

This is the edited version of a pamphlet written by

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BERLUSCONI'S LIFE: CRONOLOGY

1936. Born in Milan on September 29, the eldest of the three children (two boys and a girl) of Luigi Berlusconi, employee of the Banca Rasini, and Rosa Bossi, housewife.

1954. Graduates from the Salesian classical secondary school *Copernico* and enrolls in the Law School of the State University of Milan. In his spare time, he works as a door-to-door electric brush salesman and as a wedding and funeral photographer, plays the contrabass and sings (even on cruise ships) in the band of his childhood friend, Fedele Confalonieri.

1957. First steady job in with the building firm, *Immobiliare costruzioni*.

1961. Graduates law school in Milan with the maximum score of 110 *cum laude*, writing a thesis on the legal aspects of advertising contracts. He wins a two-million-lire scholarship offered by the *Manzoni* firm. He does not serve in the military for reasons unknown. He goes into real estate, purchasing a piece of land in Via Alciati thanks of the guarantees given him by banker Carlo Rasini, who obtains a partner for him, the builder Pietro Canali. The firm *Cantieri Riuniti Milanesi* is founded.

1963. Founds *Edilnord Sas* in limited partnership with Carlo Rasini and Swiss accountant Carlo Rezzonico (of the mysterious Lugano investing firm, *Finanzierungsgesellschaft für Residenzen Ag*). In 1964 he opens a construction site in Brugherio to build a model-city for 4000 people. The first condominium building is finished in 1965, but he does not manage to sell one apartment. Then - no one knows how - he manages to sell one to the *Fondo di previdenza dei dirigenti commerciali* [Business Managers' Social Insurance Fund].

1965. Marries Carla Elvira Dall'Oglio, Genoese, with whom he has two children -- Maria Elvira (1966) and Piersilvio (1969).

1968. Edilnord 2 is founded with a purchase of land from the city of Segrate, where *Milano 2* will rise.

1969. Brugherio is completed with 1000 apartments sold.

1973. Finds *Italcantieri Srl* with the help of two mysterious Ticino investment firms -- *Cofigen* (linked with financier Tito Tettamanti) and *Eti AG Holding* (managed by financier Ercole Doninelli).

He purchases the Villa Casati Stampa with all its adjacent land at Arcore, thanks to the good offices of his friend Cesare Previti. In fact, Previti, besides being his friend and business associate, was at the same time the court-appointed guardian of the only Casati Stampa family heiress, the twelve-year-old countess Annamaria

1974. The real estate firm *Immobiliare San Martino* is founded with the help of two BNL Bank trust firms, *Servizio Italia* and *Saf* under the management of Marcello Dell'Utri, an ex-university friend from Palermo. *Telemilano 58*, a cable television station, is set up in a *Milano 2* building. Shortly after, it is broadcast on the air as *Canale 5*. Berlusconi and his family move into Villa Casati, where he is joined by Mafia *capo* Vittorio Mangano, hired by Dell'Utri in Sicily as "overseer" - i.e. house and estate manager. Mangano is to leave Arcore only a year and a half later in the wake of two arrests and an investigation of him for the kidnapping of a guest at the villa who was a friend of Berlusconi's.

1975. The firms *Servizio Italia* and *Saf* create *Fininvest*. *Edilnord* and *Milano 2* are founded. However, Berlusconi's name never appears. It is buried and screened off in a maze of front-people and stand-ins from 1968, when he becomes president of *Italcantieri*, to 1979, when he becomes president of *Fininvest*.

1977. Right after he is given the title, "Knight of Labor," he purchases a share in the publisher of the newspaper, *Il Giornale*, founded in 1974 by Indro Montanelli.

1978-1983. Receives the equivalent of about 500 billion lire at today's values, about 15 billion of it in cash, to fund the 24 (then the 37) Italian holding companies that make up *Fininvest*. The funding sources are still unknown. These are the years of the rise to power and then to government of Bettino Craxi, secretary of the *PSI* [Socialist Party].

1978. He joins Propaganda 2 (P2), a secretive runaway Masonic lodge presided over by "Venerable Master" Licio Gelli, whom he was introduced to by journalist Roberto Gervaso. He holds membership card number 1816. From this time on he begins to be granted credit beyond normal limits by the *Monte dei Paschi* and the *BNL* (two banks whose key people were associated with P2). He begins to contribute his comments on economic policy to the *Corriere della Sera*, a newspaper controlled by the P2 through Angelo Rizzoli and Bruno Tassan Din. The P2 is dissolved as a "subversive" group by an executive order of the Spadolini government.

1980. Berlusconi founds *Publitalia 80* with Marcello dell'Utri, an advertising clearinghouse for TV stations. He meets the actress Veronica Lario (the stage name of Miriam Bartolini), who was acting in burlesque show at Milan's Teatro Manzoni. He falls in love and hides her for three years in a secret wing of the *Fininvest* headquarters in Via Rovani in Milan. When she becomes pregnant in 1984, she gives birth in utmost secrecy to a girl, Barbara, in Switzerland. Berlusconi recognizes his daughter legally. Bettino Craxi becomes the godfather at her baptism.

