

TERRORISM

Fat Man, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*How the U.S. and Italy got the Mafia to help find General Dozier*

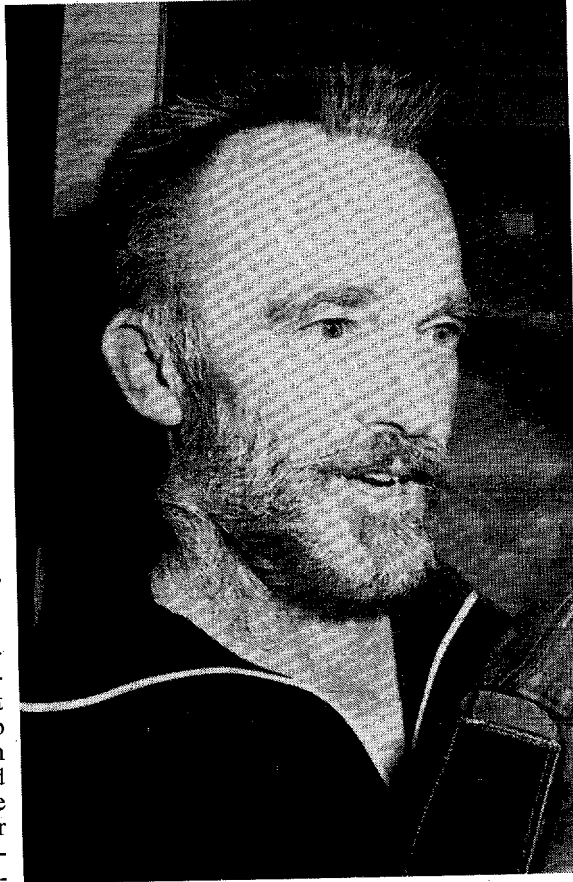
On the evening of Dec. 17, 1981, Red Brigades terrorists kidnaped Brigadier General James Dozier, 50, the highest-ranking U.S. officer in NATO's southern Europe command, from his home in Verona. The abduction triggered the largest man hunt in Italy's history. Forty-two days later, Italian commandos stormed an apartment in Padua and freed the American general. It was a stunning piece of police work that won praise from around the world; it also marked the beginning of the end for the notorious terrorist group. But the full story of how the authorities found Dozier has never been revealed. American and Italian intelligence agencies, *TIME* has learned, turned to the Mafia for help in locating the general.

What occurred was a remarkable tale of triumphs and bumbles, of Brooklyn *consiglieri* and Milan Mafiosi, of chases along New York City's Fifth Avenue and gun-toting criminals tailing intelligence agents along Italian *autostrade*. So secret was the operation that not even U.S. Ambassador to Italy Maxwell Rabb was aware of it until *TIME* Correspondent Jonathan Beaty, accompanied by Rome Correspondent Barry Kalb, questioned the diplomat two weeks ago. Beaty's report:

It took only two days for top officials at SISMI, the Italian intelligence agency, to decide that it might be useful to turn to the Mafia for help in finding General Dozier. Although the Mafia had long detested the Red Brigades, SISMI knew that there would be a public outcry if it was ever discovered that an Italian government agency had contacted the Mafia directly. Consequently, a more subtle plan was devised. An approach would be made to Mafiosi in the U.S., who would be asked to get in touch with their counterparts in Italy. Marcello Campione, then military attaché to the Italian mission at the United Nations, began making inquiries in New York Mafia circles. Working under a code name, "the Tailor," Campione was led to an influential Mafia *consigliere* in Brooklyn who makes his living by helping Italians move to the U.S. "The Fat Man," as the arranger is known in the underworld, agreed to put Campione in touch with a fugitive Mafioso from Italy who was hiding out in New York.

