT HE WOULD TAKE A PART OF THE OWNERSHIP BUT ONLY IF THE CORRIERE SHIFTED ITS EDITORIAL POLICY TO THE RIGHT.
4. MONTANELLI, (WHO WOULD NEVER PUT OTTONE IN A GOOD LIGHT); MAINTAINED THAT CORRIERE EDITOR OTTONE ASSURED MONTI THAT NOTHING WOULD BE SIMPLER. YOU WANT A RIGHT WING PAPER? YOU WILL GET A RIGHT WING PAPER*
5. MEANWHILE OTTONE AND RIZZOLI HAD GONE TO THE US (SEE MILAN 1725) AND MONTANELLI SAID THEY WERE SEARCHING FOR FINANCING THERE, TOO.
6. MONTANELLI AND BETTIZA INSISTED THAT THE CORRIERE HAD, IN FACT, LUNGED TO THE RIGHT IN RECENT WEEKS. IT CONTINUED TO BE VERY UNEVEN WITH THE FRONT PAGE MUCH MORE ATLANTICIST THEN BEFORE. BUT THE CITY PAGES AND THE ECONOMIC PAGES CONTINUED TO BE PRO-COMMUNIST. ACCORDING TO MONTANELLI, OTTONE HAD SIMPLY TOLD THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE AND THE SHOP STEWARDS THAT THERE HAD TO BE AN OSTENSIBLE EDITORIAL SHIFT TO SURVIVE. ONCE NEW OWNERS HAD BEEN SIGNED ON, THE PAPER COULD RESUME ITS LEFTIST ORIENTATION.
7. THE CORRIERE COULD NOT COLLAPSE, SAID MONTANELLI. IT WAS TOO IMPORTANT A NATIONAL INSTITUTION. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WOULD SOMEHOW BAIL IT OUT IF RIZZOLI AND OTTONE COULDN'T FIND A NEW ANGEL. IN ANY EVENT, MONTANELLI AND BETTIZA WERE OPPOSED TO ITS

FOLDING. IL GIORNALI WAS SIMPLY NOT YET READY TO TAKE ITS PLACE. THAT WOULD TAKE YEARS OF SLOW GROWTH. THEY WOULD PREFER A SLOW DECLINE ALLOWING GIORNALE AND THE EXPECTED REPUBBLICA TO TAKE OVER.

8. REPUBBLICA WAS HAVING NEW TROUBLES. ONE OF ITS BACKERS, AGNELLI'S BROTHER IN LAW CARRACIOLO, HAD SUFFERED A HEART ATTACK ABOUT A WEEK AGO. THAT HAD STOPPED EVERYTHING FOR A WHILE. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WAS SOME PULLING BACK BY SOME OF THE STAFF PREVIOUSLY RECRUITED.

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9. MONTANELLI INSISTED THAT AGNELLI WAS ALSO BEHIND REPUBBLICA SINCE CARRACIOLO SIMPLY DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY OF HIS OWN TO COVER HIS SHARE OF THE COSTS.

10. BE THAT AS IT MAY, MONTANELLI SAID HE WAS FAVORABLE TO THE APPEARANCE OF REPUBBLICA WHICH COULD PLAY A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN ITALIAN POLITICS. END MEMCON.FINA

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IL CORRIERE DELLA SERA CAMBIA ORIENTAMENTO POLITICO. GLI AMERICANI: E' DOVUTO ALLE DIFFICOLTA' ECONOMICHE

La diplomazia Usa: il Corriere della Sera ha cambiato orientamento politico, è meno ostile agli Stati Uniti e alla democrazia cristiana e più all'Unione Sovietica e al Pci. La nostra fonte attribuisce questo cambiamento alla crisi economica del giornale.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA

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1. THE SHARP CHANGE IN ORIENTATION OF THE CORRIERE DELLA SERA TO LESS HOSTILITY TO US AND DC AND MORE TO PCI AND USSR IS ALMOST CERTAINLY CONNECTED WITH ITS FINANCIAL CRISIS. OUR SOURCES ESTIMATE THE CURRENT DEBIT OF THE CORRIERE COMPLEX OWED BY OWNER RIZZOLI TO BE ABOUT 60-70 BILLION LIRE - THAT IS, DEBTS TO CEFIS, UNPAID SUMS DUE FORMER OWNERS AND, CURRENT OPERATING DEFICIT. RIGHT NOW, RIZZOLI IS STILL TRYING TO GET A LOAN FROM THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT TO BAIL HIM OUT. PRESUMABLY THE TURN AROUND IN EDITORIAL POLICY IS DESIGNED TO BUTTER UP THE DC OR SOME OTHER WELL-HEELED ANGEL TO COME THROUGH. IL GIORNALE DIRECTOR MONTANELLI CLAIMS GOI IS ABOUT TO DO JUST THAT.
2. CURRENT SPECULATION HERE IS THAT RIZZOLI MAY BREAK OUT CORRIERE AS A NEWSPAPER AND PUT IT UP FOR SALE. SINCE IT IS ENORMOUSLY IMPORTANT POLITICALLY AND SAID TO BE BREAKING EVEN, THERE WILL BE LITTLE TROUBLE FINDING A BUYER. ATTILIO MONTI, CON- SERVATIVE SUGAR MAGNATE, IS MENTIONED AS ONE.

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3. REMAINDER OF CORRIERE PUBLISHING HOUSE (VARIOUS WEEKLIES) WOULD THEN BE GIVEN GOI LOAN AND, IN EFFECT, NATIONALIZED. 4. SHOULD CORRIERE BE FORCED TO FOLD (AND THAT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE), BENEFIT WOULD GO TO IL GIORNALE AND NEW LEFT WING BUTNON-COMMUNIST LA REPUBBLICA WHICH WILL HIT THE STREETS IN MID-JANUARY.FINA

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EUGENIO CEFIS, IL CORRIERE DELLA SERA, IL GIORNALE E IL MESSAGGERO

Per Gioacchino Albanese, l'uomo che maneggiava i giornali italiani per conto degli interessi di Cefis e della Montedison, al Corriere gli americani non hanno amici. Il Corriere della Sera, il Messaggero e il Giornale, Cefis li finanzia, ma non li controlla. Li finanzia per proteggere gli

interessi della Montedison, punto.

THE POLITICAL VIEW FROM MONTEDISON

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1. MEMCON WITH GIOACCHINO ALBANESE, INTIMATE OF MONTEDISON HEAD EUGENIO CEFIS, MILAN, 3 SEPT 75.
2. ALBANESE OFFICIALLY TITLED ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, IS REPUTEDLY CEFIS BAGMAN AND FIXER WITH PRESS - PRINCIPALLY CORRIERE DELLA SERA, IL GIORNALE AND MESSAGGERO WHICH MONT-EDISON OWNS OR INDIRECTLY FINANCES. YOUNG, ARTICULATE,

REPORTEDLY PRO-SOCIALIST, ALBANESE SPEAKS ENGLISH AT ABOUT S-4 LEVEL AND IS UNDOUBTEDLY ONE OF CEFIS' INTIMATES.

3. ALBANESE SAID BUSINESS OUTLOOK INCREASINGLY GRIM. AT MEETING WITH CEFIS BEFORE LUNCH THEY EXAMINED BLEAK PICTURE WITH MONT-EDISON PRODUCTION AT 40 PERCENT CAPACITY (BREAKEVEN 80 PER- CENT AND PEAK IN '74 WAS 95 PERCENT), LOSS A BILLION LIRE EACH WORKING DAY, AUG 1975 DOWN FROM AUG '74 AND NO SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT. AT THIS RATE MONTEDISON ABLE TO HOLD OUT ABOUT TWO YEARS BEFORE COLLAPSE.