1981. The Milan public prosecutors Gherardo Colombo and Giuliano Turone discover the lists of P2 lodge members while they are investigating the dealings of Michele Sindona, the bankrupt Mafia and P2 member. However, Berlusconi does not suffer from the fallout of the scandal that sweeps through the government, the army, the secret services, and the world of journalism.

1982. Berlusconi purchases the television station *Italia 1* from the publisher, *Edilio Rusconi*.

1984. Berlusconi purchases the television station *Rete 4* from the publisher, *Mondadori*. By now he is the owner of three national television networks and can compete with RAI [the public network] directly. However, three judges - from Turin, Pescara, and Rome - confiscate the equipment that enables the programs to be broadcast in "inter-connection" - that is, simultaneously nationwide. Craxi issues an urgent executive order (the first "Berlusconi decree") to legalize the illegal situation, but the order never becomes law because it is held unconstitutional. Craxi issues another executive order (the second "Berlusconi decree") and threatens the parties in his alliance to call for early elections if the order is rejected. In February, 1985, the order become law after the Craxi government bound it to a vote of no confidence.

1985. Berlusconi divorces Carla Dell'Oglio and makes his union with Veronica official. They have two other children -- Eleonora (1986) and Luigi (1988). His second marriage is presided over in a civil ceremony by Paolo Pillitteri, the Socialist mayor of Milan and brother-in-law of Craxi. The wedding witnesses are Bettino and Anna Craxi, Confalonieri and Gianni Letta.

1986. Berlusconi purchases the football club *Milan Calcio* and becomes its president. (In 1988 *Milan* wins its first championship.). Meanwhile, his French television station *La Cinq* falls through. It is to close for good in 1990. Jacques Chirac is to be the person who chases him out of France, calling him a "broth salesman."

1988. The De Mita government issues the "Mammì law" concerning the radio and television system. The law, in effect, endorses the dual-monopoly of the *RAI-Fininvest* networks and fails to impose any genuine antitrust ceiling on Berlusconi. The law is passed in 1990. He purchases *Standa*, a supermarket chain.

1989-1991. Long battle between Berlusconi and De Benedetti over the control of *Mondadori*, the first publisher to control newspapers (*La Repubblica* and 13 local newspapers), weeklies (*Panorama*, *Espresso*, and *Epoca*) and virtually the entire book trade. A sentence issued by Judge Vittorio Metta allows Berlusconi to wrest control of *Mondadori* from his rival. A court in Milan will later hold that this sentence was bought through bribes given by the attorney, Previti, on Berlusconi's behalf. Subsequent political negotiations lead to the return, at least, of *La Repubblica*, *Espresso* and the local newspapers to De Benedetti. All the rest is to remain with Berlusconi.

1990. Parliament passes the controversial "Mammì law." Accordingly, Berlusconi is allowed to keep his television networks and *Mondadori*. (In the meantime, he enters the pay-TV business with the station *Telepiù*.) He just had to "divest" himself of the newspaper *Il Giornale*, which he hands over to his brother Paolo in 1990.

1994. Berlusconi is left orphaned by political parties friendly to him, which are swept away in the

Tangentopoli ["Bribe-opolis"] scandals. He enters politics in person, founds the *Forza Italia* ["Let's Go, Italy"] party, wins the March 27 political elections at the head of the *Polo della Libertà* ["Freedom Alliance"], and becomes Prime Minister. On November 21 he is implicated in an investigation about bribes given to the members of the *Guardia di Finanza* [the treasury police]. On December 22 he is forced to resign on a vote of no-confidence introduced by the *Lega Nord* party [the "Northern League"], which no longer support his social policies and press for a resolution of his conflict-of-interest problems.

1996. Berlusconi is investigated for Mafia associations, illegal accounting practices, fiscal fraud, and - above all - for bribing judges along with Prevetti. At the same time, he runs again in the political elections but loses. Romano Prodi, the candidate of the center-left *Ulivo* ["Olive-Tree Alliance"], wins. Berlusconi spends 5 years in the opposition, but is involved in a series of judicial investigations and trials, which end in several guilty verdicts in the first trials. However, the verdicts are suspended and - rarely -- reversed in appeals courts and in the *Cassazione* court [the supreme court of appeals].

2001. On May 15 he wins the elections at the head of the *Casa delle Libertà* ["Freedom House"] party alliance and is re-installed as Prime Minister.

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BERLUSCONI AND HIS MYSTERIES

The life and career of the entrepreneur Silvio Berlusconi remains studded with black holes and unanswered questions in spite of the authorized biographies that he has had published or promoted for auto-hagiographic ends over the years. This is a little review of the most disquieting omissions.

