History of the Mafia

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http://www.historyofthemafia.net
Definition

Mafia is a group of criminal organizations, of which the most important – but not the only one – is the Sicilian Cosa Nostra, that operate within a system of relationships, carry out violent and illegal activities but also formally legal ones, aimed to acquire capitals and positions of power, that make use of a cultural code and can rely on a certain social consensus.

So the difference between mafias and organized crime groups is the social and political role of the mafias.

Historical Plan

Before 1861

1861

Mafia, Socialism, Migration (*)

1922-1943: Mafia and Fascism (*)

1943-50’s: the rebirth of the Mafia (*)

60’s: Cosa Nostra (*)

70’s: the Drug Trade (*)

Early 80’s: the Mattanza

Late 80’s-beginning of the 90’s: the Maxi-Trial

1993-2006: the White mafia

(*) – American mafia relevant

Famiglia mafiosa

Mafia families and blood families are distinct entities.

The famiglia mafiosa or COSCA is a territorial entity that derives its name from a certain geographic area (ex: Corleone, Porta Nuova, Palermo Centro, ecc.)

Within this territorial entity blood relationships exist

In Italy the famiglia derives its name from a territory, in the US from a surname.
Other Italian mafias
- Camorra
- 'Ndrangheta
- Sacra Corona Unite
(+ Cosa Nostra)

The origins of the term mafia

_I mafiusi della Vicaria_ (1863)

A successful play (in which the term mafia appears just in the title) written by Giuseppe Rizzotto set in the Palermo prison (Vicaria)

Honor

Is exclusively a male quality, women cannot be officially admitted in the mafia

Surface
Honor also means that every aspect of a Mafioso’s life is subordinated to the interests of our thing:

Mafiosi claim they never touch women, priests and children, it’s dishonorable, but they do whenever they consider it necessary:

Ex:

Brusca- Di Matteo (11-year-old)

Don Puglisi

Graziella Campagna

- **Protection/Extortion**

  Is the mafia protecting or is being protected?

- **The Origins of the Mafia**

  **Two main interpretations:**

  1) 800’s (Either in the first half, or in 60’s-70’s when the word came out)

  2) Modern History

  A continuative phenomenon that has produced through the centuries a system of power from which the mafia generated

  **An island without State:**

  Power formally has always belonged to foreign dominators:

  - Vandals
  - Arabs
  - Normans
  - French
  - **Spanish**
  - Austrians
  - Spanish

  The representative of the king (vicerè) had always to **negotiate** power with the Sicilian leading classes – landowners (or barons) - organized in the Sicilian Parliament; barons wanted to keep the land, Spain collecting taxes
Spain administrated all its territories in different ways

Already at the beginning of 1200s, at the time of Federico II, nobles, in the absence of laws, were appointing GODFATHERS to coordinate bandits and form their private polices; bandits had the impunity (until they were not considered useful anymore and betrayed)

2  Kinds of Comuni (Administrations)
   a) Feudal (the jurisdiction belongs to the noble)
   b) Demaniali (controlled by the State)

1569: reform called: biennalità of the judges

Inquisition (Another Tribunal, Controlled by Spain)

The members of this tribunal (called familiari), and their friends and relatives could:

- Not pay taxes
- bring weapons
- Avoid the Ex Abrupto procedure

(so the nobles knew when were accused, and with fake testimonies they could demonstrate their ‘innocence’); the corruption of this tribunal was justified with today would be called “reason of State”

So…:

In any case impunity to the nobles and their criminals was the rule

People never testified because they perfectly knew what side justice was on; omertà: the cultural acceptance of mafia values, the refusal to collaborate with the Authorities of the State

+ Extortions at the Palermo market are documented

since the 1500’s

In Conclusion:

1861: the mafia emerges as a national problem  BUT:
It was born long before it was given its name, through a long historical process in which the administration of justice was extremely fragmented and corrupt, guaranteeing impunity to the criminals.

