

“THE NEGOTIATION”

by Luca Chianca

MILENA GABANELLI IN STUDIO

It all began with an accusation made by Re:Common and Global Witness in London, a large organization that investigates international corruption.

The subject: a license to see if there is oil under a certain stretch of sea off the coast of Nigeria known as Opl 245. The protagonists are the heads of Eni, both past and present: the buyers; and the former Nigerian Minister of Petroleum, Etete, with his Malabu company: the sellers. And in between are the mediators: our Bisignani, the financier Di Nardo, of whom we have photographs, and Obi, another Nigerian intermediary. The price paid by Eni: \$1.092 billion, from which everyone then expects their share. Now, it's true that we're in Nigeria, but can a private citizen sell a stretch of sea? It would be like our former Minister of the Environment assigning himself to Basilicata and then having any oil companies that begin drilling pay him directly. But Eni says: “Are you kidding? I only negotiated with the government, I paid the government and I never needed any intermediary.” Meanwhile however, 200 million have been blocked by the public prosecutor's office in Milan from a bank account in Switzerland and in London.

Luca Chianca reconstructs the story.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The story we're about to tell comes from here, the High Court of Justice in the heart of London. And it's the story of what are suspected to be the largest bribes every paid by anyone in the world: approximately one billion dollars. In 2012 a lawsuit took place to settle a dispute between two foreign companies: Malabu Oil, owned by Nigeria's former Minister of Petroleum, Dan Etete, and Energy Venture Partners, a company in the British Virgin Islands owned by Nigerian businessman Emeka Obi. This affair is of interest to us because it takes us directly into Eni's offices, from where this money was issued. However nobody seems to know into whose pockets it ultimately went.

BARNABY PACE – GLOBAL WITNESS

Nigerian mediator Obi sued Dan Etete's Malabu Oil because he claimed to be owed \$200 million for his role in mediating the negotiations for the sale of the license to the Opl 245 oil block. The court awarded him the stratospheric sum of \$110 million.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The buyer was Eni, at the time headed by Paolo Scaroni who, in 2011, paid over \$1 billion for a license to explore the seabed around the Nigerian coast. What no one could have imagined was that during the English trial all of the details of the negotiation would be reconstructed, and that the name “Luigi Bisignani” would come up.

SIMON TAYLOR – HEAD OF GLOBAL WITNESS

My first reaction was: “Who's Bisignani?”. I asked around. I asked a former Italian public prosecutor in Rome and he replied, “Bisignani? That would be very serious!”

LUCA CHIANCA

What was your role?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Well, I had a role at the beginning because I asked Mr. Scaroni, who I had known for many years, if he would be interested in contacting a company, a Nigerian investment bank, that could help Eni in an important litigation underway regarding an oil well.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The oil block in question is known as Opl 245 and has an intricate history: in the English trial's paperwork we find the former Nigerian Minister of Petroleum stating that the \$200 million which the intermediary, Obi, is demanding are connected to a potential bribe involving Scaroni, Descalzi, and two Eni executives operating in Nigeria, Roberto Casula and Vincenzo Armanna. \$200 million is the extra which the Italian executives should have pocketed. Mention of Bisignani talking about Nigerian oil comes up while he is being wiretapped by the public prosecutor's office in Naples regarding another incident: the P4 for which he would negotiate a plea bargain of one year and seven months.

ANTONIO TRICARICO – RE:COMMON

It was clear in these conversations that Luigi Bisignani spoke repeatedly and obviously with Gianluca di Nardo, as well as with Eni executives. And from these conversations one can clearly deduce that the intermediaries were doing their job.

TELEPHONE WIRETAP FROM 9 OCTOBER 2010, 2:23pm**GIANLUCA DI NARDO**

I wanted to give you a message, an important one, for...the bald one...

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Yes.

GIANLUCA DI NARDO

The fat one is in Paris and is... like a madman, but with the French.

LUIGI BISIGNANI

With the French?

GIANLUCA DI NARDO

Yes, yes. The French are really giving it to us in the "ass". We have to be really careful... We have to be really careful because we've lost a year of work. That's the message to give him.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Di Nardo was worried about competition from the French company, Total, and asked Bisignani to talk to the CEO of Eni at the time, Claudio Descalzi, who is the bald man they spoke of on the phone, while the fat one is Dan Etete

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST FOR IL SOLE 24 ORE

We know that Bisignani mobilized Scaroni; that Scaroni put him in touch with his right hand man at the time, then-CEO Claudio Descalzi, and basically opened the door to this mediator backed by Bisignani.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

A person involved directly with the negotiations told us that there was no need for intermediaries.