1) *Edilnord Sas* is the company Silvio Berlusconi founded 1963 to build *Milano 2*. The limited partners on the operational level are, besides the future Knight of Labor, the accountant Edoardo Piccitto and the builders Pietro Canali, Enrico Botta and Giovanni Botta. The limited partners who financed the operation are banker Carlo Rasini, owner of the bank of the same name on the Via dei Mercanti in Milan, and business attorney Renzo Rezzonico, legal representative of a Lugano investment firm, *Finanzierungsgesellschaft für Residenzen Ag*, whose real owners are to remain unknown forever. However, these must have been very optimistic people to have entrusted enormous capital to Berlusconi, a young 27-year-old man who, up until that time, had not yet given off any proof of management skills worthy of note.

2) The *Banca Rasini* was the place where Silvio's father Luigi Berlusconi worked all his life on his way up from simple clerk to director general. Here is the answer that

Michele Sindona (bankrupted P2 member linked with *Cosa Nostra* and the laundering of Mafia money) gave to American reporter Nick Tosches when he was asked which banks were used by the Mafia: "In Sicily sometimes the *Banco di Sicilia*. In Milan a little bank in Piazza Mercanti" -- that is, the Banca Rasini, where Luigi Berlusconi became the general director. Well-known Mafia figures and Sicilian drug dealers held bank accounts at the *Banca Rasini*, including Antonio Virgilio, Salvatore Enea, and Luigi Monti, who is linked with Vittorio Mangano, the Mafia figure who worked as overseer in Berlusconi's villa between 1973 and 1975.

3) On October 29, 1968, the real estate firm *Edilnord Centri Residenziali Sas* (a kind of *Edilnord 2*) was founded. This time, instead of Berlusconi, his 31-year-old cousin Lidia Borsani appears as limited partner. The capital is supplied by another mysterious Lugano investment firm, the *Aktiengesellschaft für Immobilienanlagen in Residenzentren Ag* (*Aktien*), which itself was founded just 10 days before the founding of *Edilnord 2*. From this moment on, Berlusconi vanishes into nothingness, covered by a thicket of abbreviations and front-people. He is to re-emerge only in 1975 to preside over *Italcantieri* and in 1979 as president of *Fininvest*. In the meantime, dozens of companies are founded in the name of relatives and figureheads and controlled by companies whose real owners are unknown. As Giuseppe Fiori reconstructs it in his book *Il venditore* [The salesman] (Milan: Garzanti, 1994), *Italcantieri* was founded in 1973, made up of two Ticino investment firms. The first is *Cofigen Sa* of Lugano (linked to financier Tito Tettamanzi, close to masonry and the *Opus Dei*). The second is *Eti A.G.Holding* of Chiasso (managed by Ercole Doninelli, a financier from the extreme right and owner of the firm *Fi.Mo*, which was repeatedly investigated for money laundering, even with Colombian drug dealers.

4) In 1974 the real estate firm *Immobiliare San Martino* is founded and managed by Marcello Dell'Utri. The capital comes from two investment firms associated with the BNL Bank: *Servizio Italia* (managed by P2 member Gianfranco Graziadei) and *Saf* (*Società Azionaria Finanziaria*, represented by Frederick Pollack, a Czech front-man born no later than 1887). Under various names and with various systems and various front-people, a myriad of companies are propagated linked to Berlusconi and those close to him, beginning with the 34 *Holding Italiana* firms that control the *Fininvest* group. *Banca d'Italia* manager Francesco Giuffrida and Treasury Police Official Giuseppe Ciuro were technical consultants for the Palermo Prosecutors' Office at the trial of Marcello Dell'Utri for acting as an outside accessory to Mafia activity. They state that the firms received at least 113 billion lire between 1978 and 1985 (the equivalent of today's 502 billion lire or \approx 250 million), part of which came in cash and in "masked" checks, which are still "are of unknown origin." Palermo prosecutors maintain that this is Mafia capital "invested" in the firms by cells linked with Mafia big, Stefano Bontate. Defense lawyers counter that this money was from self-financing although they do not explain where all that liquidity came from. Berlusconi's own technical consultant, Professor Paolo Jovenitti, admits the "irregularity" and incomprehensibility of several operations of those years.

