

LABOR

Alleged mob ties stall confirmation

By Mark Alan Pinsky

WASHINGTON

CONFIRMATION HEARINGS FOR Secretary of Labor-designate Raymond Donovan were halted abruptly last week by charges that the New Jersey businessman made illegal payoffs to union officials in the late '60s. The hearing committee, made up of members of both the Labor and the Human Resources committees in the Senate, had planned to vote on Donovan's appointment Jan. 15, but that vote has now been delayed indefinitely.

A Federal Bureau of Investigation informant has alleged that Donovan made covert payments to him in 1967 and 1968 to settle labor disputes. As executive vice-president of the Schiavone Construction Company of Secaucus, N.J., one of the nation's largest construction firms, Donovan was responsible for negotiating contracts with the Teamsters Union, which represents workers at the firm.

Donovan's nomination was largely a surprise to observers of the Reagan transition. Little known nationally, the New Jersey businessman admitted in his hearings to ignorance of several Labor Department programs. He also told the committee he would move the Labor Department toward friendlier relations with business, moderating the "adversarial attitudes" evident in previous DOL policy.

Unions generally oppose Donovan's nomination, which has received strong backing from the anti-union National Right to Work Committee. Critics warn

that Donovan is likely to whittle away at Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations and attempt to undercut current minimum-wage requirements. But Teamsters Union national president Frank Fitzsimmons said his group would "look forward to working" with Donovan.

During his hearings, Donovan admitted to paying \$13,000 to a Newark businessman later identified in a court deposition as a middleman who laundered money for organized crime figures. He also told Senate committee members that for approximately three years his company kept a "ghost worker" on payroll—a questionable practice under labor laws. Donovan explained that the no-show worker began receiving payments in 1977 to help ensure labor peace with the Teamsters Union local. Donovan said that he was unaware of the action until several days before his hearings began.



Raymond Donovan's dealings with the Teamsters will be investigated by the FBI.

In response to charges that he might have been paying off organized crime, Donovan said that he had believed the company was buying dumping rights on a tract owned by the Newark man. He also told committee members that he thought the no-show condition was required by the union contract.

Donovan has called the allegation that halted the confirmation process "scurrilous and untrue."

According to FBI officials, the charge

has been made by Ralph M. Picardo, an associate of Anthony (Tony) Provenzano, who was president of Teamsters local 560 in Union City, N.J., at the time of the alleged payoffs. Picardo testified as a government witness in the 1978 trial that convicted Provenzano and Harold (Kazo) Konigsberg of murdering Anthony Castellito in 1961. The government informant was himself convicted of second-degree murder in 1975. ■

Mark Alan Pinsky works on Capitol Hill.

BUFFALO

They gave a rally and nobody came

By Bradshaw Hovey

BUFFALO, N. Y.

THE CALL OF BUFFALO NAZI Party organizer Karl Hand for "100 white men with guts" to rally for "white civil rights" in Niagara Square on Martin Luther King's birthday fell at

least 95 men short. But Hand still claimed success—his "demonstration" drew hundreds of reporters from across the region and the nation, and he said that was good enough.

The Nazi "rally" was opposed by a left-sponsored anti-Nazi rally at the same time in Niagara Square. That, in turn, was countered by an "official" Martin Luther King celebration two hours later and two blocks away in Lafayette Square sponsored by the Black Leadership Forum, which feared a violent confrontation with the Nazis, and by the city's conservative Democratic mayor, James D. Griffin, who denounced the anti-Nazi Coalition as a "bunch of nuts and socialists."

The relatively modest size of all three demonstrations and the absolute lack of any sort of violence left the network correspondents in despair of getting their stories on the evening news, while other reporters regretted that the media had participated in making so much of so little.

Yet the rallies took place against a grim background of tension in the black community here and badly strained black-white relations. Eight Buffalo-area black men have been murdered since last September and police have no suspects. While District Attorney Edward Cosgrove believes the murders are the work of a lone "psychopath" he will not rule out the possibility of a racist conspiracy.

The press and the public generally have been preoccupied with the murders and the search for the ".22 caliber killer." Rumors surfaced recently about black "bounty hunters" working as decoys to catch the killer and collect \$100,000 in reward money. Some whites say they fear retaliation for the killings, though nothing of the sort has been reported so far.

It was in this environment that Hand, a former KKK "titan," announced his rally in a Nazi newsletter that praised the killer as "The Great White Hunter."