- **4 Essential Aspects:**
  1) Symmetry between crime and justice (Mafiosi and criminals were often members of the police bodies at the same time)
  2) Discriminatory trait of the judicial
  3) Privatization of the public functions
  4) Criminalization of the law
The Mafia Emerges

- **1815:**

- **The patriotic revolution**

  1860: Palermo, Sicily and the South of Italy, that were under the Borbone dynasty, are liberated by Garibaldi with an army of just 1000 men (*Redshirts*)

  Jen 1st 1861. First Italian parliament in Turin. Rome is part of the Papal States

- **Nobles and peasants**

  Popular classes supported Garibaldi and joined the national unity movement because they hoped in a change that would have improved their situation and brought them a bit of land.

  Barons and *Mafiosi* supported Garibaldi because they were against the Borbone anti-feudal policy and predicted that a king in Turin would have interfered less with their power.

- **The mafia and the new nation of Italy were born together**

  Without the help of the mafia, Garibaldi would have lost
The Right (1861-1876)

Following the French model, the new Italian Reign was organized through the PREFETTI (government’s representatives).

Nothing changed for popular classes:

- New taxes
- Conscription (mandatory military service for men)

Italy was perceived by the Sicilians as another foreign dominations (functionaries from the North spoke another language too).

The situation got worst when:

The Government decided for the military solution and the martial law: troops were sent to Sicily, there were sieges of towns, mass arrests, and people were imprisoned without trial.

1866: the revolt of the 7 and ½: mafia aids police fearing a democratic revolution

Elections 1876: The Left

Depretis is elected Prime Minister, thanks also to the Sicilian Vote.

A new Prefect is sent to Palermo: Malusardi.

Mafia and Brigantaggio: all the brigands are either killed or arrested, and given either life sentences or hard labors. The mafia can now present itself as a “force of order”

Malusardi (Prefect of Palermo)

Understood that his victory was not complete and investigated on those politicians covering the picciotti (Mafiosi).

He was forced to resign and began a phase in which nobody talked about the mafia: the word itself almost disappeared in the official document of the Reign.
The Agrarian Mafia

- Agrarian mafia
  It was in the Sicilian interior that the mafia was exploiting peasants the most

- The Latifondo System
  (Described on pag. 156 of the book *Cosa Nostra* by John Dickie)

  A *gabella*leases on a short term contract (usually one year) a property called *latifondo* from a noble (this money is called *gabella*).

  Then he shares the land and sub rents each plot of land to the peasants, to be paid through agricultural products either through the system of the *Metateria* or the *Terraggio*.

  *Metateria* - It was a form of Mezzadria that in Sicily did not mean ½ as in the rest of Italy but ¼, the deal was not made directly with the landowner like in Tuscany in the other region of the North of Italy but with the middle man, who was a brutal *Mafioso*; the peasants were not living in the *podere* (farm) like in Tuscany and in the rest of Italy but in villages around

  *Terratico* or *Terraggio*

  A quota was fixed **TO BE PAID TO THE GABELLOTO**, established at the beginning of the year.

  Peasants had to loan seeds, loans, wheat from the gabelloto; at the end of the year, being the contract oral, the gabelloto was of course claiming for a bigger part of what he had anticipated

  *Donativi*: quotas paid to the *campieri* and *sovrastanti* by the peasants
The agrarian mafia:

- Landowners
- *Gabello*ti: joining the mafia enabled a gabelloto to do his job better
- *Campieri*: protecting the field from bandits
- *Sovrastanti*: supervising the reaping
- *Fontanieri*: providing watering to the fields

The parasitic revenue of the *gabelloto* derived from:

What he was obtaining by the peasants

- gabella (rent)

Peasants had always debts with the gabelloti and had just enough to survive

If they rebelled the pattern was:

- Friendly advice
- Threat
- Lupara

So they had three alternatives of life:

1) Be exploited by the mafia and reduced to slavery
2) Migrate
3) (Try to) Join the mafia and become a *campiere*

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**Fasci dei Lavoratori**

At the end of the 1880s oppressed peasants of western and central Sicily began to form new organizations called *Fasci*

The most important was in Corleone: his leader *Verro* spoke to the peasants in their own dialect with examples from the fable they knew and was therefore extremely effective in his propaganda

The *fasci* were demanding for:

- New contracts
- Cooperation and organizations for workers
- Women’s rights
Mafiosi were not admitted to the Fasci not to give the Government a pretext to suppress them, but the mafia was in many cases able to infiltrate them.