5) In 1973 Silvio Berlusconi purchased the eighteenth-century Villa San Martino in Arcore along with its master artists' paintings, a one-million -square-meter park, tennis courts, horse runs, stables, two pools, and hundreds of acres of land. The former owner was Annamaria Casati Stampa di Soncino, the minor-aged heiress of the noted Lombard noble family who was left an orphan in 1970. The girl was being

guided by a court-appointed guardian, the lawyer Cesare Previti. Previti was a friend of Berlusconi, the son of one of his front-men company heads (his father Umberto), and a manager of a company in Berlusconi's group (*Immobiliare Idra*). Thanks to this lucky coincidence, the fabulous villa and everything connected with it was bought for about 500 million lire - a ridiculous price. What is more, it was paid not in cold cash but in shares in several real estate companies that were not listed in the stock market. The result was that when the girl moved to Brazil and tried to cash in the shares, she found herself with a barrel full of paper. At that point Previti and Berlusconi offered to back the shares, but at half the price that was initially stipulated. A verdict of the Tribunal of Rome in 2000 acquitted the authors of the book *Gli affari del presidente* [The dealings of the president] who had recounted this embarrassing transaction.

6) In 1973 Berlusconi hired Vittorio Mangano on the recommendation of Marcello Dell'Utri as overseer (or, "administrator of the villa," as Dell'Utri recently put it). Mangano was a known Palermo criminal with a long record of arrests and convictions. Just two years later he was to leave the villa when he was suspected of having set up the kidnapping of Luigi d'Angerio principe di Sant'Agata. D'Angerio was kidnapped immediately after had had eaten dinner with Berlusconi, Dell'Utri, and Mangano himself and had left the villa at Arcore. Mangano was even to be convicted for drug trafficking (at a mass trial prosecuted by Falcone and Borsellino) and sentenced to life in prison for murder and Mafia activities.

7) On January 26, 1978, Silvio Berlusconi joined the lodge Propaganda 2 (P2), having been introduced to the "great master" Venerable Licio Gelli by journalist friend Roberto Gervaso. He paid his membership fee of 100,000 lire and was registered with membership card 1816 (*codice E.19.78, gruppo 17, fascicolo 0625*). His membership began to yield all kinds of advantages: financing from Graziadei's *Servizio Italia*, easy and unjustified credit from the *Monte dei Paschi di Siena* bank (managed by P2 member Giovanni Cresti), an occasional column in the *Corriere della Sera*. This newspaper was edited by P2 member Franco Di Bella and controlled by the Rizzoli publishers, who included P2 members Angelo Rizzoli, Bruno Tassan Din and Umberto Ortolani.

8) On October 24, 1979, Silvio Berlusconi received three Treasury Police officers at *Edilnord Cantieri Residenziali* headquarters. He presented himself as "as simple external consultant" for "the planning of *Milano 2*". In reality, he was the single owner of the company, which was listed under the name of Umberto Previti. However, the Treasury officers fall for the line and end the inspection very quickly even though they had come across more than one irregularity in the relations with the mysterious Swiss partners. All three officers were to make careers for themselves. They are named Massimo Maria Berruti, Salvatore Gallo and Alberto Corrado. Berruti, the leader of the patrol, was to leave the Treasury Police a few months later in order to go to work for *Fininvest* as a commercial lawyer (for foreign affairs, contacts with Milan football players, and so on). He was arrested in 1985 in the *Icomec* scandal and then acquitted. He was to return to prison in 1994 together with Corrado for attempting to obstruct an investigation into bribery in the Treasury Police. He was later to be elected as a representative in Parliament with the *Forza Italia* party. He was convicted in a first trial and on appeal to 8 months in prison for abating illegal activity. Gallo turned out to be a P2 member.

9) On May 30, 1983, the Milan Treasury Police, who were tapping Berlusconi's telephones in connection with an investigation on drug trafficking, drafted an investigative report that states: "It has been pointed out that the well-known Silvio Berlusconi may be financing intense narcotics traffic from Sicily into France and other Italian regions (Lombardy and Lazio). He may be at the center of great speculative activity on the *Costa Smeralda* [Sardinian coast], using friendly firms headquartered in Vaduz and elsewhere abroad. Operationally, the firms in question can be said to have given a broad mandate to the professional people in the area." For eight years the investigation languished, practically forgotten. At first, it was conducted by prosecutor Giorgio Della Lucia . It then passed into the hands of the public investigative office [*Ufficio istruzione*], which was for years charged with bribery in judicial affairs along with financier Filippo Alberto Rapisarda, former employer and partner of Marcello Dell'Utri. Finally, Milan Judge Anna Cappelli was to close the investigation in 1991.