That contact turned out to be Dominic Lombino, 40, a lawyer from Milan whose clients had included Franchino Restelli, the northern Italian city's leading Mafioso. Jailed briefly in 1978 for his Mafia associations, Lombino fled to the

U.S. in July 1981 when Italian authorities suddenly seized his passport, a signal that they were preparing to indict him. The Italian military attaché told Lombino that he could make a lot of money if he would help with the Dozier case. On Dec. 22, only five days after Dozier had been abducted, Lombino phoned the Fat Man



The jubilant and still unshaven victim after his rescue
Triumphs and bumbles from Brooklyn to Milan.

and then Armando Sportelli, chief of SISMI's foreign operations in Rome. The word: Dozier was being held somewhere inside the triangle formed by the cities of Verona, Padua and Bologna. The next day, after more phone conversations with associates in Italy, Lombino was able to tell SISMI that the American general was definitely in Padua. Lombino did not know the precise location, but suggested that his old client Restelli, then imprisoned in Milan's notorious San Vittore prison for Mafia activities, might be able to come up with the address.

Attaché Campione quickly agreed. Over the Christmas holiday he developed a plan to sneak Lombino out of the U.S. and into Italy so that Lombino could talk with Restelli. Since Lombino was still a fugitive with no passport, the Italian offi-

cial had to concoct a new identity for him. With the Fat Man's aid, Lombino acquired the Social Security number of an unwitting high school driver's education instructor from Brooklyn, while a cooperative priest in Manhattan provided him with false baptism records.

On Dec. 27, dressed in dark glasses, Levi's and running shoes, Lombino headed for the U.S. passport office on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue. Though he had been assured that there would be no problems, Lombino, now joined by Campione, nervously showed up an hour early to check out the area. They quickly spotted too many men wearing trench coats and reading newspapers. Sensing a trap, Lombino ran down the up escalators to the street and jumped into a cab before he could be captured. The startled Campione simply disappeared into the crowd.

The pursuers turned out to be FBI agents who had learned that an Italian Mafia associate living illegally in New York was trying to obtain a false passport to return to Italy. Within hours, FBI agents were grilling both the Fat Man and Campione, demanding to know why the Italians were helping a fugitive Mafioso like Lombino. A panicky Campione called Sportelli in Rome to find out if he should tell the FBI the truth. The SISMI foreign-intelligence boss immediately called "M," the CIA agent in Rome who was serving as the agency's liaison in the Dozier case and explained the entire ploy.

The CIA was intrigued. It quickly called the FBI off the case and began negotiating directly with Lombino by phone. Lombino, however, no longer trusted SISMI. He insisted on U.S. protection as well as a pledge that he could legally return to the U.S. if he went to Italy and saw Restelli. The Justice Department approved the residency deal, and as a result, in early January 1982 Lombino made the first of two trips to the Washington, D.C., area to meet with CIA agents.

For unknown reasons, Lombino's trip to Italy was delayed. According to Italian intelligence sources, the problem was a rivalry between Campione and General Ninetto Lugaresi, the head of SISMI. Finally, on Jan. 23, Lombino boarded an Alitalia flight from New York's Kennedy Airport to Rome. Accompanied by Campione and wearing a wig as a disguise, he carried CIA-supplied papers in the name of Andrew Dimanso, the alias he was supposed to use in Italy. When the pair landed in Rome, they were met by the CIA's "M" and a cadre of American and Italian intelligence agents. Lombino was hustled away to a hotel a block from the U.S. embassy. Twice during the next day, he met with Franca Musi, a Red Brigades courier who had been captured two weeks earlier in Rome. The Italians thought that Musi,

Kelly, "are those who are disillusioned, no, disgusted, with the way the government has been running this country." A decade ago, Kelly's denunciation of West German democracy might have been dismissed as mere ideological ranting. But the Greens seem to be only the most politically visible and potent part of a vast counterculture movement in West Germany that has reached extraordinary proportions.

West Germans refer to the broader phenomenon as the "alternative movement." Its numbers are estimated at between 4 million and 5 million, much larger than the 1.5 million to 2 million adherents of the Green Party itself. Thriving all over the country, the alternatives include squatters and punkers, doctors and lawyers, engineers and social workers, who have organized hundreds of communes in which they are attempting to define, as one of them puts it, "a culture alongside the traditional, confining German society." Joseph Huber, 34, a lecturer at Berlin's Free University and a philosopher of the alternative scene, sees this counterculture wave as a "new class" in West German society.