4. POLITICAL SITUATION MAJOR TROUBLE, HE CONTINUED. THERE

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WAS SIMPLY NO GOVERNMENT. EVERYONE SAW SERIOUSNESS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS BUT NO ONE WAS DOING ANYTHING ABOUT IT. HE COULDN'T EVEN FIND MINISTERS IN ROME THESE DAYS TO TALK WITH. THAT WAS A COROLLARY OF THE VACUUM IN LEADERSHIP. THERE WERE NEITHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS NOR PARTY LEADERS EXCEPT FOR COMMUNISTS. THEY HAD SURGED AHEAD LESS BECAUSE OF THEIR MERIT THAN BECAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE PARTIES. HE BELIEVED IN DEMOCRATIC BONA FIDES OF BERLINGUER AND OTHERS BUT WAS SURE THEY WOULD BE REPLACED BY MOSCOW LOYALISTS ONCE IN POWER.

5. ECONOMICALLY, ITALY WAS SOUND, HE MAINTAINED. THE WORKING MAN, THE MANAGERIAL CLASS, THE TECHNOLOGY AND INFRASTRUCTURE WERE THERE AND FUNCTIONED. BUT THERE HAD TO BE NATIONAL POLICY TO INTEGRATE THE FORCES OF A MIXED ECONOMY. AND THERE WAS NONE.

6. CEFIS HAD ABSOLUTELY NO DESIRE TO GO INTO GOVERNMENT. THAT WAS NOT HIS FIELD. HE COULD SUPPORT OR HELP BUT NOT LEAD. NOR WAS AGNELLI A CHOICE. HE WANTED POWER BUT NOT OFFICE. AND HE WAS UNSTABLE, AN ADVENTURER, HAD EXPERIMENTED WITH DRUGS, WOMEN, ETC. (NOTE: CEFIS AND AGNELLI ARE NOTORIOUSLY BITTER PERSONAL ENEMIES AND ALBANESE'S REMARKS WERE CONSISTENT WITH HIS BOSS' POSITION).

7. THE UNITED STATES BORE ITS SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT ITALIAN CRISIS HE SAID. FOR SOME YEARS IT HAD STOPPED PLAYING A ROLE IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS AND THAT FAILURE TO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE ITS INFLUENCE HAD ENCOURAGED THE PRESENT DISINTEGRATION. TODAY, HE CONTINUED, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD GET BUSY. HE DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER THE PRESIDENT WOULD SEND IN THE MARINES THREE YEARS FROM NOW TO PREVENT A COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER. BUT IF THAT WERE EVEN A POSSIBLE US COURSE OF ACTION, IT WOULD BE WISER TO ACT POLITICALLY RIGHT NOW. IN THE ABSENCE OF AN INTERNAL CATALIZER OR RALLYING POINT, ALL THE DRIFTING NON-COMMUNIST ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCES IN ITALY WERE FLOATING AND POWERLESS. THERE WAS NEED FOR SOMEONE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO PULL THE SITUATION TOGETHER. THE UNITED STATES COULD DO THAT IF IT WANTED TO. BIG BUSINESS COULD NOT.

8. ALBANESE SAID THAT THE CORRIERE WAS LOSING MONEY HEAVILY. IT WAS IN THE HANDS OF COMMUNISTS AND TO TRY TO BREAK THEIR

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HOLD WOULD MEAN EVEN GREATER DEFICITS. RONCHEY AND STILLE WERE ABOUT THE ONLY FRIENDS THE US HAD ON THE STAFF. BUT IT AND THE OTHER PRESS CEFIS CONTROLLED WERE USEFUL TO MONTEDISON IN SEVERAL WAYS. FIRST, CONTROL PREVENTED ATTACKS ON THE COMPANY WHICH WERE EXTREMELY COSTLY ON ISSUES LIKE POLLUTION, FERTILIZER PRICES, ETC. SECOND, CONTROL PROVIDED A MEANS OF LEVERAGE TO INDUCE PUBLIC OFFICIALS TO DO THINGS THAT THE COMPANY NEEDED THAT THEY WOULD NOT OTHERWISE DO. FINALLY, THE PAPERS COULD PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE. THIS WAS THE REASON WHY CEFIS HAD CREATED IL GIORNALE. HE PLANNED TO HELP MAKE FANFANI THE POLITICAL POWER IN ITALY THAT WAS SO DESPERATELY NEEDED. BUT FANFANI HAD DESTROYED HIMSELF AND THAT LEFT IL GIORNALE WITHOUT A RAISON D'ETRE. IN THAT CONNECTION, MESSAGGERO WAS UP FOR SALE BUT CEFIS COULDN'T FIND A BUYER - EVEN FOR A PAPER IN THE BLACK.

