

EBU Coproduction GRASSROOTS - Contribution RAI Educational

The Most Important Rule

Operation "Clean Hands" - Investigating Political Corruption in Italy (1992 – 1994)

Video	Text with TC
<p>Demonstration in Milan (March '93) in support of Public Investigators Colombo and Di Pietro</p>	<p><u>10:16</u></p> <p>(People shouting) Colombo, Di Pietro don't give in! Colombo, Di Pietro don't give in!</p> <p><u>Gherardo Colombo, Former Public Prosecutor, Milan Law Court:</u></p> <p>I believe we have to agree on one fundamental point: if there are laws, they have to be respected. If we think that they don't (have to be respected), we have to change them.</p> <p><u>Maurizio Losa, TV Reporter RAI</u></p> <p>Four years of sacrifice, that's for sure. Few time for the family, because we've been working without breaks...</p>
<p>Arresting socialist regional leader Michele Collucci and some of his staff members (May 92)</p>	<p><u>10:56</u></p> <p>Milan, Italy. 1992. "Milan, a city that works. Milan, a city that devours you.", goes a famous commercial of the time.</p> <p>Since a couple of weeks, the cities tv crews work without a break. They have to cover a number of corruption scandals.</p> <p>TV Reporter (to arrested person coming out of the police car) : A statement!</p>

	<p>Policeman (to the TV crew and photographers) : Come on, guys, please...</p> <p>Policeman (to the TV crew and photographers) Just a moment, hold on, hold on, move away.</p> <p>TV Reporter (to arrested lady): Ma'am, don't you have anything to say, anything at all?</p> <p>Journalist (talking on the phone): Embezzlement, abuse of authority, abstract and material falsification.</p> <p>That is, everything, I mean, ranging from, to...</p> <p>TV Reporter (to arrested and fainted politician on a stretcher, hidden under the blanket) Do you have anything to say, Mr. Colucci?</p> <p>TV reporter (to friend/lawyer of arrested politician) Pardon me, I didn't hear you. What did you want to say?</p> <p>Friend/Lawyer (to TV reporter and crew) : I said that it's shameful, absolutely shameful.</p> <p>TV reporter: Why? What we're doing, or what they're doing?</p> <p>Friend/Lawyer Yes, what you're doing.</p> <p>TV reporter: Why?</p> <p>Friend/Lawyer Because when a person is ill, you have to respect them.</p> <p>TV reporter (meaning his colleagues): And so? They're just doing their jobs.</p> <p>Friend/Lawyer But it's not a job, it's not a job.</p> <p>TV reporter: But they even show the dead in Yugoslavia. You must be kidding, No one comes to show us when we're sick, unfortunately. They park us in the corridor like pieces of shit.</p>
<p>Milano</p> <p>Dome/Panoramic View</p> <p>Subway Construction sites</p>	<p><u>13:04</u></p> <p>Milan. Heart of the Italian economy. Capital of one of the richest industrialised areas in Europe.</p> <p>In the 80's, construction sites are found all over Milan.</p>

	<p>The new line of the Milan subway, big dumping grounds, public buildings...</p> <p>There's a lot of money circulating.</p> <p>Some people express suspects about corruption. There are rumors about political parties being deeply involved.</p> <p>Then, public prosecutors gather evidence about a case of corruption suspected to occur in a rest home.</p>
<p>Trivulzio</p> <p>Mario Chiesa shows visiting journalists some facilities at the rest home and makes Jokes</p> <p>Arrest Mario Chiesa (17/02/92)</p>	<p>Pio Albergo Trivulzio. A public institute with a long and solide tradition.</p> <p>The director is an engineer. His name is Mario Chiesa, and he is a member of the Socialist Party which promoted him for that job.</p> <p>But his real ambition is to become mayor of Milan.</p> <p><u>13:56</u></p> <p>Visiting journalist: The kitchens? MARIO CHIESA, Rest Home Manager: The kitchens, the ward, where the boiled cockroaches are, we boil them here.</p> <p>Journalist: Engineer, who was that money for? MARIO CHIESA: Let's close it here. The door.</p> <p>Journalist: Do you still feel like a Socialist? How do you feel these days?</p> <p><u>14 : 23</u></p> <p>On February 17, 1992, however, the institut's director ends up in a trap.</p> <p>On that day, Mr Chiesa receives an entrepreneur who owes him a bribe.</p>