The movement's members are mostly under 35, although an older fringe of over-50s is also active. Most of them vigorously reject the traditional German work ethic, sense of order, loyalty to family and security in favor of nebulous concepts of self-determination and grass-roots activism. They oppose nuclear weapons and nuclear energy. The alternatives are passionate about a clean and safe environment, about women's rights as well as those of oppressed minorities like immigrant workers and homosexuals. Says Carl Amery, 60, Bavarian writer, environmentalist and Green Party member: "The alternative movement is trying to recapture the German warmth that was killed in the war years."

There are those for whom the counterculture movement is more frightening than laughable. They see in it a renaissance of an ancient streak of German romanticism, a form of escapism that too often has preceded political follies. For most

Greens reflect old but recurring fears of the relentless advance of industrialism and urbanism that threaten the individual with a society of scientific management and assembly lines. With romantic and dangerously simplistic longing, the alternatives look to the lost past, to what they believe was a simpler, less corrupt world of noble motives and a pristine environment.

There is a strong nationalistic edge to the alternative movement. The counterculture's music is purely German, both rock tunes and the protest songs of peace groups. Decrying the U.S. is a constant theme.

Arthur Burns, the U.S. Ambassador to Bonn, is fond of complaining to West Germans that by neglecting to teach the history of the past 40 years—West German schoolbooks have tended to skip lightly over the Hitler and immediate postwar periods—the country has produced a generation with little or no historical perspective. In the eyes of West German youth who cannot remember the cold war or the Berlin airlift or the Korean War, there is really not much to distinguish between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As a result, the vital Atlantic Alliance is sometimes questioned or even naïvely perceived as a fading and largely unnecessary relic.

West German intellectuals of the Marxist-oriented left are fascinated, puzzled but not attracted by the Greens. Says Werner Holzer, editor of the left-leaning *Frankfurter Rundschau*: "The intellectual left has remained aloof for the most part because of the Greens' unruly way of thinking." In their inarticulate way, the Greens, indeed, appear to be rejecting all the political ideologies of the past, including Marxism. Nonetheless, says Professor Richard Löwenthal of the Free University of Berlin, the Greens' thinking has been influenced by the Marxist teachers who are now established in West German universities. This influence has presumably helped turn the Greens against capital-



A painted protester

The leftists have not taught them how parliamentary democracy works or the importance of the legal system. They have not transmitted any of the utopian Marxist hope. The Old Left is responsible for the gaps in the Greens' education."

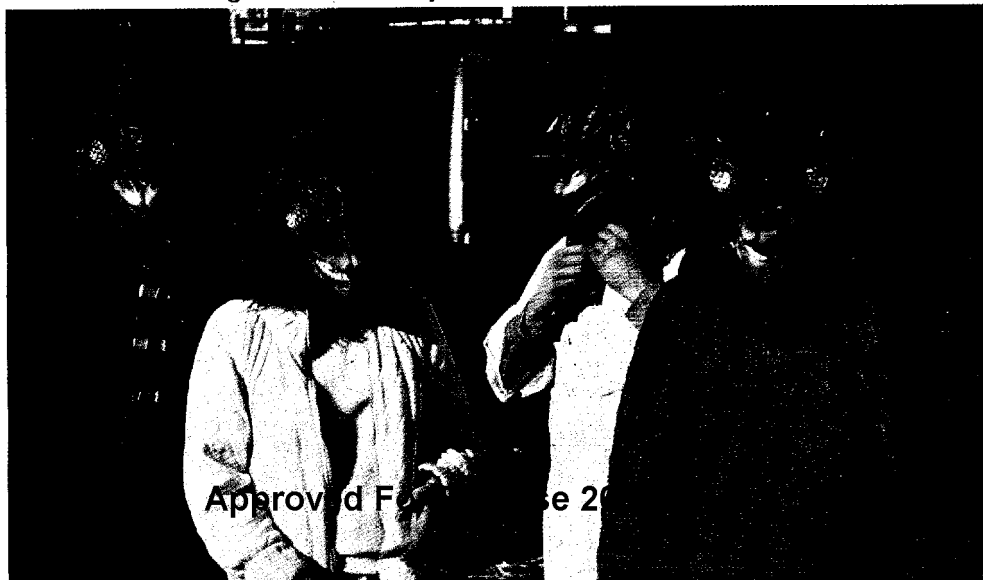
The rise of the Greens, beginning in 1979, came just as disillusionment with West Germany's three other established political parties was spreading.