ENI EXECUTIVE

We had already been contacted by the seller, directly by Malabu Oil, yet we talked to Emeka Obi for a year.

LUCA CHIANCA

It was an extra step... that was completely unnecessary?

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST *IL SOLE 24 ORE*

An extra step imposed, wanted by Bisignani and accepted by Scaroni, and therefore something which had absolutely no reason to exist if not for that which Bisignani himself told the public prosecutor's office in Naples when he was deposed: that is, to make money off of this deal. He himself said that Di Nardo would have profited and I would have gotten my share.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

So Eni refuses the direct negotiation and on February 24th 2010 signs a confidentiality agreement with Obi to negotiate the sale of the concession through Energy Venture Partners.

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST *IL SOLE 24 ORE*

A front company established in the British Virgin Islands by Obi which, in fact, concealed the interests of Obi and of his Italian backers, who were the ones operating in the wings and negotiating directly with Claudio Descalzi.

LUCA CHIANCA

Is it normal to negotiate with companies based in the British Virgin Islands and which are therefore anonymous?

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST *IL SOLE 24 ORE*

At times, let's say, intermediaries can be from Luxembourg or Switzerland and remain anonymous. But in this case the fundamental problem is that there was no need for an intermediary. Eni had already been approached by the seller. Introducing an intermediary was something that made no sense for Eni, other than as a way for the intermediary to make money.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Eni's letter of expression of interest in Opl 245 is mailed, several months before the confidentiality agreement is signed, to Emeka Obi but at the offices of another company, Eleda Capital Partners, located on the third floor of this London address; an address which can, apparently, also be traced back to Obi.

LUCA CHIANCA

I'm looking for number 70/71. Is this 72?

WOMAN

It should be over there.

LUCA CHIANCA

Not over here? But it's closed.

WOMAN

Then I don't know.

LUCA CHIANCA

Have you ever heard of Venture Partners?

WOMAN

No, I haven't.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The mediation requested by Bisignani runs into trouble.

TELEPHONE WIRETAP FROM 13 OCTOBER 2010, 10:36am

GIANLUCA DI NARDO

They cut us out completely, they're going directly to him...they screwed us.

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Him who, sorry?

GIANLUCA DI NARDO

Eh, number 3, and number 2 confirmed it. Look, you have to call number 2 and tell him, listen, this is not okay, you can't do this... we won't get anything... zero, understand?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

I can't believe this.

GIANLUCA DI NARDO

But you know who this is?... It's number 1... We're fucked! They're going to make the offer directly to him, not through our guy.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

It's Bisignani who then tells the magistrates who they were talking about on the phone. Number one was Paolo Scaroni, the CEO of Eni at the time. Number two was Claudio Descalzi and number three was Roberto Casula, Eni's man in Nigeria who signed the papers with Obi. Something went wrong and Bisignani called Descalzi directly, who at the time was in London.

TELEPHONE WIRETAP FROM 13 OCTOBER 2010, 7:20pm

LUIGI BISIGNANI

I received a rather disconcerting message: that he sent it directly to him, not through our guy.

If that's the case then it's like we didn't do shit.

CLAUDIO DESCALZI

Why?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Well, because... you have to give it to him, not directly to the other guy.

CLAUDIO DESCALZI

No, I give it to him.

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Exactly, perfect, you give it directly to him.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

At the end of October 2010 Eni sends the first buying offer to Obi, equal to one billion 53 million dollars, but Dan Etete's Malabu Oil refuses the offer.

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST IS SOLE 24 ORE

The negotiation falls through but due to external factors. The former business partner of Etete in Malabu, who is in fact the former Minister, gets involved and says: "I also have rights". And at that point Eni faces a problem.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Etete's business partner is the son of the late Nigerian dictator. His lawyer spoke to us via Skype.

REUBEN ATABO – LAWYER TO MOHAMMED SANI ABACHA

When he was selling to Eni in 2010 I wrote to the Italian embassy personally to inform them that the deal would be illegal. It was after this that Dan Etete decided to try to negotiate with the Nigerian government and with president Jonathan Goodluck.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

It's only at this point that the role of the mediators falls through. In April 2014, at a hearing in the senate, Eni's lawyer, Mantovani, explains how the negotiations would take place.

3 APRIL 2014, HEARING BEFORE THE SENATE'S INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

MASSIMO MANTOVANI – ENI'S LEGAL OFFICES

We never had any kind of contractual relationship with the Malabu company. We never used a mediator of any kind. We dealt exclusively with the Nigerian government. The payments weren't made as specified in the earlier question. We made sure that the payments were made to a Nigerian treasury account. So that we'd know that the money went there.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The government's account wasn't in Nigeria, but in London. And when Bisignani seemed to be cut out of the deal, someone from an Eni telephone number calls him. The magistrates who intercepted the call were certain that it was Scaroni.