**Fasci were part of the broader Socialist Movement**

There was the *project of a revolution* by both Mafiosi and leaders of the Fasci in a national and international political climate characterized by the huge growth of socialism.

This project failed either because the Mafiosi understood that the Government would have proved stronger than the Fasci or because the leaders of the peasants were scared and skeptical about the support of the mafia; or both things at the same time.

1894: Fasci were **declared illegal**, martial law, some peasants were killed; Verro too was arrested and sentenced 12 years of prison; liberated two years later thanks to an amnesty.

- **Mafia and the Lemon/Oranges Groves**

Ran protection rackets in the lemon groves, by forcing landowners to accept their men as stewards, wardens, and brokers.

Complex network of cart drivers, laborers, and merchants which would could either guarantee safe delivery or complete loss.

Once in control the *Mafiosi* stole as much as they wanted in order to take a tax or eventually buy it themselves.
Mafia and Fascism

In the meanwhile it emerges a new political actor, FASCISM that is ANTI-SOCIALIST

In 1921-2 Fascism gains importance in the Italian society

Landowners and mafia’s options

1) SEPARATISM: asking for the independence of Sicily from Italy (Leader was Finocchiaro Aprile)

2) EXPLOITING FASCISM: in the fight against Socialism to normalize it within the political system (It was the policy carried out nationally by Sicilian politician Vittorio Emanuele Orlando and former liberal prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti)

Oct 1925: Mori is appointed prefect of Palermo

And given full powers to bring Sicily under control of State

Military solution: suspension of rights, rounds-up, sieges of town: bandits, Mafiosi are arrested and humiliated; women and children are used as hostages to force them to surrender; this create a situation of unease among the population

Mori imposed to quit paying taxes to the mafia, to denounce any act of intimidation or violence to the Authorities of the State

His strategy was based on impressing the Sicilian population and demonstrating that the State was now stronger than the mafia

What Happened?

Mediation of barons, nobles and latifondisti in return for their impunity

1926-7: Many flew to the Us

Maxi-trials and Maxi-Condemns for Mafiosi, criminals and political administrators but not the Latifondisti (Landowners) (1926-1927)

1929: Mori is appointed senator for the rest of his life; he’s upset because he is basically dismissed before he could complete his job
In conclusion:

Mori arrested not just common criminal or less important Mafiosi, but also important Mafiosi

Those who understood that fascism was going to last for a long time began to their interests THROUGH the State: those who carried on in their attitude AGAINST the State were sent to prison, interment, and to the confino; or flew to America (500 were the Mafiosi that went to the States to avoid an inconvenient political climate)

Cocco, an important fascist hierarch (politician) in Sicily, was investigated under the accuse of being Mafioso and dismissed by the Fascist party

Mori was dismissed by Mussolini in 1929

Mori hit hard the rural mafia and its weakest stratum using the logic of the regime of arresting as many people as possible to demonstrate the power of the State

He could rely on the mediation of landowners and latifondisti that therefore found a new legitimation within the Fascist regime
**WWII And the Rebirth of the Mafia**

**June 1943:**

Allies invade Italy and land in Sicily with two armies (Eisenhower and Patton)

Charles Poletti appointed chief of the AMGOT

OSS-US MAFIOSI-ITALIAN MAFIOSI: Italian *Mafiosi* are used to keep order in Sicily and for logistic information

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**The rebirth of the mafia**

Mafiosi came out of prison as *antifascists*; the mafia openly and compactly supported the Americans
The political reference of this rebirth is represented by **SEPARATISM** (49th star), whose leader is Finocchiaro Aprile; mafia and nobles openly supports this movement because they were scared of the developments in the North of Italy (Resistance: PCI-PSI); caution of the Americans

**WWII Aftermath: Italian Politics**

1945-1946: fight between the army (EVIS) of the Sicilian separatist Movement (MIS) and Italian troops sent to Sicily

1946: referendum + elections of deputies of a constituent assembly (for the first time in the Italian history women vote); Choice is between Monarchy or Republic