9. HE DID NOT GIVE POLITICAL GUIDANCE TO THE CEFIS PAPERS. WHAT COULD HE TELL THEM TO DO? THERE WAS NO PLAN, NO POLICY, NO AGREEMENT ON STRATEGY OR OBJECTIVES. ALL HE TOLD THEM NOW WAS TO LAY OFF OF MONTEDISON. IF THERE WERE A POLICY OR LEADERSHIP, THAT MIGHT BE DIFFERENT. BUT RIGHT NOW, THERE WAS A VACUUM.

10. MEANWHILE, MONTEDISON PLANNED MAJOR EXPANSION IN THE US. THERE WAS A TREMENDOUS MARKET AND GREAT OPPORTUNITIES.

11. HOW COULD ALBANESE SQUARE THIS EXPANSION IN THE US AND COLLABORATION WITH THE US WITH THE PERSISTENT ANTI-US ORIENTATION OF THE CORRIERE DELLA SERA? HE FLUSHED, LOOKED HURT, THREW UP HIS ARMS AND SAID THAT MONTEDISON DIDN'T REALLY OWN THE CORRIERE, IT ONLY LOANED THE MONEY TO ENABLE RIZZOLI TO BUY IT. FINA

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LA FONDAZIONE DEL QUOTIDIANO “LA REPUBBLICA”

Nel settembre del 1975, gli americani vengono a sapere che nel mercato editoriale italiano si sta per affacciare un nuovo protagonista dell'informazione: il quotidiano “La Repubblica”. Sarà diretto da Eugenio Scalfari, direttore anche de “l'Espresso”, un settimanale che “molto raramente è amico degli Stati Uniti”. E Repubblica come si porrà nei confronti dell'America? “Difficilmente sarà una lettura molto piacevole per noi”, conclude la diplomazia americana.

NEW ITALIAN DAILY NEARS BIRTH

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1. SUMMARY. MILAN'S MOST POWERFUL PUBLISHING HOUSE, MONDADORI, TOGETHER WITH OWNER OF NEWS WEEKLY ESPRESSO PLANS ISSUE NEW LEFT CENTER DAILY REPUBBLICA IN MID-JANUARY 1976. OWNERS CLAIM EXPECTATION TO MAKE MONEY. APPEARANCE OF REPUBBLICA MAY FURTHER DARKEN PROSPECTS FOR CORRIERE DELLA SERA ALREADY IN DEEP FINANCIAL TROUBLE AND PERHAPS BRIGHTEN OVER-ALL POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THIS AREA BUT UNLIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD US.
2. MONDADORI, WITH ABOUT A QUARTER OF TOTAL ITALIAN MARKET FOR BOOKS AND PERIODICALS PLUS MAIL ORDER BUSINESS RECENTLY ACQUIRED FROM ITT, IS MODEL PUBLISHING EFFICIENCY. VERTICALLY INTEGRATED FROM PAPER MILLS TO DOOR-TO-DOOR BOOK SALESMEN, MONDADORI'S 6000 EMPLOYEES ARE AMONG THE MOST PRODUCTIVE IN THE PRINTING TRADES. HIGH QUALITY COLOR PRINTING FOR FOREIGN (ESPECIALLY U.S.) CUSTOMERS AND CLOSE RELATIONS WITH TIME, NEWSWEEK, MCGRAW HILL, WESTERN, THE SIERRA CLUB AND READERS DIGEST, AMONG OTHERS, PROBABLY MAKE MONDADORI AS TECHNICALLY ADVANCED AND WELL MANAGED FINANCIALLY AS ANY PUBLISHER IN ITALY.
3. MONDADORI'S TOP MANAGEMENT BELIEVES THAT, WHILE CORRIERE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PAGE 02 MILAN 01713 191046Z GIORNO, GIORNALE AND TO LESSER EXTENT STAMPA AND 24 ORE RE LOS NG THEIR SHIRTS, IT CAN BREAK EVEN OR EVEN MAKE MONEY WITH A NEW DAILY NAMED REPUBBLICA. TO BE PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN MILAN