	<p>But in the moment he takes the bribery, the police breaks into the room.</p> <p>7 milion of Lire are found, not more than 3500 Euros today.</p> <p>Not that much, it seems.</p> <p>But when interviewed in prison, Mario Chiesa talks quite a lot. Enough input for starting new investigations which will bring the police to many other cases of bribery. And they are much more substantial.</p> <p>Journalist: Not even you, no statement?</p>
<p>TV interview of leader socialist party and former head of government Bettino Craxi (03/03/92 RAI TG 3)</p>	<p>TV News anchorwoman (Carmen Lasorella) : A listener asks: what consequences will there be at the next elections, after the Chiesa affair?</p> <p><u>14 : 54</u></p> <p>Immediatly Bettino Craxi, the powerful national leader of the Italian Socialist Party who in the past had been head of government twice, feels a need to publicly dissociate from his “small” party comerad sitting in jail.</p> <p>He does this in television. And not without second thoughts, millions of Italians follow his declaration.</p> <p>BETTINO CRAXI: (...) and I run into a (original: “mariuolo”) scoundrel who casts a shadow over the image of an entire political party, which in 50 years, in either the Administration of the city of Milan, or the administration of city bodies - not 5 years, but <u>50</u> – has never had an administrator convicted for serious offenses committed against the Public Administration.</p>
<p>Craxi and Chiesa together at an official reception</p>	<p><u>15 : 36</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p>

	<p>But a connection between the “mariuolo” (scoundrel, villain, wild splinter) and the top leadership level in the Party is something very real and cannot just be denied.</p> <p>Left alone by their bosses, the “villains” of the various political parties start to talk.</p>
<p>Losa interviewing investigator Antonio Di Pietro, then beginning of a News report about bribes (late February 92)</p>	<p><u>15:50</u></p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA, TV Reporter: Where will this investigation lead?</p> <p>ANTONIO DI PIETRO, Public Prosecutor, Milan Law Court: Only to those who have committed criminally significant acts.</p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: Will it lead to the political world too?</p> <p>ANTONIO DI PIETRO: I don't know what you mean. The responsibility is always personal.</p> <p>(TV news report with voice of MAURIZIO LOSA): The investigation into the bribes in Milan is thus closing in around the entrepreneurial world of the Public Administration...</p>
<p>Colombo about the start of Clean Hands and the team</p>	<p><u>16:08</u></p> <p>GHERARDO COLOMBO:</p> <p>We would work every day, from morning to evening, more frequently at night. Why? Because with these investigations, it's always as if they were self-feeding, in the sense that the more we investigated, the more we discovered new revealing sources.</p>
<p>Colombo, Di Pietro e Piercamillo Davigo walking in the hall of Palazzo di Giustizia</p>	<p><u>16:29</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>Gherardo Colombo is a very experienced Public Prosecutor who had been in charge already earlier with cases of political corruption. Together with his colleagues Antonio Di Pietro, Piercamillo Davigo and others to join later, they form the core team of a working group called “pool di mani pulite – the pool of clean hands”. Within a few weeks only, every Italian would know their names.</p>

<p>Collage with various arrests</p>	<p><u>16:53</u></p> <p>“Clean hands” works like an avalanche:</p> <p>The number of investigated persons exceeds 4500. More than 1000 are being arrested With an average of one arrest a day between the years 92 and 94</p> <p>All this would be sufficiently dramatic on its own.</p> <p>But the dramatic effect is still multiplied infinitely through television.</p> <p>TV reporter Maurizio Losa is on screen for the country’s most popular evening News, RAI’s TG 1. For the Italians, he will become one of the “faces of Clean Hands”.</p>
<p>Losa on the daily stressfull life as a reporter covering Clean Hands</p>	<p><u>17:23</u></p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: Starting in April 1992, of course there was a long period when each morning you would wake up and you already knew that something had happened, because when you left the editorial office you had already had... I don’t know, if not exactly news, at least an inkling that something was again going to happen during the night. The arrests were made in the morning, and so at about 6:30, 7:00 a.m. the operations had already been carried out, and so you started to see what kind of day you were going to be having. The first period, therefore from 1992 through to mid-1993, it was an extremely hectic activity, that kept you away from home from 7 in the morning until midnight, one o’clock, and so your private life was reduced to returning home and chatting a bit before going to bed, sleeping a few hours, and then out again in the morning. So it was a life that was, in any case, intense from the professional standpoint, with great sacrifices from the personal standpoint. My son was four years old at the time, in 1992 he was four years old, and in</p>