An ad hoc "Martin Luther King Day Memorial Rally Coalition" quickly announced plans for a counter-rally and assembled a nationwide list of sponsors including many union and civil rights activists. But as the day of the rally approached, it became clear that the Coalition was a relatively narrow one dominated by members of Workers' World Party. Some local left organizations declined to be official sponsors of the rally, while individuals gave lukewarm support. One local activist complained of being "trapped between two alternatives, neither of

Local activists faced an unhappy choice—the sponsors of one rally wanted to confront the Nazis, the others ignored the issue of organized racist violence.

which is very satisfying." The sponsors of one rally wanted a direct confrontation with the Nazis, while the sponsors of the other ignored the whole subject of organized racist violence.

Mayor Griffin, who was elected in 1977 with negligible black support, worked hard to discredit and stop the anti-Nazi rally. Although he refused to ban the Nazi rally when it was first announced, he later promised arrest for anyone participating in either the Nazi or anti-Nazi demonstrations. Coalition sponsors were heavily red-baited by the mayor and by his police commissioner, who also predicted violence. County Executive Edward Rutkowski warned that the rally would be run by "outsiders" who would "give Buffalo a black eye and then leave." Two local television stations donated air time for a series of commercials featuring local establishment figures who urged Buffalonians to avoid the "hate rallies." Only a late court ruling prevented Mayor Griffin from carrying out his threat to make arrests first and ask questions later.

One result of the non-rallies is that the ultra-right isn't taken very seriously here. Karl Hand showed up practically alone to wave his swastika poster. But while police say there are no more than three Nazis in Buffalo, an independent Klan-Nazi monitoring group estimates their number at 30. Even more sinister was a recent report that German neo-Nazi terrorist Manfred Roeder used a suburban Buffalo home for nearly two years as a base for organizing efforts in America.

But in the aftermath of the Martin Luther King day events, it also seems uncertain whether either the black community or left groups have any plans for coping with division between black and white in Buffalo or for combatting organized racist violence. ■

Bradshaw Hovey is a Buffalo writer who has been active in city politics.

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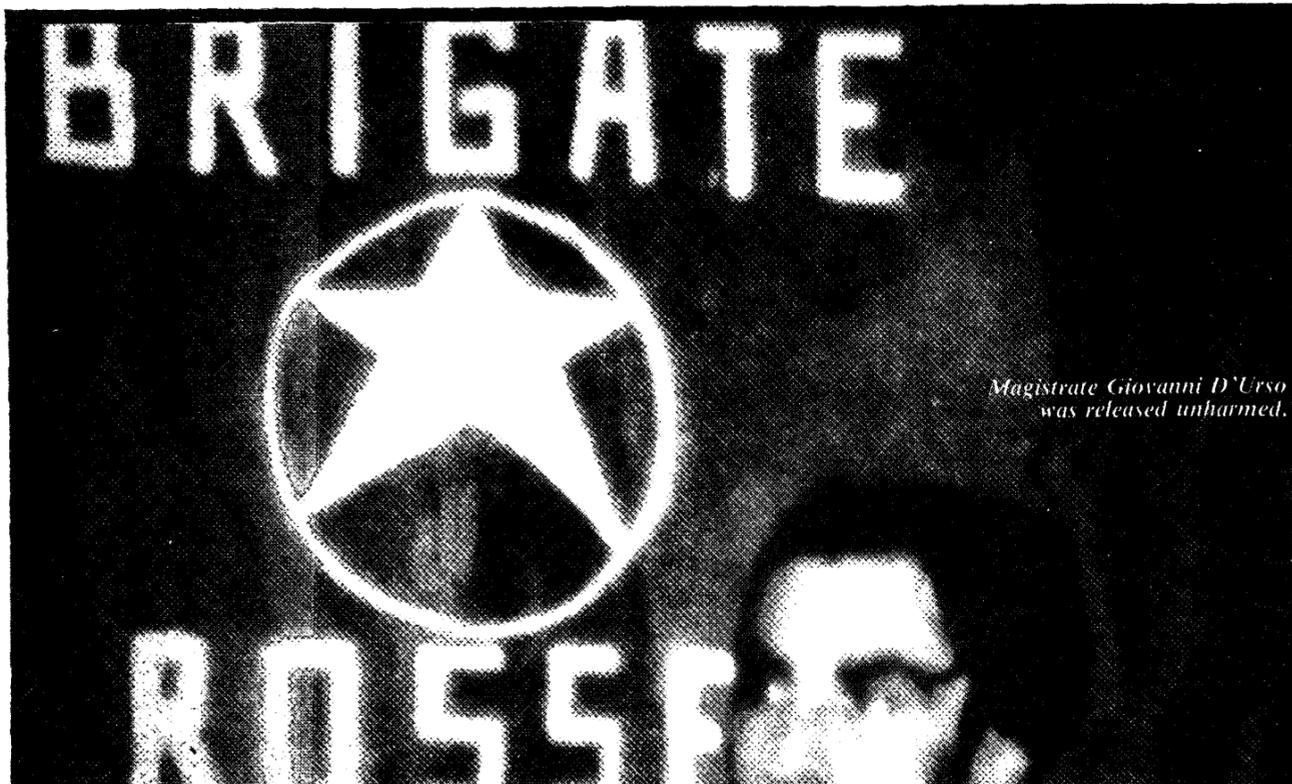
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IN THE WORLD



Magistrate Giovanni D'Urso was released unharmed.