**3 APRIL 2014, HEARING BEFORE THE SENATE'S INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION
PAOLO SCARONI – CEO OF ENI (2005-2014)**

Aside from the fact that calling Bisignani isn't in and of itself a crime, I've never spoken to Bisignani on the phone or in any other way regarding block 245, so the telephone call that you read wasn't mine.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Scaroni tells the magistrates that it was probably Descalzi or Casula to have called Bisignani and each of them denies it. So we ask the person who received the telephone call directly.

LUCA CHIANCA

Who was it on the phone? Descalzi or Scaroni?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Descalzi.

TELEPHONE WIRETAP FROM 18 NOVEMBER 2010, 5:31pm

CLAUDIO DESCALZI

I wanted to tell you that they've called me from Nigeria and that the Minister is the President, so this comes from the President. They want to sign everything by the end of the day tomorrow... I've already sent a message... to you know who... because I don't know what they're doing on the other end, if the thing fell through, but I wanted to let you know immediately.

LUIGI BISIGNANI

Perfect, I'll let him know. Okay, perfect. Thanks. Bye.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Maybe they called Obi, their Nigerian mediator. But probably not with the desired outcome seeing as how in 2011, in London, Obi filed suit against Dan Etete, demanding a payment of 200 million dollars for his work in mediating the year-long negotiations with Eni.

ANTONIO TRICARICO – RE:COMMON

A London court, indifferent as to whether or not this money had corrupt origins, awarded the intermediary 110 million dollars. In other words it said: "well done Emeka Obi, you don't deserve 200, but you did act as mediator."

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

During the trial Obi demonstrates his role in the negotiations by showing the text messages sent to him by Descalzi.

LUCA CHIANCA

Obi then filed suit and won. The English judge awarded him 110 million dollars. Is that money also yours?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

That's what my lawyers say. Unfortunately not only have I not seen a penny or a Euro of that, but (since you look closely at all documentation) if you look at page 66 of the public prosecutor of Milan's letter rogatory, it states that: "it is clear and logical that Bisignani never received even one Euro".

LUCA CHIANCA

But Di Nardo paid, and he was the person that you introduced to Scaroni to put Eni in contact with Obi. In fact he paid Obi's legal fees for the English trial. So that's money...

LUIGI BISIGNANI

I don't think Scaroni or Descalzi ever met Di Nardo, who was simply an associate in Obi's company, Venture Energy I think it was called, which, by the way, did some big things in Nigeria, including the privatization of the phone network. So it wasn't really.. it was an investment bank. That's what investment banks do.

LUCA CHIANCA

Obi's company was an offshore company in the British Virgin Islands, correct?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

You'd know better than I. The truth is that it was an investment bank like any other investment bank. If it had been called Mediobanca or Morgan Stanley it probably wouldn't have been any different.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

According to the written agreement between Eni and Obi, there is no investment bank, but rather an offshore company. However, getting back to the 110 million dollars which the London judge awarded to Obi for his role as mediator, the money can't be deposited because the public prosecutor's office in Milan has sequestered it in Swiss bank accounts. But then two anonymous companies appear, each claiming a portion of those 110 million dollars. Who do they belong to?

LUCA CHIANCA

The strange thing about the Swiss documents is basically that two more companies appear, each one having received money. This is the Swiss court's ruling and it refers to two companies that have been involved in transferring money. C Limited and D Incorporated. Can you tell me who these companies belong to?

LUIGI BISIGNANI

I'm sorry but I haven't the faintest idea.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Eni provides its version of the facts in a hearing before the Senate's Industrial Commission in 2014.

PAOLO SCARONI – CEO OF ENI (2005-2014)

Not one penny was given to anyone... We only negotiate with governments, not with mediators. Nothing whatsoever to anyone.

ENI EXECUTIVE

During negotiations with Obi there was a major disagreement regarding how much he wanted and how much we would have to give him. In the end we gave him, through his company, €500,000 for the data room, or rather only for gaining access to the information necessary for the purchase of Opl245, even if we never signed a deal with him.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The former Nigerian Minister of Justice and attorney general, Mohammed Bello (who in 2010 closed and signed an agreement between Eni, Shell, and the government), tells us that in addition to government representatives and Eni, Dan Etete's Malabu Oil was at the negotiation table.

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

Yes, Dan Etete, former minister of Nigeria. Yes, I confirm it. I confirm it and I'm also aware that there was an illegal diversion of funds.