10) The third close encounter of the troublesome kind between Berlusconi and the law dates back to October 16, 1984, when three judges - from Turin, Rome, and Pescara - had the nerve to enforce the rules that regulated television broadcasting. Berlusconi had decided to bend the rules when he broadcast the same programs simultaneously nationwide. The three judges pointed out that this was prohibited, that it could not be done. They blocked off the equipment used to broadcast illegally. Berlusconi blocked out his television networks and blamed it on the judges. He then whipped up a TV-addicted population with the slogan *Vietato vietare* [Forbidden to forbid], launched opportunely from the show of ex-P2 member Maurizio Costanzo. The slogan was immediately changed into a law by his accommodating prime minister and best man, Bettino Craxi. Craxi abandoned a state visit to London to race back to Italy to issue an executive order *ad personam* (the "Berlusconi decree"). This was to re-start his friend's illegal broadcasts. There was such a huge scandal that even some people in the *Pentapartito* [the five-party coalition] did not want to stand for it. The executive order was thought to be unconstitutional and was voted down in Parliament. Then, two of the three judges re-ordered the criminal confiscation of all equipment used for broadcasts that were not local. In consequence, Craxi hatched a second Berlusconi decree, flaunting the bogeyman of a governmental crisis and early elections before his rebellious allies. It was the CAF itself [the Craxi-Andreotti-Forlani alliance] that was to legalize the illegal *Fininvest* monopoly over commercial television through the Mammì Law, nicknamed the "Polaroid-Law" for the clear focus of its snapshot of the status quo.

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ALL THE TRIALS OF BERLUSCONI

Lies about the P2 lodge (*perjury*)

In 1990 the Venice Court of Appeals found Berlusconi guilty of giving false testimony under oath before the Tribunal of Verona in relation to his membership in the P2. However, the crime was pardoned by the amnesty of 1989. Questioned under oath, Berlusconi stated "I do not remember the exact date of my joining the P2.

However, I remember that it was a little bit before the scandal I have never paid a membership fee and this was never asked of me." However, Berlusconi was a P2 member in 1978. (The scandal broke out in 1981.) He had paid his membership fee. The Venice Court of Appeals wrote: "The Judicial Panel holds that the defendant's declarations do not reflect the truth They are in conflict with the findings of the Anselmi commission and the defendant's own testimony heard before a judge in Milan and never disputed Therefore it follows that Berlusconi has declared a falsehood." He has given "false testimony." He has "fully conformed to the objective and subjective characteristics of the crime of perjury." However, "the crime is nullified by virtue of amnesty."

Bribes to the *Guardia di Finanza* [Treasury Police] (bribery)

First trial: convicted and sentenced to 2 years and 9 months in prison for all four alleged bribes (no general mitigating circumstances).

Appeal: dismissal of three counts of bribery (due to general mitigating circumstances) and acquittal on the fourth count for insufficient evidence (See *comma II art.530 c.p.p.*). The decision reads "A guilty verdict for the defendant is based on many aspects of the evidence. They are certain, univocal, precise, and concurring and, for this reason, imbued with the relevant force of proof, so that they assume value as proof."

Supreme Court of Appeals [Cassazione]: acquittal. The motivation contains two references to the classical insufficiency of evidence. The *Supreme Court of Appeals* is not permitted to enter directly into the merits of a case or reverse a previous verdict for insufficient evidence. It must come to a clear-cut verdict - to uphold or strike down. Nevertheless, the judges of the VI Penal Section explicitly quote *articolo 530 cpv* [an article in the law code], where *cpv* means *capoverso* [a paragraph]. They cite *comma 2* [a section of the code] that reads "contradictory or insufficient evidence." Twelve lines from the end of their decision the supreme-court judges wanted to express themselves more clearly in order to avoid ambiguity. They wrote: "Bearing in mind the previously observed insufficiency of proof of the material used in evidence by the Court of Appeals in relation to Berlusconi ..."

All Iberian 1 (illegal funding of political parties)

First trial: convicted and sentenced to 2 year and 4 months for the 21 billion lire handed over abroad to Bettino Craxi through the foreign All Iberian account.

Appeal: the case is dismissed due of expiration of the statute of limitations. However, "no evidence of the innocence of the any of the defendants emerges from the trial records."

Supreme Court of Appeals: dismissal upheld with a sentence of payment of legal costs. The decision reads: "The business and financial dealings leading up to the financing abroad of the Northern Holding temporary account[Craxi] through the account entitled *All Iberian* were effected in Italy by the leading managers of the group *Fininvest spa* with the relevant cooperation of Berlusconi as owner and president The defendant's non-involvement does not emerge from the trail evidence."

All Iberian 2 (*accounting fraud*)

Trial adjourned until the European High Court of Justice and the Italian Constitutional Court rule on the legality of the new business-crime laws approved by the Berlusconi government. If the motions raised by various courts are struck down, the crime will be dismissed

Medusa Cinema (*accounting fraud*)

First trial: convicted and sentenced to 1 year and 4 months in prison. (10 billion lire in off-the-books funds from the purchase are deposited into a series of bearer accounts of Silvio Berlusconi.)

Appeal: acquittal for insufficient evidence. (See *comma 2 art. 530*). According to the panel of judges, Berlusconi is so rich that he might not have noticed how - in the course of the purchase - his colleague Carlo Bernasconi (convicted) deposited 10 billion lire for him off-the-books. The judges write: "The multitude of the bank accounts attributable to the Berlusconi family and the well-known large dimensions of his wealth imply that it was impossible for him to realize both this increase and, above all, the sources of the increase."