ITALY

Red Brigades made their point

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WITH THEIR LATEST OPERATION aimed at the prisons and the press, the Red Brigades have achieved an immense political success. It is not just that throughout the month-long captivity of magistrate Giovanni D'Urso the terrorist organization managed to monopolize Italy's public life, much as it did nearly three years ago when it kidnapped and murdered Aldo Moro. The Moro operation, too, might be considered a political success insofar as its aim was to break up the nascent "historic compromise," the governing alliance between Christian Democrats and Communists. But it was not a public relations success. On the contrary, the murder of Moro and his bodyguards inspired widespread revulsion, and the turgid communiqués against the "imperialist monopoly state" were not popular reading.

This time, by contrast, the operation was aimed at winning over a particular constituency—"imprisoned proletarians," the "marginal" population that is growing with international economic restructuring, and the far left. And for the first time, in both action and words, the Red Brigades got across a message likely to make a favorable impression and gain supporters in those target areas of the population.

When the Red Brigades first abducted Giovanni D'Urso last Dec. 12, the general impression was that the organization was just trying to prove that it was still alive and kicking despite recent arrests of important members (apparently thanks to information given police by "penitent" terrorists). The photograph of D'Urso in "people's prison" under the Red Brigade star had the eerie look of a replay of the Moro affair, except that Moro was a major national leader and D'Urso was an obscure justice ministry official.

But the Red Brigades knew all along what the public did not know, that D'Urso was in charge of handling inmates in both ordinary and special prisons in Italy. In a communique, the Red Brigades demanded that the special high-security island prison of Asinara, off Sardinia, be shut down immediately. The abduction and "trial" of D'Urso, they announced, was the first action of a "strategic resolu-

tion" taken last October to wage an offensive against prisons.

As in the Moro case, politicians split between "firmness" and "bargaining" camps, the latter intent on seeking some deal to spare the life of the captive. But the government is now much weaker than three years ago, already reeling from massive scandals involving oil bribes and illegal arms sales, as well as the incompetent handling of earthquake relief. The strongest champions of firmness, the Communists, are in opposition. And the governing coalition now includes the Socialist Party, whose leader Bettino Craxi has tended to blame the "firmness" line of 1978 for Moro's death and who favored a soft approach to save D'Urso, setting off an internal row in his party.

Within a fortnight of the Red Brigade demand, the government announced it was closing down Asinara prison for good—not on account of the Red Brigades' demand, it insisted, but because the decision had already been made in line with the humanitarian policy of improving prison conditions. The Socialists applauded. The Communists accused the government of giving in to the Red Brigades and president Sandro Pertini seemed to agree.

Two days later, some 70 maximum-security prisoners in the high-security prison at Trani on the southern Adriatic coast seized 19 guards as hostages and demanded the closing of Asinara and all high-security prisons. This was apparently another prong of the operation. A Red Brigade communique hailed the "great unity and mobilization of proletarian prisoners." (Trani prisoners include "autonomy" theorist Toni Negri and other *autonomia* leaders arrested with him in April 1979, who apparently all stayed out of the excitement.)

On Dec. 29, *carabinieri* and special forces stormed Trani prison, putting an end to the 24-hour revolt. No one was killed or seriously injured, although about 30 prisoners suffered minor injuries in the battle.

But the "firmness" party's joy over this victory was short-lived. On New Year's Eve, *carabinieri* general Enrico Galvanigi opened his front door to accept a decorative gift basket of wines. As he handed the smiling delivery men a generous tip, they shot him dead. Gen. Galvanigi had commanded the storming of Trani two days earlier—a fact unknown to the public but known to the Red Brigades. President Pertini, who is

surely breaking all world records for funeral attendance, paid his respects before yet another casket and embraced yet another widow.

The prison focus.

Meanwhile, a storm of controversy broke out over the decision of the popular weekly *L'Espresso* to publish both an interview with the Red Brigades and a transcript of the Red Brigades' interrogation of D'Urso. Police went to the magazine's offices to confiscate the original copy and arrested journalist Mario Scialoja who had conducted the interview through an anonymous intermediary.