LUCA CHIANCA

What was the government's role?

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

The government was supposed to ensure trust and transparency.

LUCA CHIANCA

Transparency is a big word in these cases.

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

Yes.

LUCA CHIANCA

Who received the money from the sale?

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

We can't talk about it over the phone. When you come here we'll give you more information, because there was a collaboration between some people here and some Italians, Italians who work with oil. Some Italians worked with Etete and other people here to divert the funds towards foreign bank accounts. That's all you need to know. That Etete collaborated with Italians.

MILENA GABANELLI IN STUDIO

Meanwhile, the English court determined that the negotiations did indeed take place and continued for a full year. 110 million were blocked in a Swiss bank account by the public prosecutor in Milan, because it was suspected that this was the Italian bribe. But a company like Eni certainly has no need for mediators. It negotiates directly with governments, which it did, but only when it came to light that the party selling didn't have the title to do so. At which point the deal fell through, but then came back to the table because the unauthorized party had a hand in the government negotiations. At least according to those present at the

negotiating table, meaning the notary, who added: “There was also a diversion of funds. That money didn't stay here. But I'll tell you more, when you come here I'll give you more information. I can't talk to you about it over the phone.” At which point our own Luca Chianca, with a letter of invitation from the Nigerian Anti-corruption Commission in hand, visits the embassy to request a visa.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Rome, Nigerian embassy.

LUCA CHIANCA

Yesterday we talked to the president of the commission and he said that he sent you the authorization to issue a visa.

MAN

No, I don't know. We didn't get anything. There's a difference between saying they will send it and having sent it.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

The head of the visa office reassures us regarding our request.

MAN

I think that by the end of the day it will arrive.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

And he shows us our request. We come back several days later, sure that we'll be able to pick up the visa.

LUCA CHIANCA

Sir, is everything okay?

MAN

No, it's not okay. It's not okay. Still nothing. Still nothing.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

A month passed from that day and we did not receive a visa within the necessary time frame. The only certainty is that Eni paid 1.092 billion dollars. The money was wired to a JP Morgan account in London, managed by the Nigerian government. But it remained there only very briefly.

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST *IL SOLE 24 ORE*

According to the reconstruction of events, this money was initially transferred to a Swiss bank account opened by a front organization, a certain Petro Service, connected to a man named Gianfranco Falcioni who is the Italian honorary vice consul.

LUCA CHIANCA

In Port Harcourt, in the Niger delta?

CLAUDIO GATTI – JOURNALIST *IL SOLE 24 ORE*

In Nigeria, yes, the centre of the oil industry. From there, however, the money is returned because the Swiss bank rejects it due precisely to its ambiguity.

ON THE PHONE: GIANFRANCO FALCIONI – HONORARY VICE CONSUL IN NIGERIA

Yes, hello?

LUCA CHIANCA

Mr. Falcioni?

GIANFRANCO FALCIONI – HONORARY VICE CONSUL IN NIGERIA

Yes, who is this?

LUCA CHIANCA

Yes, hello. I'm a journalist for Rai3. My name is Chianca. Do you have a minute?

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

We tried in vain to call him back. The vice consul no longer answered our calls..

ENI EXECUTIVE

It was pretty stupid to wire money to an Italian Swiss bank account, a billion dollars diverted abroad.

LUCA CHIANCA

And why did they do it?

ENI EXECUTIVE

A mistake made by someone, which was also risky for the entire company... luckily it was sent back. If the wire had gone through we'd all be locked up now.

LUCA CHIANCA

Why?

ENI EXECUTIVE

Because Paolo Scaroni was a board member at Generali which owned BSI. But we're crazy to wire this money to the Italian Swiss bank.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

So the money comes back and they attempt to wire it to a Lebanese account, but this attempt also fails. In the end approximately 800 million dollars are deposited in two Nigerian accounts held by Malabu, and are then divided among various organizations. One in Abuja, another in Kano (in the north of the country), and three in Lagos. To discover who is behind these organizations we hired an expert Nigerian colleague, Nicholas, and this is what he was able to capture with his smart phone around Lagos. These are the headquarters of Imperial Union, which received 34 million dollars.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

Is this a school? Have you ever heard of Imperial Union?

WATCHMAN

No.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

Excuse me, ma'am, I'm looking for Imperial Union. I was told this is the address.

WOMAN

What is it, a school?

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

No, it's a company. You've never heard this name before?

WOMAN

No.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

157 million dollars went to Group Construction, which should be located on this street at number 165. Nicholas asks the watchman.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

What's the last number on this street?

WATCHMAN

The last number on this street is 51,

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

Not 165?

