

Can be Italy considered a Narco-State?

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About terminology

Failed State, Collapsed State, Fragile State

Narco-Terrorism State, Mafia-State, Narco-State

Mafia State by Moses Naim

“In a mafia state, high government officials actually become integral players in, if not the leaders of, criminal enterprises, and the defense and promotion of those enterprises' businesses become official priorities”
(Naim, 2012: 2).

How to measure a Mafia-State?

- 1) the perception corruption index
- 2) corrupted politicians condemned at national and local level
- 3) GDP estimation of illegal activities
- 4) amount of drugs seizures compared to estimation of drugs circulating in the country
- 5) mafia homicides
- 6) mafia-type association
- 7) local administrations dissolved by the Ministry of the Interior due to mafia infiltration
- 8) assets confiscated to criminal associations

The political-criminal nexus between legal and illegal powers in Italy

L. Franchetti and S. Sonnino, *Inchiesta in Sicilia*, 1876

Allies army invaded Sicily in July 1943

Mafiosi were nominated mayors in Sicily and Calabria

After the Second World War Italy was integral part of the Capitalist system

The biggest Communist Party in Western Europe

Alliance between the Catholic Party and mafia associations in Southern Italy

Mafiosi enjoyed impunity before the law in exchange they provided political support to parties at power

Eighties and Nineties in Italy

1989: the fall of Berlin Wall

The uncovering of a secret military organization called Gladio/Stay behind

1992-93: Italy as a racket land (Tangentopoli); prosecutors in North of discovered an extensive system of corruption (politicians and entrepreneurs organized public tenders to their advantage)

All the political parties that had been in national power for decades no longer existed

1981: the war inside Cosa Nostra begins; Corleonesi clan took the power

The season of justice collaborators

1981-1982: 500 mafia murders in Palermo

1983-1992: in Italy, 3,671 murders related to Cosa Nostra, 'Ndrangheta and Camorra, 30% occurred in Sicily (Istat, 1983-1992).

Tommaso Buscetta, Francesco Marino Mannoia; Salvatore Contorno, Antonino Calderone and others become justice collaborators

The omertà falls; prosecutors discovered the ramification of the mafia families in Sicily, their internal organization and collusions with the socio-economic fabric.

1986: the Maxi Trial against 474 Cosa Nostra members



30 January 1992: sentences became final



Cosa nostra reaction was not long in coming

On 12 March 1992 were killed Salvo Lima, European parliament of the Catholic Party and for years the referent of the premier Giulio Andreotti in the island. After few days Ignazio Salvo, strictly related to Lima and mafia losers.

In May 1992: the Capaci Massacre, a place between the Palermo Airport and the city, Cosa Nostra killed the judge Falcone, his wife and their police escort. A few months later, in July 1992, another bomb attack in Palermo caused the death of Paolo Borsellino and his escort.

Falcone homicide: 23 May 1992



Borsellino homicide: 19 July 1992



Terrorist attack strategy against the State

May to July 1993: bomb attacks outside Sicily against the Uffizi Museum in Florence, two churches in Roma (San Giorgio al Velabro and San Giovanni in Laterano) and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Milan, respectively on 26/27 May in Florence and on 26 July 1993 in Rome and Milan.

On 23 January 1993: the failed attack at the Olympic stadium in Rome against a bus of carabinieri who were returning after serving in the football match that had just taken place. The remote control that was supposed to detonate the car bomb was faulty, thus resulting in the failed massacre.

Salvatore Riina: “we are doing the war to make the peace”

Several questions without answers

Why to kill Paolo Borsellino only few months ago the Falcone's homicide?

At the time of terrorist attack, was there a negotiation between the state and Sicilian Mafia?

Did other forces belonging to the deviant state apparatus influence the choices of Cosa Nostra?

For years, prosecutors from different Italian justice districts investigate the link between freemasonry, mafia associations and Italian secret service without however to reach till now a reliable judgement about what happened during the period of the mafia massacres

Some truths, many “mysteries”

The final verdict of guilty for supporting mafia associations against Marcello Dell’Utri, a man strictly connected to Silvio Berlusconi, confirms that Cosa Nostra and other criminal organizations established an alliance with new politicians at power.

Silvio Berlusconi was considered the instigator of this new agreement, without being found guilty.

Conclusions

Paolo Borsellino:

“The mafia and the state are two powers that insist on the same territory: either they go to war or come to an agreement”