1946: Sicily given AUTONOMY

1947: First Sicilian Elections, victory of the PCI and PSI (**Block of the People**) versus DCI

   Counterattack of Mafiosi: **PORTELLA DELLA GINESTRA** (strategy of tension)

1948: First National elections under the Republic: a great success for DCI

   De Gasperi supported by the US government + Pio XII in excluding PSI and PCI from the government

**PORTELLA delle GINESTRE (Analysis)**

**Mr. Colby:** “direction on the US and Italian Secret Services; in case of a victory of the Left at the elections of 1948 there was a secret plan of the Pentagon to reoccupy Sicily with the military force”

**Rosario Candela:** “the aim of the massacre was to throw communists and socialists out of the legality” (*strategy of tension*)

**Ciro Verdiani:** officially the head of police in charge to arrest Giuliano, was in reality protecting his fugitiveness

**Michael Stern:** Us reporter who made Giuliano famous in the US with his articles and in reality was member of the American Secret Service

- **Sociological Aspects: Women in the mafia**

Cosa Nostra is formally mono-sexual
The mafia’s men chauvinism reflects the men chauvinism of its social context; if the latter changes, so does former (Ex: Giusy Vitale)

These patriarchal values are shared and approved by the greater part of the society

Women must not humiliate in their social environment; they effectively play a role

Women as Instigators

*There are moments when all women have left is crying, and all that men have left is killing*

Women as Teachers

of the social values and codes of the behavior of the mafia such as:

- Hate for the police
- Refusal of the State laws
- Contempt of politics and at the same time instrumental use of it

Mafia *coscas* break more frequently because of internal reasons rather than external

Women live at the boundary between the general society and the particular society of Cosa Nostra

Many women researchers have criticized the a tendency of the judges to acquit women even from heavy crimes because considered victims (and not accomplishes as they were) of a situation

*She could not say no…*

In conclusion:

Even if the mafia is extremely male oriented, the word mafia is feminine… and, as writer Lucia Fornari wrote:

“...the mafia is a female, I m sure of it;

Like a Mom, she would never want her children to grow up, and forces them to not detach from herself...”
The Sack of Palermo and the First Mafia War

The Causes of the Sack of Palermo

1) American bombs (1943)
2) The (failed) Agrarian Reform (Oct 1950)

The 1950 Agrarian Reform

- > 150 h.
- Obligation to cultivate > 20 h.
- obligation to drainage of al lands
- ERAS + Cassa per il Mezzogiorno

What happened?

Gabelloti changed their status and became owners

The landowners sold the worst lands to the State that paid them indemnities; then the State sold these lands to the peasants. The land Reform was a failure (not creating a sufficient redistribution of the land)

Many abandoned the land and moved either to the North to work in factories, or to the closest city

- The Sack of Palermo

MAFIA-POL-EC

LIMA – GIOIA – CIANCIMINO were the most important politician involved in it, they belonged to the DCI (Italian Christian democracy)

Silent complicity of the DCI in Rome, due to the fact that they needed the Sicilian Vote to keep the Left (PCI and PSI) out of power
1950s: The mafia is submerged
Informal pact with DCI: silence on the mafia

1956: **Narcotics Control Act**: up to 40 years of prison for drug traders

1957: International meeting of *Mafiosi*, Hotel Des Palmes (Palermo): the American Cosa Nostra franchises the Drug trade to the Sicilian imposing it a more hierarchical structure based on:

1) **FAMIGLIA** organized in:
   - Capofamiglia
   - Consiglieri (Counselors)
   - Capodecina (head of 10)
   - Soldiers
2) MANDAMENTO (District)

*Mandamento* is a group of 3 (or more) territorially contiguous families

The three families nominate a *capomandamento* (head of district) that is not a *capofamiglia* (head of family), to not concentrate too much power in the hands of a single person

3) COMMISSIONE or CUPOLA

The various *capomandamenti* (called within the Commissione *secretaries*) elect a capo that has to be a sort of *primus inter pares*

The structure of Cosa Nostra:

The businesses of the mafia in the 50’s:

- Concrete (the “sack of Palermo”)
- Tourism
- Trade of drugs and weapons
- Smuggling