AND ROME IN TABLOID FORMAT, IT WILL BE DIRECTED BY EUGENIO SCALFARI, NOW DIRECTOR OF L'ESPRESSO, THE CENTER LEFT WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE RARELY FRIENDLY TO US. SINCE MONDADORI WAS OFFERED THE CORRIERE BEFORE CEFIS BANKROLLED RIZZOLI TO TAKE IT OVER, MONDADORI HAS A CLEAR PICTURE OF CORRIERE'S ACOSTS WHICH IT DESCRIBES AS HOPELESS. REPUBBLICA, STARTING FRESH WITH LATEST EQUIPMENT, NVPREVIOUS UNION CONTRACTS AND MODERN BUSINESS MANAGEMENT, EXPECTS ITS PRINTING COSTS TO BE HALF OF CORRIERE'S AND ITS STAFF TO BE ABOUT ONE QUARTER OF CORRIERE'S (50 COMPARED TO ALMOST 200). WHILE TRADE UNION RULES MAKE INTRODUCTION OF MODERN PRESSES AND COMPOSITION VIR- TUALLY MPOSSIBLE FOR ESTABLISHED DAILIES, RULE OUT STAFF REDUCTION AND HAVE TIED EDITORIAL PLICY HANDS AT CORRIERE, REPUBBLICA WOULD START WITH A CLEAN STATE. ADVERTISING IS ALREADY ASSURED, MONDADORI CLAIMS, FROM ITS IN-HOUSE ADVERTISING STAFF WHILE DISTRIBU- TION IS READY TO ROLL THROUGH 1000 OF ITS OWN DISTRIBUTION POINTS SELECTED TO ASSURE VOLUME TO COVER COSTS IN ABOUT 15,000 NEWS STANDS.

4. REPUBBLICA INSISTS THAT EACH STAFF MEMBER SIGN A SEVERAL PAGE POLICY STATEMENT DEMANDING OBJECTIVITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF SUPERPOWERS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO USSR.

5. SINCE BOTH SCALFARI'S ESPRESSO AND MONDADERIS WEEKLY PANORAMA EQUALLY ENERGETIC, LEFT OF CENTER AND HOSTILE TO US AND USSR, OUTLOOK IS NOT FOR PRO US LINE ALTHOUGH MONDADARI INSISTS IT WILL BE ANTI-SOVIET. EDITOR SCALFARI IS CLAIMED TO HAVE FULL POWER TO HIRE, FIRE AND EDIT STYLE, CONTENT AND HEADLINES. A SHARP CONTRAST WITH PIERO OTTONE AT CORRIERE. REPUBBLICA WILL HAVE NO CITY PAGE, NO CRIME OR SENSATIONALISM BUT AIM FOR MIDDLE UPPER LEVEL AUDIENCE WHICH PUBLISHERS BELIEVE BOUND TO GROW AS ITALY APPROACHES OTHER EC MEMBERS IN NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION. THEY INTEND REPUBBLICA TO BE A NATIONAL DAILY UNLIKE CORRIERE OR STAMPA WHICH ARE LOCAL PAPERS WITH NATIONAL CIRCULATION.

6. ALTHOUGH RUMORS PERSIST THAT SELF-MADE PETROCHEMICAL POWER NINO ROVELLI OR OTHER BIG BUSINESS FIGURES LIKE PIRELLI ARE UNDER- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PAGE 03 MILAN 01713 191046Z WRITING HART OF REPUBBLICA, MONDADORI INSISTS THEY ARE OUT AND CARLO CARACCILO OTHER EQUAL PARTNER. CARACCILO IS GIANNI AGNELLI'S BROTHER IN-LAW, OWNER OF ESPRESSO. MONDADORI AND CARACCILO NOW CONSIDERING PUBLIC OFFERING STOCK AS ANOTHER INNOVATION, BUT MARKET OFFERS LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT TODAY.