In the 1980 national elections, the Greens polled only 1.5% of the vote. Later the same year, in the state election in Baden-Württemberg, they won 5.3% and entered the state parliament. In quick succession came similar electoral breakthroughs in West Berlin, Lower Saxony, Hamburg and Hesse. In several of the state elections, the Greens ousted the Free Democrats as the third parliamentary party.

However inchoate and unrealistic their ultimate aims, the Greens have already left marks on the country. That Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann talks about saving dying German forests, that Social Democratic Leader Vogel now hedges on the missile issue, that the Free Democratic Party now champions the rights of foreign workers—all can be attributed to the political stimulus of the Greens. More than its Catholic counterpart, the Protestant Church has been moved to respond to the concerns of West German youths. The large-circulation press has been unable to ignore the pressures of the counterculture movement. A regular diet of environmental coverage is now a feature of such major magazines as *Stern* and *Der Spiegel*. Both publications have come out strongly against the deployment of new NATO missiles, a position closer to that of the Greens than of the Social Democrats.

By last autumn, according to opinion polls, the Greens enjoyed support from as much as 9% of the electorate. In recent months, though, they have fallen back. One reason is that the Social Democrats, under Vogel, have moved just far enough to the left on the NATO missile and economic issues to pick up some Greens supporters. Another reason is that, ironically enough, the Greens' moral credibility comes at the cost of their political credibility. Says a Munich tenants' rights organizer: "The Greens have trouble enough trying to find out what their supporters want, let alone having to deal with questions like how they will vote on unemployment programs." If the Greens fail to win 5% of the vote, their future as a political force will depend on whether Vogel's Social Democrats maintain their leftward drift. In short, the Greens will disturb the West German political scene as long as there is room on the left for a new generation of skeptical citizens with a dim sense of the past and a hazy vision of the future. —By Frederick Palnton. Reported by Roland Flamini and Gary Lee/Bonn

Activists wearing mutant masks to represent the face of the world after nuclear war



whose family members, in various situations, might give valuable information to Lombino, but she claimed only to know that Dozier was being held somewhere in Padua.

It was now time to see Restelli. On the night of Jan. 26, Lombino climbed into a white Alfa Romeo with four Italian policemen and headed for Milan. Behind them was a second car carrying Campione and other SISMI officers. It was only part of the odd caravan that raced along the highway that night. The Italians were tailed by at least two Mercedes sedans filled with Mafia soldiers armed with machine guns. Their instructions: protect Lombino. When the improbable parade of motorists reached Milan, a CIA agent joined up as well.

The lawyer and SISMI agents then met with Restelli, who was brought out of jail especially for the conference, which took place in a police office in the Palace of Justice. "It is very important to America that we find the general," Lombino said to the Mafia leader. "Can you help us?"

The question did not exactly surprise Restelli. Lombino had already been in touch with him through intermediaries, and from his jail cell Restelli had dispatched his troops to track down leads. Restelli had also ordered the supply line of heroin to parts of the underworld cut off in order to encourage tips from addicts suddenly deprived of drugs. Restelli's presumption: in exchange for giving the authorities information on Dozier, he would receive more favorable treatment from the Italians. On Jan. 27, according to a participant at the meeting, Restelli gave the SISMI agents the address of the apartment building in which Dozier was being held.

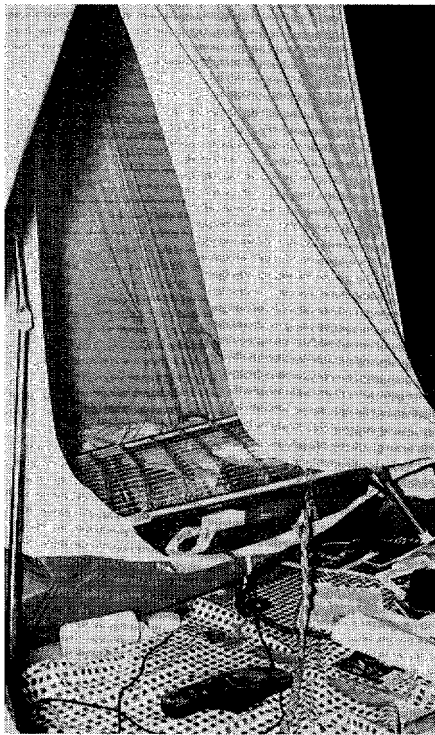
His mission accomplished, Lombino returned to Rome. Next morning, Jan. 28, he was sitting in his room at the Hotel Boston with "M" when the word came: James Dozier had just been rescued in a daring raid at 2 Via Pindemonte, in the heart of Padua. "M" turned to Lombino and thanked him profusely for his help.