1962-3: I Mafia War. Most important aspects:

1963: Ciaculli Bomb

Antimafia

1969: Bari Trial – all acquitted

1969: V. le Lazio

+ The creation of the Antimafia Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry
From the Drug Trade to the Maxi-Trial

1969: rise in mafia activities

Substantial acquittals of *Mafiosi* at the 1969 trials after the first mafia war (1962-3)

The *Commissione* (or *Cupola*) broke up after the outburst of the first mafia war (1962-3); it was reconstituted in 1969 with the form of a *triumvirate*:

- Badalamenti (Cinisi boss, movie *I Cento Passi*)
- Bontade (Palermo)
- Liggio (Corleone)

The 1969 Commission was different from the first one; it just represents just the most important mafia groups

The Drug Trade: The Sicilian Connection

1969: Mafiosi were released, but had lost money in legal expenses

Not all the groups were poor (for example those controlling the drug trade such as Michele Greco, Gaetano Badalamenti and Stefano Bontade), but the *Corleonesi* had to turn to kidnapping and tobacco smuggling, less lucrative businesses compare to the drugs

Filippo Calderone, mafia informant: *suddenly, they all became millionaire*

Another favor from America to the Sicilian mafia: *Nixon 1969 declares war on drugs, closure of Corsican-run refineries Marseille*

1974-1982: Drugs

Mafia control all the steps in the process: refine, import and distribution

80% of the drugs in the North-East of the Us came from Sicily

More financial autonomy of the Sicilian Cosa Nostra from the Us one Partners (cross marriages...)

The easiest way for the mafia to profit from drugs was to protect the dealers
Bankers, Masons, Tax Collectors, Mafia: the Vatican Connection

$ deriving from drugs was reinvested in both legal and illegal activities:

- SWI
- stock exchange market
- resorts
- Sindona/Calvi

THE BANKERS OF GOD AND THE MAFIA: MICHELE SINDONA AND ROBERTO CALVI

Michele Sindona

You can listen to an intimidatory phone call from a Mafioso on YouTube:

http://it.youtube.com/watch?v=ZRdWHymnT50

Sindona was a banker; in his career he bought many banks (Banca Privata Finanziaria, Franklin National Bank).

In 1976: Arrested for fraud and bankruptcy, and condemned for the homicide of loss adjustor Giorgio Ambrosoli). During the investigations, it emerged the membership to P2, the links with the Vatican, the Masons, and the mafia.

Italian newspapers talk of a “list of the 500”.

Michele Sindona revealed the American journalist Nick Tosches that the other banks used by the mafia to recycle money were:

“In Sicily sometimes the Bank of Sicily. In Milan a small bank in Piazza Mercanti”.

He died in prison with the correct coffee of 1986... (archived as a “suicide”, despite Sindona said they have poisoned me before he died.) OFFICIAL VERSION: A suicide by simulating a homicide.

Roberto Calvi

Cosa Nostra after Sindona’s death entrusted its $ to Calvi, president of the Banco Ambrosiano

Pecunia non olet

Calvi became associated with the IOR, the Bank of the Vatican

The Vatican financed with these money Solidarnosc. After the fall of Communism in Poland communist regimes fell in all the other eastern countries. Cosa Nostra killed Calvi, he was considered guilty of having lost the control of the money deriving from the drug trade given to him by Cosa Nostra
1st Stage: Placement Stage

Usually a bank or a financial institution, it is the most dangerous because it is the only one in which there is face-to-face contact.

2nd Stage: Laundering stage

A) **Buy stocks**, then: if the value goes up, they make more money; if it doesn’t, they sell.

B) **Buy properties**, borrowing the money from an offshore company (offshore company = OUT OF THE COUNTRY); then they SLOWLY pay off the mortgage.

C) **Buy pieces of art**, then they re-sell it charging a higher price, making more money and FROM A CLEAN SOURCE.
3rd Stage: Integration Stage

The **CLEAN MONEY** is now integrated into the economy...