The language of the interview showed a marked influence of *autonomia* concepts compared to three years ago. For instance, the Red Brigades spokesman noted with satisfaction that the struggle of the proletarian masses to satisfy immediate "needs" was leading the class to assert its "autonomy" against the labor unions and all other forms of capitalist power. The spokesman said the time had come to create revolutionary mass organizations to fight alongside the armed communist party because "the current crisis has swelled the ranks of proletarians who do not take part in production, who are definitively on the margins of society, who no longer earn salaries and can survive only outside the law." In short, the Red Brigades are out to offer a political explanation of their situation to unemployed proletarians who turned to crime to survive and recruit them into its ranks. "The imperialist prison is where the political recomposition of the proletariat takes place," the spokesman told *L'Espresso*.

A few days later, after questioning Scialoja and studying these texts, investigators thought they had figured out who had interrogated D'Urso (who seemed cooperative) and given the interview. They issued a warrant for the arrest of a prominent criminologist, Giovanni Senzani, 38, who was nowhere to be found. Senzani is a respected sociologist who has spent much time in the U.S. in the course of his studies of social marginalization and crime as a mass phenomenon.

Tried in the press.

On Jan. 4, the Red Brigades announced that they had sentenced D'Urso to death but proposed that he might be saved. The terrorists invited the media to find out and publish what the political prisoners of Trani and Palmi high-security prisons

had to say. In short, the Brigades demanded a forum for the convicts to judge the judge, going around the state and reversing authority with the help of the media.

Lawyers and members of Marco Pannella's Radical Party ("radical chic," according to its critics, who pin the same label on *L'Espresso*), who forthwith visited Trani and Palmi prisons, announced that Red Brigades founder Renato Curcio and other imprisoned members of the organization had decided that D'Urso was guilty of crimes against the people, but that since he had repented and cooperated with his interrogators he should benefit from "grace" and be freed.

But there seemed to be a final condition: the "communiqués" issued by the Trani and Palmi prisoners must be printed in the leading Italian newspapers. This threw the press into an uproar. Most editors and journalists said no, the press should not accept the dictates of terrorists. D'Urso's wife Franca implored editors to publish the Red Brigade communiqués: "What does it matter? They all sound alike anyhow." This viewpoint of a self-declared "simple housewife" was shared by "radical chic"—the Radical Party radio network broadcast and rebroadcast the Red Brigade statements.

Il Manifesto decided to go ahead and print parts of the statements on informational grounds, arguing that one needs to know about terrorism to combat it. More surprisingly, the Socialist Party organ *Avanti!* decided—or was ordered by Craxi—to print the statements, but more on humanitarian grounds. (One—perhaps the only—clear political effect on Craxi's extremely soft stand was to remove any possibility of an alternative left government coalition with the super-firm Communists, who for the first time in a decade called on party members to be on the alert to head off any eventual attempt at a military coup.) The small, far leftist newspaper *Lotta Continua* printed everything in entirety until it stopped publishing in mid-January, succumbing to long-pending bankruptcy. But all the major mass circulation newspapers boycotted the terrorist propaganda.

On Jan. 12, a month after her father was captured, 19-year-old Lorena D'Urso unexpectedly appeared on television for a four-minute spot paid for by the Radical Party. Unhesitatingly, the judge's daughter appealed for his release and read a Red Brigade statement calling her father a butcher and hangman. At about the same time, judicial authorities were issuing warrants charging Trani and Palmi prisoners with complicity in the D'Urso kidnapping, and Communist and Radical deputies were coming to blows in the halls of parliament over how to react to terrorism.

Throughout this incredible scenario, the Red Brigades seemed master manipulators of the sociological and political pieces of their game. The exploit of reversing the judge-prisoner roles is certain to be appreciated where it matters—inside the prisons—and should facilitate the organization's recruiting. The Red Brigades managed to shift responsibility for Judge D'Urso's fate to the media in a way that both rendered the state practically non-existent—irrelevant to relations between civil society and the counter-state represented by the Red Brigades—and also set the stage for further use and abuse of the media.

On Jan. 14, a major national newspaper, *Il Messaggero*, decided to print the Red Brigades' communique in a last-ditch effort to save Giovanni D'Urso. A few hours later the Red Brigades issued yet another communique announcing that they were releasing their captive. The next morning, in a car parked by the Tiber only a short distance from the justice ministry, D'Urso was found alive and well, certain to get a warmer welcome from his family than from his justice ministry colleagues.

By freeing their hostage, the Red Brigades showed their mastery of the situation and were certain to make a favorable impression on sectors of the far left—notably the area influenced by *autonomia*—that would have applauded the Moro operation if only Moro had been freed in the end instead of murdered. The Red Brigades have promised a long struggle. At this point, it doesn't look as if it will be short. ■