Since the rescue, U.S. officials have been careful to give full credit to the Italians. Both Rome and Washington have forcefully claimed that the success of the operation was the result of dogged police work and the confessions of Red Brigades members who had been captured during the six-week search for Dozier.

When first questioned by TIME two weeks ago about CIA and Mafia involvement in the rescue, Ambassador Rabb heatedly denied it. "I swear to God that nothing like this ever happened," the ambassador said. In fact, he insisted, he had spent much of his time fending



The key link: Milan Mafioso Franchino Restelli



Pup tent in which Dozier was held captive



The key address: 2 Via Pindemonte, after the successful raid

Hearing the news, the CIA agent turned to Lombino and thanked him profusely.

kept trying to send to Italy a swarm of experts ranging from FBI agents to Pentagon tacticians. Some of the American aid was bizarre at best: during the last week of the search, TIME has learned, U.S. military officials brought to Rome a psychic who sent the carabinieri chasing after a futile lead. "They were coming through the windows, coming through the doors," recalled Rabb. "Everybody in the intelligence agencies wanted in, but this was a job for the Italians."

When presented with evidence of Mafia involvement, Rabb offered to check with the embassy's CIA station chief. The ambassador returned 40 minutes later, looking embarrassed. He confirmed that SISMI had indeed made a deal with Lombino and that, after the U.S. had offered Lombino protection and a guarantee that he could return to the U.S., the Mafia lawyer had gone to Italy and met with "M." Rabb insisted that nothing had come of Lombino's aid. "It was a big fizz," the ambassador said. The FBI and the Justice Department refuse to confirm or deny the story, while the CIA offers a terse "no comment."

It may never be known just how valuable the Mafia's help was in finding Dozier. Rabb's explanation, which minimizes the Mafia's role, may be accurate. The Italian police did indeed make a series of key arrests just before the raid, and law-enforcement officials in Rome insist that these suspects helped lead them to Dozier. In the days just before the rescue, the trail was growing so hot that the police might have found the general without help from Restelli. On the other hand, Italian magistrates acknowledged that on Jan. 26 Restelli was secretly released from prison at the request of SISMI and the CIA to meet with officials in Milan. U.S. embassy personnel in Rome confirm that Dozier's whereabouts was not known until the night before the raid, which is when the Mafia leader reportedly gave the address to the Italians.

Today General Dozier is stationed at the U.S. Army base in Fort Knox, Ky. Marcello Campione, who clashed with the head of SISMI, has been dispatched to the Italian embassy in far-off Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. Franchino Restelli has been transferred from his Milan prison to a more hospitable jail in Parma. Dominic Lombino is back in New York, reportedly waiting for the Justice Department to approve the residency papers requested by the CIA. In Italy, trouble is brewing within SISMI about the sum of money, which turned out to be \$500,000, that was promised to Lombino but that has apparently disappeared. And, oh yes, the Fat Man is still in Brooklyn, making arrangements for friends. ■

FRANCE

Crusader for the Arts

Flamboyant Minister Jack Lang draws mixed reviews

There was nothing modest about the idea, and when the 350 cultural superstars finally left Paris last week after a glittering two-day conference on Creation and Development, it was clear that there had been nothing modest about their deliberations. Lodged in luxury hotels at the expense of François Mitterrand's Socialist government, the high-powered conventioners gathered in the Sorbonne's venerable amphitheater to ponder their curious subject: cultural solutions to the world's economic crisis.