**II Mafia War (a coup d’état within Cosa Nostra by the Corleonesi)**

Corleonesi had developed through the 70’s:

- Military power (Initiating soldiers without informing the Commissione)
- Alliances **within** the mafia (Infiltrating other families)

The important bosses from Palermo (Bontade, Badalamenti, and Inzerillo) developed:

- $ (drugs)
- Alliances **outside** the mafia (Italian politicians, Us American mafia families)

The attack of the **Corleonesi** took place in 1981, an extermination campaign then followed

Next to this, mafia began to kill personalities of the Institutions in a delirium of omnipotence

The eminent corpses were:

- Terranova (judge, 1979)
- Michele Reina (Palermo secretary of DCI 1979)
- Boris Giuliano (head of *Carabinieri* police body 1979)
- Costa (prosecutor, 1980)
- Mattarella (President of the region of Sicily, 1980)
- Pio Lo Torre (communist MP, April 1982)
- Dalla Chiesa (Prefect of Palermo, Sept. 1982)
- Rocco Chinnici (Palermo Chief Prosecutor, 1983)
The 416bis article of the Penal Code: The “mafia-type association crime” (1982)

Equivalent of RICO (Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organizations) measures in US.

1) This law allowed the state to confiscate a Mafioso’s ill-gotten gains.

2) For the first time it was possible to arrest whoever was demonstrated to be a member of Cosa Nostra (Pio La Torre’s proposal became law)

1983

Palermo Chief Prosecutor Rocco Chinnici killed by the Corleonesi

Caponnetto, an elderly magistrate from Sicily living in Florence, applied for Chinnici’s place. After being appointed, he founded the:

ANTIMAFIA POOL

Its members were:

- GIOVANNI FALCONE
- PAOLO BORELLINO
- LEONARDO GUARNOTTA
- GIUSEPPE DI LELLO

The system used was:

Working on the same cases + sharing information

But the most important reason of their success was...

...a new weapon: PENTITI

1984: the antimafia pool was able to announce its first important pentito: TOMMASO BUSCETTA
To sum up:

1974-beginning 80's: *Pizza Connection*

1981: Bontade, Inzerillo killed

1981-83: *Mattanza: Corleonesi* take power within Cosa Nostra

1979-1983: excellent cadavers (most important: La Torre (416 bis law), Dalla Chiesa, Chinnici are murdered)

1983: Antimafia Pool (*Caponnetto* + other prosecutors: Falcone, Borsellino, Guarnotta, Di Lello)

1986-1992: Maxi-Trial (1987, 91’ – Meli head the pool, pool is dismantled; Falcone given 2 offices created for him in Rome: DIA, DNA, 92’)

1992: Falcone – Borsellino assassinated – 41 bis law, Witness Protection Program passed, troops sent to Sicily

1993: Riina arrested

1993: Bombs in Rome, Florence, Milan (mafia’s subversive t strategy) + Churches in Rome
Contemporary Developments: The Mafia in Berlusconi’s Italy

Today the mafia is “white”: it’s not loud, it doesn’t kill as much as in the 80’s, and there is not much talking on the mafia in the media.

1993: When Riina was arrested nobody checked is house: usually the police search even the house of a common dealer…: Colonel Mori of the Carabinieri is under investigation for this reason; when accused, he has been immediately protected by the Right

1995: The Andreotti trial begins

1996: Dell’Utri under investigation

2001: Corrado Carnevale condemned in Palermo, verdict reversed in 2002 by the Supreme Court of Justice Corte di Cassazione

2003. President of Sicily Salvatore Cuffaro under investigation for external adherence to the mafia

2004: Dell’Utri condemned to 9 years of prison for mafia association, he is appealing

- The first enterprise in Italy

The most important development in the 90’s is the more than 1000 informants who spoke out against Cosa Nostra; with just 3 informants in the 80’s it was able for the antimafia pool to set the Maxi-Trial; more than 1000 were not only not enough to achieve any real prosecution against the politicians covering the criminals, but did not prevent from establishing itself as the first enterprise in Italy

- The most intelligent homicide: the murder of the judicial system

During the so called Second Republic (1994-today), thanks to the help of the political parties, the mafia from the risk of disappearing has become the first enterprise in Italy

During this years, many laws have passed that ended to help both organized crime and the politicians (under accuse for similar crimes)