	<p>kindergarten he would say that his daddy had a home at the Palace of Justice, because in fact he saw me so little and knew that I was always there. Indeed, he saw me on television there, and so he had got the idea that I was living at the Palace of Justice.</p>
<p>In front of Palazzo di Giustizia (Milan Law Court).</p>	<p><u>18:27</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>The “Palazzo di Giustizia” in Milan</p> <p>Among television viewers in Italy, it soon becomes the best-known building in the country.</p>
<p>Losa on RAI e Mediaset camera crews’ positions in front of the Law Court</p>	<p>MAURIZIO LOSA: This is the station from where we broadcast, where we made the hook-ups for the news. The funny thing is that here, where I am now, was the RAI station. On the opposite side, right in front of the Palace of Justice where the trams go by, was the station of our colleagues from Mediaset. We were separated only by the street and the tram. And often we would shout out to each other, not necessarily news, but in any case some bits of information, from one side of the street to the other. This is just to show the climate that had been established with our colleagues.</p>
<p>TV News announce arrests of VIP</p>	<p><u>19:13</u></p> <p>PIECES OF NEWS ITEMS FROM VARIOUS NEWS PROGRAMS (Speaker goes over it at 19:41)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Milan, seven persons, including the Regional Councilor of the PSI Michele Colucci, have been arrested as part of the investigation... - It will be another week full of events, the one starting tomorrow... - This morning the administrative Secretary of the DC, Severino Citaristi... - The Municipal Councilor has ended up in prison...

<p>Inside the Law Court Building: corridors, rooms, staircases in slow motion</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Court of Ministers has requested that former Minister Francesco De Lorenzo be arrested again... - Good afternoon. Once again the developments of the “Clean Hands” investigation are resounding... - Today, in Florence, the former Secretary was, in fact, arrested... - New scandal in Rome. This time, the “La Sapienza” University is involved... <p><u>19:41</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>Day after day, Italians follow arrests and interrogations on tv.</p> <p>Television transforms the investigation in a big show, a sort of national drama</p> <p>With good and bad guys</p> <p>Victors and defeated.</p> <p>Only now, when finding the powerful politicians in front of a judge, the country gets upset with his political class which on the tv screen appears to be corrupt as a whole.</p> <p>On the other side, the investigators – unvolonatrily, but just by the overall participation of the tv camera - very soon become heroes and executors of the people’s will.</p> <p>TV has occupied the Law Court.</p> <p><i>(covered by speaker) - Paolo Berlusconi is under house arrest after questioning...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Prime Minister’s brother... the Milan Public Prosecutor’s office had...</i> - <i>Borrelli asks: “Let Di Pietro work,” and today the Deputy President of the Court of Milan was arrested...</i> - <i>Fortieth arrest in Milan this evening as part of the bribe investigation...</i> - <i>Starting tomorrow the pool of magistrates conducting the inquiries will be expanded...</i>
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	<p>- Judges Di Pietro and Colombo have allegedly finished questioning all the businessmen...</p> <p>Bribe scandal. This morning in Milan there was a new arrest...</p> <p>Voice/News Report MAURIZIO LOSA: Yesterday, Judges Di Pietro and Colombo, who are conducting the investigation, worked late into the evening. Di Pietro left San Vittore prison just after 11 p.m. and questioned...</p>
<p>Colombo: we and the journalists</p>	<p><u>20:26</u></p> <p>GHERARDO COLOMBO: We couldn't avoid being aware, because it wasn't possible to leave our rooms at the Palace of Justice without running into a television crew. Inside the building it was almost difficult to maintain a minimum of privacy. Of course, the proceedings were secret, because we managed to maintain the necessary confidentiality.</p>
<p>Di Pietro/Colombo with Journalists, trying to escape them (archive summer 92)</p>	<p><u>20 : 59</u></p> <p>Colombo: (to Journalists wanting to talk to Di Pietro) Di Pietro has already told you enough.</p> <p>Journalists: He hasn't told us anything. Di Pietro is keeping mum.</p>
<p>Hall where the "teleprocesso" Cusani/Enimont took place</p>	<p><u>21:28</u></p> <p>At the time when one of the most important trials starts, there are three last-generation tv cameras set up in the room.</p> <p>In this way, the "Enimont Trial" enters the history of Italian television as the so called "teleprocesso" (tele-trial)</p> <p>With daily life shows</p>