Supreme Court of Appeals: appeals acquittal upheld.

The Macherio Lands (*embezzlement, fiscal fraud, accounting fraud*)

First trial: acquittal (for 4.4 billion lire paid off the books to the owner of the land around the Villa of Macherio, the residence of second-wife Veronica and their three children). Case dismissed for the accounting fraud of the two firms (statue of limitations), with which "undoubtedly Berlusconi took part in."

Appeal: acquittal upheld for embezzlement and fiscal fraud. Acquittal also for one count of accounting fraud. The second count was upheld, but was pardoned in an amnesty.

Supreme Court of Appeals: On-going.

The Lentini Case(*accounting fraud*)

First trial: the crime (10 billion lire paid off the books to *Torino Calcio* football club for the purchase of the player, Luigi Lentini) was dismissed thanks to a new law on accounting fraud.

Appeal: On-going.

Consolidato gruppo Fininvest (*accounting fraud*)

On the basis of the new law on accounting fraud, Judge Fabio Paparella dismissed the case concerning the 1.5 trillion lire in alleged off-the-books funds accumulated by the Berlusconi group in 64 off-shore firms of the All Iberian group (part B of *Fininvest*).

State prosecuting attorney Francesco Greco presented the Supreme Court of Appeals with his motion that the lack of a preliminary hearing prevented him from raising objections against the new law. Greco's objections are based on its unconstitutionality and its conflict with new European Union rules on business crimes as well as with the OCSE treaty.

The Mondadori Court Award (*bribery of judges*).

The crime, for which Cesare Previti was convicted in the first trial, was dismissed by the Milan Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of Appeals through their concession of general mitigating circumstances.

The Supreme Court of Appeals cited one of their motives: "the emphasis [for conceding general mitigating circumstances] placed upon the current social and individual circumstances of the subject [Berlusconi had become prime minister], having been evaluated by the Court as decisive, does not appear in any way incongruous"

Sme-Ariosto (*bribery of judges*)

The trial of the prime minister was separated from the main trial because of the continual "institutional impediments" raised by Berlusconi and the resulting postponements of hearings. A parallel trial was instituted, but Berlusconi had the trial adjourned until he leaves office or *sine die* (indefinitely) in case of his re-election or nomination to another governmental office through the stipulations of the Maccanico Law, which he had passed in record time. This happened after 40 months of trial and right before the prosecutor's address, the summing-up statements, and the verdict.

Sme-Ariosto (*accounting fraud*)

This charge against Berlusconi for the money allegedly given to several judges was separated from the main trial as a consequence of the enactment of new business laws. The trial has been adjourned until the European High Court of Justice rules on whether the new regulations clash with Union guidelines. However, even if the High Court rules against the regulations, the trial has been blocked by the Maccanico Law, as are all the other on-going trials against Silvio Berlusconi.

Television Rights (*accounting fraud and fiscal fraud*)

Preliminary investigations by the State Attorneys' office in Milan under Alfredo Robledo and Fabio De Pasquale were conducted into the activities of numerous managers of the *Mediaset* group, its president Fedele Confalonieri, and its owner Silvio Berlusconi. According to the prosecutors' charges, Berlusconi has in fact remained as *de facto* supreme head of the company even after his entry into politics in 1994. The particular object of the investigation is a series of financial dealings for the purchase of the screen and television rights for films of major American studios that involved rapid, roundabout passages of the rights from one foreign company to another of the Berlusconi group. The alleged result was to raise the price of the purchased rights artificially as a way of cashing in on the fiscal incentives of the Tremonti Law. This was a law passed by the first Berlusconi government in order to

exempt the businesses' re-invested profit money from taxes. The prosecutors estimated this alleged accounting fraud as about \approx 180 million in 1994.

Television Station Telecinco (*violation of antitrust laws and fiscal fraud in Spain*)

Madrid anti-corruption judge Baltasar Garzón Real requested the Italian government to try Berlusconi or, as an alternative, to deprive him of immunity so that he could be tried in Spain. He received no answer. For this reason the state anti-corruption prosecutor Carlo Castresana requested Garzón to address the Italian authorities again in May, 2002. In Spain Berlusconi - along with Marcello Dell'Utri and other *Fininvest* managers - is charged with having taken virtually total control of the television station *Telecinco*, control violating the Spanish antitrust law, which had fixed the ceiling at 25% of the shares in the years involved.

Mafia (*outside accessory to Mafia activities and money laundering*)

The investigation has been closed in Palermo at the request of the prosecutor's office because of expiration of the time limit granted.