Today a mafia informant has got just 150 days to release his testimony

This discourage mafia-informants: such a short period of time is often not enough to tell a whole life in the mafia; plus, Mafiosi, when realizing their testimonies, they are careful to study all the details to not put their relatives and friends at risk
The 41bis law (isolation and harsh conditions of life in prison for Mafiosi to keep them isolated from the organization) is not as effective as it used to be in the 90’s; the control has been progressively loosened since the mafia quit to be considered an emergency (especially after September 11th): According to a report by the DIA released in 2004, Riina, in prison since the beginning of 1993, is still the boss of Cosa Nostra

Lunardi, Minister of Public Works, Tg5 News, August 22nd 2001

“Mafia and Camorra have always existed, unfortunately there are and we have to live together with this realities; everybody will solve these problems as better believes...”

Some days later, interviewed by Journalist Enzo Biagi:

“...We have got to live with the mafia as well as with other realities, for example 7000 victims of car accidents per year...”

Taormina is a member of the Government; he doesn’t feel the non-compability with the office of member of the Parliament and to quit with his activity of layer by members of his same coalition.

July 26th 2001 is defending in Bari Francesco Prudentino, one of the bosses of the Sacra Corona Unita

Feb 2002

A document released after a debate at the Senate by the Center-right coalition states that some magistrates use their office to further anti-liberal purposes. It also states that the Magistrature is not an independent estate but just an order, as for example the pharmacists...

It’s weird that the anti-liberal purposes are represented by corruption crimes...

Dec. 5th 2001: The Conference in Bonn on the future of Afghanistan establishes that:

The judicial power in Afghanistan will be independent... (Le Monde, Dec 6th 2001)

Interview to Berlusconi, reported by the magazine Panorama, Nov 8th 2001:

“...In the last ten years there has been in Italy a civil war...; foreign journalists do not want to admit that an entire political system, the Christian Democrat and Occidental based one, has been swept away by a part of the magistrature; the Judicial system has been used for political purposes...”
Berlusconi’s statement at a press conference in Granada (Spain), Nov 13th 2001:

“...In Italy there has been a civil war fought by the magistrature...”

(If there has been a civil war during the 90’s in Italy is the one brought on by mafia-type organizations with more than 2000 people dead data from the Annual reports of the Minister of the Interior)

Berlusconi, public speech, January 24th 2004, attack on the magistrature:

“...The magistrature is infiltrated by Communist judges...”


“The mafia does not exist; it is just an invention of the communists”

Totò Riina, quoted in “La Repubblica”, May 26th 1994:

“...it’s the Communists that bring about these arguments; the Government has to be careful of these communist attacks...”

Oct. 15th-19th 1999: European Council meeting in Tampere (GB)

Decision on the reciprocal recognition of the judicial authorities of the countries members of the European Union

Dec 4th, 2001:
Meeting in Bruxelles between the delegations of all the States members of the EU

To decide on what crimes to apply the European warrant for arrest:

All the States agree on a list of 32 typologies of crimes; the Italian delegation proposes to limit the list to just 6 typologies, excluding corruption, fraud and money recycling...

At the end the Italian delegation has to sign the agreement
Bruxelles, Feb 28th 2002

The Ministers of Interiors and Justice of the countries members of the EU decide on faster and common procedures to confiscate goods originated by terrorism and organized crime.

The decision is taken after the only opposition of the Italian Minister of Justice Castelli

Fake Balance

Reform of Jen 2002: according to this reform the prescription for a forged balance crime is anticipated from 15 to 7,5 years for companies that are quoted in the stock exchange market; for all the others the prescription is reduced to 4 years. With this reform all the accuses to Berlusconi for fake balances would fall

The Rogatorie Law (Sept 2001)

Modifies the penal code in order to establish difficult procedures so that the proof coming from a different State can be used in Italy. Further, the law is retroactive: all the proofs coming from abroad already existing cannot be used in a penal trial.

http://www.esmartstart.com/_framed/50g/berlusconi/econ_en5.htm (Economist)

Berlusconi is under trial in Milan, accused of having corrupted magistrates. In this trial the most important part of the accusation comes from foreign bank documents.

The effects of this reform are favorable for all the criminal organizations.