	<p>Watched by millions of people.</p> <p>In terms of television logic, this is a unique possibility to create a new tv format with a success guaranty:</p> <p>The country's most prominent politicians are expected to be interrogated by the court.</p> <p>The idea to make it a TV show comes up just a bit like a joke.</p> <p>The main character of "the show" is a financial manager called Sergio Cusani who is accused to have paid political parties and politicians on behalf of a big petro-chemical company, in order to get a legislation favourable to the company's commercial interests.</p>
<p>Losa on the decision to set up a daily life program from the trial room</p>	<p><u>22:15</u></p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: The decision was made, television-wise, by the then Editor-in-Chief of the TG1 news program, Demetrio Volcic, by myself, and by circumstances beyond our control. Since that was a summary trial hearing, there was the problem that, being a public hearing, there would have been an overcrowding of the courtroom. The Court made it possible to evaluate whether to make a closed-circuit broadcast of the trial to permit, in any case, its viewing, therefore making it a public hearing. Having three cameras in the courtroom, having a live signal broadcast into the Press Room of the Palace of Justice and into a sort of little room that had been specially created outside the courtroom where the Cusani trial was being held, we got the idea: we already have the signal; why not broadcast at least a few phases of this trial?</p> <p><i>Extract from the TV Trial:</i></p> <p><u>23:34</u></p> <p>CLAUDIO MARTELLI(Socialist Party, former minister of Internal Affairs): : ...</p> <p>You told me exactly, "Oh Claudio, this is my and my family's money."</p> <p>CARLO SAMA (Socialist Party, treasurer): Well, I contest this because I had no reason to say... and then this is money...</p> <p>CLAUDIO MARTELLI (Socialist Party, former minister of internal affairs): ...Go ahead and contest it ... witnesses...</p> <p><u>23:46</u></p>

MAURIZIO LOSA: At the moment when the first live broadcast started one morning – and it had been decided to broadcast, I remember, from 10 a.m. to noon, then the trial also continued on through the day – the next day the audience ratings showed that there was a great deal of viewer interest in this trial.

Extract from the TV Trial:

24:12

SEVERINO CITARISTI (Democristian Party, treasurer) : And he gave me a briefcase saying, there's a contribution from the Christian Democrats. If I remember correctly, he must have told me that there were more.

24: 24

MAURIZIO LOSA: From there the broadcast of the Cusani trial really started. On the part of the defendants, on the part of the Court, on the part of the main defendant, who was Sergio Cusani, there was no opposition to a live broadcast.

Extract from the TV Trial:

24:46

ANTONIO DI PIETRO (a bit worried): No one threatens the witness.

LAWYER: No, I'm not making a threat; I'm trying to understand why...

ANTONIO DI PIETRO (quite upset): No one threatens the witness. Otherwise I'll take off my robe and leave.

LAWYER: Go ahead and take off whatever you want.

ANTONIO DI PIETRO Here doubt has been cast on the fact that someone went to the Public Prosecutor, that the Public Prosecutor went... under the table...

LAWYER: It happens.