Bombings in 1992 and 1993 (*accessory to mass violence*)

The investigations by the prosecutors of Florence and Caltanissetta into the alleged "hidden-faced instigators" of the bombings in 1992 (of Falcone and Borsellino) and in 1993 (in Milan, Florence, and Rome) were closed due the expiration of the time allowed for the investigation. However, on November 14, 1998, Judge Giuseppe Soresina pointed out how Berlusconi and Dell'Utri allegedly "maintained a relationship that was not merely episodic with criminal elements who can be linked to the program of violence that took place." This points to the Corleone mob that has guided the *Cosa Nostra* for the last 20 years and committed hundreds of murders and a half dozen bombings. Soresina adds that there is "an objective convergence of the political interests of *Cosa Nostra* with some qualified programmatic lines of the new formation [*Forza Italia*]: articolo 41 bis [on prison conditions], legislation on state witness protection, and the recovery of the concept of guarantees for trials that was purposely overlooked by the legislation of the early 1990s." He then adds that, over the course of the investigation "the initial hypothesis [of the involvement of Berlusconi and dell'Utri in the mass violence] has remained and, if anything, increased in plausibility." Unfortunately, the "time limit for the preliminary investigation" has expired before it was possible to gather further evidence.

Caltanissetta Judge Giovanni Battista Tona wrote "The records of the file have amply demonstrated support for the various possibilities of contact between men belonging to *Cosa Nostra* and business groups controlled in varying degrees by the current objects of investigation [Berlusconi and Dell'Utri]. This alone legitimates the hypothesis that, considering the prestige of Berlusconi and Dell'Utri, they could have been identified by the men of the organization as eventual new conversation partners." However, "the fragility of the whole picture of the circumstances demands that the investigation be closed." Finally, there is the sentence of the Caltanissetta Assize Court of Appeals of June 23, 2001, which convicted 37 Mafia chieftains for the Capaci bombing. In the chapter of the sentence explicitly entitled "The contacts between Salvatre Riina and Hon. Dell'Utri and Berlusconi," we read that it is proven

that the Mafia devised "a fruitful relationship at least in an economic terms" with the two. It was so fruitful that in 1992 "*Cosa Nostra's* political project in the realm of institutions aimed at creating new balances and new alliances with the new referents for politics and economics ." This is to say "to bring the state to negotiations or to allow for a political exchange that, through new relationships, would insure - as in the past - the cooperation that the *Cosa Nostra* had benefited from."

[\(indice\)](#)

EVERYTHING I THINK ABOUT BERLUSCONI

by Umberto Bossi, Minister of Institutional Reform in the Berlusconi government

Silvio Berlusconi was Bettino Craxi's bag boy. He was the spare rib of the old regime. He is the most efficacious re-cycler of unstuck stucco of the Penta-party. While the League was bringing down the regime, he was staying at the Old White Mill wearing his little toupee and his plastic-surgery facial. He is an empty-tube know-nothing. But did you see him today, all slick-haired in the midst of those baby blue clouds? Berlusconi is boiled meat. He is a poor jerk, a traitor to the North, a poor guy served by the Olive Tree. Franceschiello's army behind Corporal D'Alema and his bugle will follow him, even. I have a long memory. But who is Berlusconi? His Pole is dead and buried. The League does not walk with the dead. The negotiations between the League and Forza Italia are something he made up, poor man. Berlusconi's Neo-CAF party can never make deals with the League. He is the steak and the League is the meat grinder. Berlusconi has the same characteristics as dictators. He is a Kaiser in a double-breasted suit, a little Ceasar. What's more, he is the lead comedian in the little theater of politics. He is the Peròn of social security. He is much worse than Pinochet. He has something Nazi-oid, Mafioso, about him. The P2-ist is a treacherous fox ready to raid my chicken coop. Berlusconi is the Mafia's man. He is a Palermitano who speaks Meneghino, a Palermitano born in the wrong place and sent here on purpose to screw the North. Fininvest was born of the Cosa Nostra. There are some differences between Berlusconi and us. 'Tis a pity he's a Mafioso. The problem is that in the North the people are still split into the people who know that Berlusconi is a Mafioso and those that don't know it yet. But the North will kick him out. We don't give a shit about Berlusconi. Answer this! Where does your money come from? From the Mafia finance companies? There are one hundred thousand young people from the North who were killed by drugs. Berlusconi told me in person that the money came from the Banca Rasini, founded by a certain Giuseppe Azzaretto from Palermo, who then managed to keep hold of the whole operation. In that very bank, Silvio's father worked and there were the accounts of many Cosa Nostra members. You have to get to know his roots, his story. Gelli made project-Italy and there was good-man Berlusconi in the P2. After that, the Holding companies were hatched. How can the justice system ever do its duty and go and see where all that spare change comes from, remembering that the Mafia made that spare change here with drugs and that from drugs tens of thousands of kids have been killed and that they are crying out to us from under the earth? If he wants to find out the story of the fall of his government, let him come to me and I will spell it out to him. It was me who brought down the party