7. EDITORIAL STAFF SO FAR SIGNED UP REPORTEDLY EXCELLENT AND MONDADORI HOPEFUL OF RECRUITING CORRIERE'S UGO STILLE MOST RES- PECTED OF ALL ITALIAN CORRESPONDANTS IN U.S. SHOULD THAT OCCUR, CORRIERE WILL HAVE SUFFERED YET ANOTHER HARD BLOW.

8. SHOULD REPUBBLICA LIVE UP TO MONDADORI HOPES, MILAN NEWS- PAPER AND POLITICAL CIRCLES SEE IT AS MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN ITALIAN MEDIA. WITH FINANCIAL DEFICIT OF CORRIERE, MESSAGGERO AND GIORNALE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR CEFIS TO FINANCE, (TOTALLING ABOUT \$38 MILLION THIS YEAR) WITH CORRIERE UNDER ETTACK AS BEING PRO-COMMUNIST AND EDITOR TORN BETWEEN POLICY PRESSURE OF STAFF AND OWNERS, ITS FUTURE IS INCREASINGLY UNCERTAIN. RUMORS OF

MAJOR COMMUNIST PARTY BACKED LOAN OR PURCHASE OF MAJOR SHARE BY ATTILIO MONTI, INDUSTRIAL TYCOON IN SUGAR INDUSTRY, TO ASSURE COVER FOR HIS INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS, ARE MEASURE OF ITS PERMANENT CRISIS WHICH EMERGENCE OF SUCCESSFUL REPUBBLICA COULD PUSH TO BREAKING POINT. PUBLISHERS HERE THINK MONDADORI/CARACCILO ARE MAKING NOT UNREASONABLE GAMBLE THAT CORRIERE, GIORNALE AND GIORNO (FINANCED BY ENI) MAY ONE OR ALL GO UNDER WITH A CONSEQUENT SHIFT OF READERS TO REPUBBLICA. WERE IL GIORNALE ABLE TO SURVIVE, DEMOCRATIC SPECTRUM MIGHT ONCE AGAIN BE REPRESENTED BY INDEPENDENT MAJOR DAILIES WITH REPUBBLICA CENTER LEFT AND GIORNALE CENTER RIGHT. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD IMPROVE OUTLOOK FOR ITALIAN DEMOCRACY AT LEAST IN THIS PART OF ITALY ALTHOUGH REPUBBLICA UNLIKELY MAKE VERY PLEASANT READING FOR US.FINA

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PIRELLI, SCALFARI, L'ESPRESSO E REPUBBLICA

Gli americani cercano di fare pressione su Leopoldo Pirelli, vicepresidenza della Confindustria, affinché usi la sua influenza su Eugenio Scalfari per ammorbidire la linea di "Repubblica" e de "l'Espresso" verso gli Stati Uniti, l'alleanza atlantica e anche verso quella DC, che è l'unico baluardo contro il comunismo, secondo gli americani. Pirelli concorda che non c'è alternativa alla Dc, ma replica anche che non crede sia il ruolo della Confindustria dire ai giornali cosa fare.

PIRELLI AND POLITICAL SCENE:

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Show Headers

1. I CALLED ON PIRELLI TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR LAST MEETING (MILAN 1722) WHEN WE DISCUSSED HIS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NEW LEFT WING DAILY LA REPUBBLICA (SEE MILAN 1713). AT THE TIME I HAD LAMENTED THE ANTI-US, ANTI-DC LINE TAKEN BY MONDADORI'S PANORAMA AND URGED THAT PIRELLI USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH THE DIRECTOR OF LA REPUBBLICA TO TAKE IT EASIER ON THE US AND ITALY'S ATLANTIC RELATIONS.
2. I SAID THAT I FEARED THAT THE UNRELENTING ATTACKS UPON THE DC'S FAULTS AND SHORTCOMING DID NOT DO MUCH TO PROVIDE A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE BUT A GREAT DEAL TO HAND ITALY OVER TO THE COMMUNISTS. IN THE SEARCH FOR A PERFECT PARTY AND PERFECT LEADERSHIP, THE INTELLECTUAL LEFT WAS DESTROYING THE ONLY PRACTICAL DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO THE COMMUNISTS. MOREOVER, IT WAS HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE WEALTHY ITALIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY FINANCED THE CORRIERE DELLA SERA, IL GIORNO AND THE WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINES WHICH MADE DESTRUCTION OF THE DC ONE OF THEIR LEADING THEMES. 3. PIRELLI AGREED THAT TODAY THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE DC. IT WAS NOT THAT HE LIKED IT OR THAT HE COULD JUSTIFY ITS ABUSES. BUT HE HAD TO ADMIT THAT IT WAS THE ONLY FORCE CAPABLE OF OPPOSING THE
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COMMUNISTS. THE SOCIALISTS WERE HOPELESS* HE USED TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THEM IN ROME. BUT TODAY THAT WAS NO LONGER WORTHWHILE. HE DID NOT KNOW WHOM TO TRUST NOR WHO SPOKE FOR THE PARTY. AND THE SITUATION WAS GETTING WORSE.
4. IT WAS RIGHT THAT MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE GOOD WORKS OF THE DC. BUT IT WAS UNREASONABLE TO SUGGEST THAT THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE DC SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO BE CRITICIZED. THERE WAS CERTAINLY A PROBLEM OF DC LEADERS. HE HAD READ SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE AND KNEW OF ANDREOTTI'S VIST. HE WELCOMED THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT BUT HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT ANDREO - TTI. DID HIS PRESENCE IMPLY OUR LAYING ON OF THE HANDS FOR AND- REOTTI AS OUR CHOSEN INSTRUMENT?
5. I ASSURED PIRELLI THAT WE FAVORED A RENEWAL OF THE DC LEADERSHIP AND THAT WE HAD NO INTENTION OF SUGGESTING THAT ONE LEADER WAS

OUR MAN.

6. PIRELLI HOPED THAT WAS THE CASE. AS FOR THE PRESS, HE DID NOT SEE THAT CONFINDUSTRIA, OF WHICH HE IS A VICE PRESIDENT, COULD TELL IT WHAT TO DO. NOR COULD CONFINDUSTRIA USURP THE ROLE OF A POLITICAL PARTY. IT COULD OFFER IDEAS. IT COULD NOT MAKE THE MISTAKE OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND BECOME A POLITICAL FORCE.

7. AS FOR THE CORRIERE, HE REGULARLY SAW EDITOR PIERO OTTONE. THEY OFTEN TALKED. OTTONE INSISTED THAT THE CORRIERE WAS ADJUSTING ITS LINE AND CRITICIZING THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHILE LIMITING ITS CRITICISM OF THE DC TO SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS. IN PIRELLI'S VIEW, THE CORRIERE WAS NOW ABOUT ON COURSE. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ECONOMIC SECTION CONTINUED TO BE DREADFUL.

8. IL GIORNO WOULD PROBABLY BE CHANGING ORIENTATION. ENI SUBSIDIZED IT AND THE NEW PRESIDENT OF ENI, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT SETTE WOULD NOT BE LIKELY TO LET IT CONTINUE ITS PRESENT LINE.

9. THE WEEKLIES WERE ANOTHER MATTER. PANORAMA AND ESPRESSO WERE IN THE BLACK AND VERY INDEPENDENT MINDED.

10. I TOLD PIRELLI THAT IT WAS PRECISILY HIS AUTHORITY AS A NATIONAL LEADER THAT COULD HELP. IT WAS NOT A MATTER OF MONEY OR ADVERTISING

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BUT OF HIS PERSONALLY SPEAKING TO THE DECISION MAKERS AS HE HAD BEEN TALKING WITH OTTONE TO CONVINCE THEM OF THE NEED TO TAKE A MORE REALISTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KEY ISSUES. IT WAS NOT AN ACADEMIC MATTER BUT A PRACTICAL ONE OF THE SURVIVAL OF ITALIAN DEMOCRACY AND OF THE WHOLE CONFIGURATION OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

11. PIRELLI NODDED AND REPLIED THAT HE GOT THE MESSAGE - WITH WHICH HE COULDN'T DISAGREE.FINA

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