	<p>ANTONIO DI PIETRO(furious):: It happens to whom?</p>
<p>Demonstrations in the streets</p> <p><u>25:41 GRAPHICS</u></p> <p>Demonstration slogans:</p> <p>“In galera i ladri” = Thieves in Jail</p> <p>“A casa i corrotti” = Corrupt politicians, go home!</p> <p>“Di Pietro = il ritorno degli onesti”</p> <p>Di Pietro = the come back of honest people</p> <p>Di Pietro as popular hero: gadgets/films including the “Clean Hands Soap” (a piece of soap sold while Clean Hands investigation was taking place)</p>	<p><u>25:12</u></p> <p>CROWD: Colombo, Di Pietro, don’t turn back! (don’t give in)</p> <p>Colombo, Di Pietro, don’t turn back! Colombo, Di Pietro, don’t turn back!</p> <p>The country stands up in favour of the investigators.</p> <p>As the majority in Parliament rejects the investigators request to withdraw Immunity from Bettino Craxi, thousands of persons are in the streets.</p> <p>The same happens also when the politicians try to discharge themselves through a general amnesty with an easy going solution:</p> <p>“Who took money, should confess this, and get set free and discharged for his confession”</p> <p>For many Italians, this is of course not the kind of “political solution” they would like to see in order to get rid of the nightmare that Clean Hands has become.</p> <p><u>25:51</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>In the meantime, investigator Antonio Di Pietro undoubtedly has become the “star” of the “tele-trial”.</p>

	<p>But people in the streets ask for something very simple which lies at the bottom of civil society: that rules have to be the same for everybody.</p>
<p>Colombo: on the basis of our Constitution all citizens are subject to law and legislation</p>	<p><u>26:06</u></p> <p>GHERARDO COLOMBO: The approach is, in my opinion, substantially different, that is, the approach of those who observe from the outside, and that of those, on the other hand, who are in this profession.</p> <p>Since there is also an article of the Constitution, a basis of the Constitution according to which all citizens are equal before the law, without making any distinctions, in relation to the quality of the person who has committed the offense.</p>
<p>San Vittore prison Variety of internal views</p>	<p><u>26:33</u></p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>For those arrested, “Mani Pulite” is something very different from a telenovela.</p> <p>San Vittore prison in Milan is not a friendly place.</p> <p>Quite often somebody is being arrested for investigational reasons, In order to prevent him from destroying proves Or escape to a foreign country.</p>
<p>Colombo on arrests: we were conscious what that meant for family ecc.</p>	<p><u>26:49</u></p> <p>Gherardo Colombo</p> <p>When the relatives would come, in particular the wives, perhaps with</p>

	<p>very young children, to request permission for a meeting with the persons arrested, well, after all, the awareness of the intrusion of your work into people’s lives is strong, and I’d say even the suffering for the consequences of this intrusion.</p>
<p>Losa: drammmatical arrests</p> <p><u>28:29 GRAPHICS</u></p> <p>Writing on demonstrators panel:</p> <p>“VERGOGNA” = SHAME</p>	<p><u>27 : 19</u></p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: The dramatic thing was sometimes knowing the stories of some individuals who in any case were being detained in... in prison. Persons who had always had a life of luxury, of salons, and who instead found themselves having to be lodged in what is the... the lowest point, we might say, for a man’s dignity. Learning from the lawyers, sometimes from the judges themselves, that this person had broken down and wept during the questioning, or that he was kept rigorously under watch because there were fears for... for his health, perhaps there was also a fear of the risk of a suicide attempt. This in any case indisputably made you think, of what the impact of these persons entering prison was, and the relationship with the other inmates. We must never forget the climate around the “Clean Hands” investigation, a climate that slowly and gradually grew. This sort of street movement, perhaps a little lynch-mobbish, which wanted to see the powerful person pilloried, the person who had always led a life sometimes a bit over the top. It was, substantially, something that could be translated as a sort of losers’ revenge.</p>
<p>Craxi and the crowd in front of the 5-star-hotel S. Raffael in Rome (where Craxi was known to have rented a luxus suite for years)</p> <p>Bettino Craxi comes</p>	<p><u>29 : 00</u></p> <p>Crowd (waving pieces of money in their hands): Bettino, do you want also these? Bettino, do you want also these? Bettino, do you want also these? (I.e. piece of money)</p> <p>JOURNALIST’S VOICE SPEAKING OFF SCREEN WHILE DOING A LIFE REPORT FROM THE HOTEL ST. RAPHAEL, Rome: Here he is, here he is, they’re throwing everything, they’re throwing... watch out, watch out, watch out.</p>