The amnesty for the money... Law n. 383, Oct 18th 2001

This law authorizes capitals illegally exported abroad to come back to Italy in an anonymous form just paying 2,5% of the amount of money that is coming back to Italy.

Effects... For each million Euro coming back, it’s enough to pay 2,5% of the returning money to remain anonymous

This law gives criminal organization the opportunity to re-import money in Italy, reinvest them in legal activities, paying a minimum amount of money
Sept 2001: No escort for the magistrates

The escort for the magistrates is either reduced, or (in most of the cases) abolished because is considered a “status symbol”.

Among those whose escort is reduced there is Giancarlo Caselli: he can now rely on just a driver and one security man. Sometimes both have been recalled to do other functions and Palermo’s Chief Prosecutor Caselli has remained completely isolated.

March 19th 2001: the Biagi assassination by the New Red Brigades

BR killed Biagi, a professor from the Bologna University working for the Government to a reform of the labor market. Biagi was left without escort by the previous decision of the government.

After this homicide, some magistrates obtain their escort back, but not the Head of the Palermo’s Prosecutors Gian Carlo Caselli...

The Libera and Libera Terra Organizations

Libera was founded in 1995 to promote education to legality, particularly in the schools. Has promoted a law, approved, on the social utilization of the goods confiscated to the mafia.

Libera Terra is a project by Libera to create social cooperatives to produce high-quality agricultural products on 200 hectares of land confiscated to the mafia

Jen 31st 2002

The Government (through the ministry of Instruction) with a short letter denies the possibility to carry on the activity of courses on legality in the schools; the reason is because

“The reasons of the activities promoted by Libera are not clear”

The Courses that the Ministry finances are:

- 8 courses on skiing
- 2 on golf
- 4 on sailing
- 1 on ancient dance from the 15-16 centuries
- 1 on gym for older people

... but not Libera...
Program of the Minister of the Interior on the priorities of the Ministry (released Feb. 15th 2002). Priorities of the Government:

- Thefts in houses
- Prostitution
- Bag snatchings
- Illegal migration
- ...
- ...
- ...mafia...

Oct 26th 2001: public statement of the Diego Cammarata, major of Palermo

“...the major has not to fight the mafia: this task belongs to other authorities...”

March 21st 2001 Verdict of the Palermo court: to make business with Cosa Nostra is not a crime

Many pentiti accuse two brothers, both entrepreneurs, of being associated to the mafia

As proofs there also two tickets signed by Provenzano: in the first one Provenzano asks Ilardo, boss of Caltanissetta, to arrange things so that important public works will be carried out by the Cavallotti brothers. In the second Provenzano thanks...

The verdict states:

“...the Cavallotti brothers were adjusting public contracts through the control system organized by Cosa Nostra...”

But this is not considered a proof that they adhere to or make business with Cosa Nostra

2006: Provenzano arrested

Provenzano was arrested April 11° 2006 after 43 years of fugitiveness during which he always lived around Corleone; in the shack where he was arrested, the police found the pizzini that he was using to control the organization: for the first time we have written sources produced by the mafia

Mafia and Politics: the mafia today is stronger than ever

Today the links between mafia and politics are stronger than ever; in the 15 years the mafia has demonstrated its real face, that is its political power; real Mafiosi are not able to load a gun: they are politicians, administrators, lawyers, bankers, white collars, accountants, and managers
(already in the 60’s the Antimafia Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry had recorded this prevalent profiles among Mafiosi)

**Links with all the Political Parties**

Many informants accuse Berlusconi to have laundered the money of Cosa Nostra and to be linked with the mafia through Senator Marcello Dell’Utri, condemned to 9 years of prison for mafia

**Mafia and the Centre-Left Coalition**

Walter Veltroni began his 2008 electoral campaign in Palermo; he invited a member of the Anti-racket organization *Addio Pizzo* to speak; a few days later his coalition did candidate in Sicily a politician who had been under trial for mafia and who had been intercepted on the phone giving order to a Mafioso;

When in power (2006-2008), the *Centre-left coalition* had as *Minister of Justice Clemente Mastella*, who had been the *witness at the marriage of a Mafioso*