WATCHMAN

Not 165, the last number is 51.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

Have you ever heard of A Group Construction?

WATCHMAN

No. There's no company, no office. I've never heard of Group Construction.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Meanwhile, Novel Property and Development, which received 30 million dollars, should be located on this street.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

I found a real estate agent at this address..

LUCA CHIANCA

So are these fake companies? With made up addresses? What kind of companies are they?

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

Yes, yes. Many of them are companies with false addresses. Over the past few weeks I've visited each of these addresses, but they aren't there.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Then in the north there is Kano, where the Megatech headquarters are apparently located, a company that received 180 million dollars. Looking online we discovered that it's part of the Monument group and traced it to this building in London, in front of Hyde Park.

LUCA CHIANCA

I've been told that Monument has an apartment here, no?

DOORMAN

Who are you?

LUCA CHIANCA

I'm a journalist.

DOORMAN

What do you want?

LUCA CHIANCA

I'd like to meet the owner of Monument.

DOORMAN

Why?

LUCA CHIANCA

To discuss a contract related to oil.

DOORMAN

I've known this family for thirty years, and this is not the way to introduce yourself.

LUCA CHIANCA

Are they a Nigerian family?

DOORMAN

I won't answer, and regardless, know that everything is recorded. There are video cameras everywhere.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Getting back to the 800 million paid by Eni. In London we learn a piece of news that is worth hearing straight from the mouth of the Nigerian attorney general who oversaw the agreement between Eni and the government directly.

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

Someone even called me from Italy asking about those payments.

LUCA CHIANCA

Are you saying that someone from Italy called to get the money?

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

Yes, someone requesting the transfer of those amounts, on two occasions, twice, two different people.

LUCA CHIANCA

Do you remember their names?

ON THE PHONE: M. ADOKE BELLO – ATTORNEY GENERAL FROM 2010 TO MAY 2015

Everything is in my files. I expect that you understand without many explanations. We're in Africa, in Nigeria.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

That was all he would tell us. In Nigeria, however, Nicholas helped us gain access to the chamber of commerce, and there we discovered that in each company which received a portion of the 800 million dollars from Eni, the name Aliyu Abubakar almost always appears.

LUCA CHIANCA

Who is Aliyu Abubakar?

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

He is a very mysterious person. He's the one who takes care of things for the government and for the companies. The commission against financial corruption calls him Mr. Corruption.

LUCA CHIANCA

So in Nigeria it's still not known who received all of the money paid by Eni.

NICHOLAS IBEKWE – JOURNALIST *PREMIUM TIMES*

No one knows. What we do know is that it went to Dan Etete, Abubakar, and maybe another representative from the previous government. What's certain is that it went to private individuals and not the Nigerian government.

DOTUN OLOKO – ANTI-CORRUPTION ACTIVIST

The Opl245 license was evaluated as one of the richest and productive offshore zones in Nigeria. And despite the fact that it was sold for less than its value, the Nigerian people did not benefit from this money.

SIMON TAILOR – HEAD OF GLOBAL WITNESS

Nigeria lost over 1 billion dollars, which is 65% of the health care budget for last year.

LUCA CHIANCA VOICE OVER

Last year the Nigerian parliament asked the Goodluck administration to retract the license

given to Eni and Shell, based on the investigation carried out by an ad hoc parliamentary commission that looked into the affair. Leo Ogor was its president.

LEO OGOR – PRESIDENT OF THE OPL245 COMMISSION

The transaction is steeped in mystery. I'll give you a clear example: there was no tender, yet Eni became the primary holder of the license together with Shell.

LUCA CHIANCA

We don't know where the over 800 million dollars wound up.

LEO OGOR – PRESIDENT OF THE OPL245 COMMISSION

The point is that the transaction was not transparent. The method didn't comply with any international criteria. And it's important to ask one question: would they have been able to get away with this in another country? The answer is No, with a capital "N".

MILENA GABANELLI IN STUDIO

And then Nigerians flee from hunger on barges. So, if it's true that these more than one billion dollars didn't go into developing Nigeria, but rather went into the pockets of private citizens, the government should have the courage to press charges against them in every office, so that we may also know what Eni's responsibilities are. For now the main point is that no law prohibits the use of intermediaries, as long as the exact amount paid for the purchase of a good and the amount paid for mediation are written in the accounting logs. In this case nothing is clear. Then, if the oil industry really works like this, and it's perfectly normal to negotiate with someone who has claimed a piece of sea for himself, and who has also been convicted of international money laundering by the French court... fine, but then let's stop talking about codes of ethics... A commercial break and then we'll look at Eni's big plan to sell its assets, from the chemical sector to its fuel distribution network.