<p>out of the hotel. Crowd throwing coins onto him</p>	<p>SPEAKER</p> <p>Bettino Craxi will be one of the most heavily involved politicians, and finally he would be condemned in a number of trials. For many Italians, he quite soon becomes “the” symbol of Political corruption.</p> <p>Journalist’s voice: Here, they’re even hitting us. Coins, everything, everything, they’re throwing everything.</p> <p>SPEAKER</p> <p>But soon there is criticism also towards the investigators as some of the accused and arrested persons commit suicide.</p>
<p>Colombo on suicides</p> <p><u>30:06 GRAPHICS</u></p> <p><i>Newspaper Headlines:</i></p> <p>MORONI COMMITS SUICIDE BECAUSE UNDER INVESTIGATION</p> <p>THE DRAMMA OF BRIBEVILLE</p> <p>THE SEVENTH IN ONLY A FEW MONTHS</p> <p>PSI PARLAMENTARIAN COMMITING SUICIDE</p> <p>TRAGEDY WITH MANY SECRETS</p>	<p>GHERARDO COLOMBO: There was never one person, one, who committed suicide in prison while held in the context of our trial. Not even one. So, it’s a good idea to state this, because generally people are totally convinced of the opposite, that there were hundreds of persons who killed themselves in prison because of the “Clean Hands” inquiries. Afterwards, of course, instead, some persons killed themselves once they were free, while they were being investigated. As free individuals, and one under house arrest at his own home, while they were being investigated during our inquiry. Of course they are totally shocking things, also because, also because it happens that perhaps you know these persons particularly well. I... my mind went there by itself... to think of Warrant Officer Landi, who was a Warrant Officer of the Financial Police with whom I, with whom I had really worked a great deal, who killed himself at home in his bathroom, when he was summoned, because I had to ask him a couple of questions that didn’t even involve his responsibility, just very simple explanations. It’s clear that this is, also for those investigating, a considerable burden. It’s a drama, it’s a drama, it’s a drama, it’s a drama. And so you try to do the impossible, everything possible to prevent it from happening.</p>

<p><u>30:29</u></p> <p>TWO SHOTS INTO THE MOUTH BECAUSE OF THE SHAME</p> <p>OUT OF PRISON HE GOES STRAIGHT HOME AND SHOOTS HIMSELF</p>	
<p>Berlinguer/TG 3 News on suicide case A. Landi</p> <p>(21 april 93)</p>	<p><u>31:33</u></p> <p>RAI TG 3 anchorwoman (BIANCA BERLINGUER):</p> <p>Another dramatic turnaround in the “Clean Hands” investigation: Financial Police Warrant Officer Agostino Landi, investigated by the Magistracy of Milan, has died of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. He was to be questioned this morning by Judge Gherardo Colombo.</p>
<p>Losa: suicide case Cagliari in prison San Vittore</p> <p><u>32:11 GRAPHICS</u></p> <p><i>Graffiti on Prison Wall (today):</i></p> <p>“LIBERI SUBITO” = FREE IMMEDIATELY</p> <p>32:31</p> <p><i>Newspaper Headlines:</i></p>	<p>MAURIZIO LOSA: The news of the suicides were surely the most difficult moments. There were at least four suicides that were attributed to the “Clean Hands” inquiries. Here we are at San Vittore; it is in this prison that Gabriele Cagliari killed himself. He was considered a powerful man. He was the former president of ENI. That July of 1993, it seemed as if Gabriele Cagliari were to be released at any moment. He had filled up pages of statements, and there had already been the favorable opinion of the “Clean Hands” pool, in particular of Di Pietro and Colombo, and this favorable opinion had already been filed at the office of the Examining Judge, Italo Ghitti. Parallel to the “Clean Hands” inquiry, other inquiries had been born. One of these was in the hands of Public Prosecutor De Pasquale, who had opposed, for precautionary custody reasons, for inquiry needs, the release of Gabriele Cagliari.</p>

<p>DEATH AT THE S.VITTORE PRISON</p> <p>BRIBES, CAGLIARI KILLES HIMSELF IN PRISON</p> <p><i>(with photo, cites beginning of goodby-letter sent to his wife)</i></p> <p>DEAR BRUNA, IT'S A SHAME. THEY'RE TREATING US LIKE DOGS...</p>	
<p>Construction site metro line 3 (in the 80s)</p>	<p><u>33:01</u></p> <p>In the 80's, due to the bribes, construction sites in Italy are much more expensive than elsewhere.</p> <p>While one kilometer of subway in Hamburg costs 22,5 millions of today's Euros,</p> <p>the cost of one kilometer of subway in Milan amounts to 96 million Euros.</p>
<p>Losa: how the bribeville system worked</p>	<p><u>33:30</u></p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: I remember a businessman who, at the start of "Clean Hands", told me the evolution of the bribe: it had started from the Christmas present, from</p>