of the Mafiosi. He bought our representatives and I knocked him down. That ugly Mafioso makes money with heroin and cocaine. The Mafioso of Arcore wants to bring Fascism and Southernism to the North. Debating equal broadcast time is too little. I propose a board of inquiry into Berlusconi's getting rich. In Forza Italia there is an oblique collusion of politics, dead criminal silence, and money laundering. The man of the Cosa Nostra - with Fininvest - has something like 38 holding companies. 16 of these are covert. They made the bank of Palermo in Milan, the Banca Rasini, give birth to the bank of the Cosa Nostra in Milan. Forza Italia was created by Marcello Dell'Utri. Look out that the real interests at stake don't come out. On television nice faces appear and they tell you about this and they tell you about that, and they seem like nice people. But look out that Mafia has no limits. The Mafia, the interests of the Mafia are drugs and drugs have killed thousand and thousands of youths, mostly in the North. Palermo has television in its hands and can go into the houses of the good citizen imbeciles of the North. Berlusconi has done what he wanted to with television stations even the local ones, up in the face even of the Mammì Law. Many fortunes are a shame because they come from tens of thousands of deaths. It's not true that *pecunia non olet* - money doesn't smell. There is money that smells like sweat and there is money that stinks like Mafia. But if it weren't for that power, the Pole would melt away in a few hours. Meet with Berlusconi again at Arcore? I rule it out. No more agreements with the Pole. Three years ago they thought they could put a whammy on us. The wizard of Berlusconi told us: "He who steps out of this magic circle - that is, from my government --dies." We stepped out and sent the wizard his whammy back. There is no magic trick that can make us step back into the circle of Berlusconiism. With these people - no political agreements. There is a party where Dell'Utri is active, under investigation about the Mafia. The *Padania* has asked Berlusconi if he was a Mafioso? But it went much too easy! It should have gone in deeper, into those dead-meat deadbeats linked with Craxi. I will be the guardian of that swindler Berlusconi. We are in conditions dangerous for democracy. If he gets into Palazzo Chigi, what will win is a party that does not exist. One man will win - the Technocrat, the Autocrat. I say what I think. He does what he cashes in on. He treats the state as if it were a corporation. But just who does he think he is, the Nembo Kid? But do you think it is possible that someone who owns 140 companies can work in the interests of the citizens? When that guy cries, have a little laugh. It means that everything is OK, that he hasn't yet gotten to lay his hands on the safe. Berlusconi-Berluscosa-Berluskaz-Berluskaiser has to get it into his head that I have sworn a blood oath with the Bergamaschi. I swore to them that I would do everything to have a change. There's not a villa, not a present, not a winking eye that can knock me off my path. Berluscoso ought to know that up our way people are ready to kick his ratty ass. It would just take two seconds and he would have to run away at night. If they find out that he has tricked them, the people of the North, they will roll up his nice villas and his English meadows and dump them all into the Lambro. Berlusconi, as President of the Council, was a drama. When democracy is at stake, it may come into somebody's head to blow up his broadcast towers. Because he brainwashes the people with his televisions with the same old tricks of detergent-bag salesmen. His televisions are against the constitution. They should be taken away from him. We find ourselves in a situation of grave unconstitutionality, like South America. One man has gotten the TV-frequency franchise from the state so that he can condition the people and orient them to vote. This is not happening in any other part of the world. It's time to put an end to this shame. If you vote for him, he will take away even the curbstones. If Berlusconi falls, the whole Pole falls and the League will take everything in the

North. But they won't make him fall because he may be a son of a bitch, but he is their son of a bitch and that's why they are keeping him on his feet. But the poor man of Arcore is feeling that the whole bundle load of Forza-Italia and the Pole is going to pieces on him. A mason, a P2-ist like this Arcorist, has always had the problem of doing "his thing" -- doing *Cosa sua* or *Cosa nostra*. But look out, Berlusconi. Not the Mafia, not the P2, not America can get to destroy our society. And he in the end will have a little place in hell because that one there, they won't even be able to cram him into purgatory. Because it is Berlusconi who should disappear from circulation, not the League. It's not us who have picked a fight with Berlusconi. It's history that has picked a fight with him.

(The words in the text above are literal quotations from the words of Umberto Bossi. They date from 1994 to 1999. This was the time of the tension in the first Berlusconi government and of the break between Bossi and Berlusconi in December, 1994. This was before they made peace again at the end of 1999. The words were taken from newspapers and press agencies. The dates are the following: 1,7,9,10,13 March 1994; 5 April 1994; 4, 11,23,31 May 1994; 1,12,17 June 1994; 29 July 1994; 6,8,13 August 1994; 1 September 1994; 6,20,23 December 1994; 14 January 1995; 22 March 1995; 13 April 1995; 10 June 1995; 29 July 1995; 25 January 1996; 14,19,25 August 1997; 18 June 1998; 22 July 1998; 13 September 1998; 3, 27 October 1998; 24 February 1999; 13 April 1999; 10 September 1999; 19 October 1999)