Under frescoed portraits of Diderot and Voltaire, luminaries ranging from Nobel Laureate Gabriel García Márquez to Novelists Norman Mailer and William Styron and Actress Sophia Loren debated such topics as state control of the arts and the unemployment crisis. In between they supped at the Foreign Ministry and lunched with Mitterrand. So dazzling was the cast that even the stars sometimes seemed overwhelmed. Said Film Director Francis Ford Coppola: "The people here are incredible. It's like a college—a very good college." The meeting, Italian Theater Director Giorgio Strehler concluded grandly in his summation, had provoked awareness "of the need to create a new place for research, for creation, for hope."

But while rhetoric flowed freely, the conference fell notably short on productive debate. In his closing address Mitterrand called for a New Renaissance, claiming that "the originality of the French idea lies there, at the intersection of technology and creativity." From such high-minded but vague declarations the colloquium often descended into special pleading and ideological posturing. Novelist Mary McCarthy called on the French government to permit Poland's Radio Solidarity to broadcast in France. Feminist Kate Millet deplored the "severe lack of representation of women" at the meeting (85 out of 350). U.S. cultural "imperialism," particularly in the form of the internationally popular TV show *Dallas*, was repeatedly attacked. Not a few guests floundered on the generalities and the pretension. The grandiose talkathon, hinted one American participant, mainly "reflects how many people are still willing to accept a free ticket to Paris."

Such spectaculars have become a hallmark of France's lavish new investment in the arts, and the personal signature of Mitterrand's flamboyant and popular Minister of Culture.



Lang with Actress Sophia Loren

Jack Lang, 43.* Dapper in his close-cut suits, possessed of boyish good looks and dark curls that seem to stir women, Lang has ambitious plans for the arts in Socialist France. "Our goal," he says, "is to transform all of France into a cultural work site." The transformation of the budget has been dramatic. In 1981, under President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the Ministry of Culture received \$500 million, or .47% of the national budget; this year the figure has

*Although the usual French spelling is *Jacques*, Lang's birth certificate actually says *Jack*—probably the result, he says, of Anglo-Saxon influences pervading France in 1939.



Americans in Paris: Director Arthur Penn, Novelists Styron and Mailer

Deteriorating into empty rhetoric and ideological posturing.

shot up to \$1.05 billion, .78% of the total. (In contrast, Washington allocates only \$500 million, or .06% of the federal budget, to the arts.) But Lang's campaign to rejuvenate France's cultural life has also depended on vengeful attacks on U.S. cultural "imperialism" that even many French intellectuals find embarrassing.

Whatever the merits of Lang's efforts, they have certainly been visible—and audible. Last year, for example, he decided that the French should mark the summer solstice with a national "musical festival" in which everyone would simultaneously pluck, pound, tingle and bow musical instruments as church bells rang and neighborhood salsa bands played. Right on cue, 5 million French joined in an exuberant celebration that banged on from 8:30 p.m. until well past midnight. Lang has filled the once empty courtyard of Paris' staid Louvre museum with exhibitions of new French fashions, displayed to the thump of disco rhythms. A troupe from the Comédie Française has played in the Paris subways. Still to come are an ambitious new "people's" opera house for the Place de la Bastille, a new ballet school for Marseille and a dance conservatory for Lyon. And, seemingly everywhere, there is Lang himself: listening to the raucous new-wave bands, paging through displays at the annual comic book exhibition at Angoulême, inspecting Grenoble's art museum.

Lang's evangelizing has boosted him to fourth place in popularity among the Mitterrand Cabinet's 35 ministers. That appeal, however, is due in part to his often gratuitous attacks on U.S. influences. For two years in a row, Lang has bypassed the American film festival at Deauville, a major annual event, to visit more obscure French art projects in provincial towns. In a burst of chauvinism that seemed calculated to stir Third World sympathies, Lang called, at a UNESCO conference last summer, for a crusade against U.S. cultural "imperialists" who "want to impose a

uniform way of life on the entire planet." In response, Lang prescribes government subsidies for local talent, and favors requiring that 60% of films broadcast on French television be French produced. His attacks on American films, which dominate French television and movie houses, have astonished many cultural leaders in France. They argue that American influences have stimulated French creativity. Replies Lang: "All I'm doing is recognizing that the North American film industry is large and penetrates the European market. So who's declaring war on whom?"

His polemical style comes naturally. A lawyer by training, Lang founded the experimental World Festival of The-