	<p>the Christmas cake, to the watch, to the valuable painting, to silver pieces, to jewelry for the politician's wife, to a cash percentage of the value of the contract, arriving then up to the cartel of businesses. A cartel of businesses that meant that ten businesses decide to participate in all the tenders called, taking turns winning, but all of them pay in any case the bribe to remain in the business cartel. So the percentage to be paid to win the contract is divided by ten, regardless of whether or not that specific company wins the contract.</p> <p>MAURIZIO LOSA: These were the costs of politics that led to the need to procure additional resources for maintaining apparatuses and structures that inevitably were extremely costly.</p>
<p>Political congresses of various parties in the 80s</p>	<p><u>34:56</u></p> <p>Politics are expensive.</p> <p>Before the Clean Hands investigation, the law regulating the public financing of political parties had proved to be not efficient.</p> <p>But politicians found it difficult to change that law. And opted for a different and completely illegal solution</p> <p>This is how the bribeville-system came into being.</p> <p>Due to the political crises following the break-down of the Berlin wall in '89, political balances in Italy are shattered.</p> <p>And in this completely new situation, the operation "clean hands" investigation becomes possible.</p> <p>Political parties of the so called "First Republic" are being blown up or at least completely diminished and reshaped.</p> <p>However, many of the politicians involved never accept the verdict.</p>

Arnaldo Forlani and Bettino Craxi refusing personal responsibility within the Bribeville System

35:25

ANTONIO DI PIETRO: Did you ever receive an official note from me saying we're investigatine on you?

ARNALDO FORLANI, PRESIDENT DEMOCRISTIAN PARTY AND FORMER HEAD OF GOVERNMENT: Yes.

ANTONIO DI PIETRO: Oh. In that note, did you find information saying that we suspected an illegal financing of the Party?

ARNALDO FORLANI: Sì.

ANTONIO DI PIETRO: Oh. So in that very moment you found out we were investigating on that matter?

ARNALDO FORLANI: Yes, that there was a suspect..

ANTONIO DI PIETRO: Oh, bifore that moment when I informed you about the investigation, you did not know about the existence of this illegal financing, or did you?

ARNALDO FORLANI: No, I didn't know about it, and not even now I do, because it's just a suspect.

	<p><u>35:59</u></p> <p>BETTINO CRAXI: For decades, the political system had a part of its financial resources being, let's say, of not regular or illegale nature. And this was not seen only by those who did not want to see, and of this fact only those where not conscient who turned their heads to the other side.</p>
<p>Colombo on the "culture of rules" and the importance of respecting them</p>	<p><u>36:21</u></p> <p>GHERARDO COLOMBO: Ours is a country in which the relationship with rules is one that is often hard, very often extremely difficult. Rules are seen as obligatory for others, but optional for oneself. A hundred thousand justifications are always found on the basis of which the breaking of the rules can be rendered understandable to some extent, or even legitimate, and so on. I believe that there is a problem that concerns the culture – using these words in quotes – of the rules, and therefore, I have always believed, for example, that juridical action alone, in the end, does very little. It is necessary, in my opinion, for legality to be complied with... laws can be obeyed only when the citizen, the person becomes aware of the fact that compliance with the rules, beyond any ethnical or moral question, helps him live better, because the quality of the social relationships he forms will be better.</p>
<p>Epilogue</p>	<p><u>37:59</u> SPEAKER</p> <p>The most important rule is the one that says that the rules are the same for everybody.</p> <p>Not respecting this, has been so expensive for the Italian State in the generous 80's that the country nearly went bankrupt. The more modest estimations say the cost caused by the "bribeville" system has been 10.000 billions of lire,</p> <p>Which corresponded to 5 billions Euros today.</p> <p>Per year, to be precise.</p> <p><u>38:28</u> BLACK SCREEN FOR FINAL CREDITS AND EBU LOGO</p>