

The Trial Known as the “False Eni Conspiracy”

A reader’s guide to the closing brief of the civil party (“Procedural Chimeras”) and to the Public Prosecutors’ closing argument of 25 June 2026

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The Milan Court, Third Criminal Section — criminal proceedings no. 4659/2023 R.G.N.R. – 643/2024 R.G. dib.

Editorial fact-sheet, updated to 8 July 2026

Notice. The text published below is the closing brief filed with the Court by the civil party (the claimant for damages within the criminal trial) Avv. Luca Santa Maria: a party’s submission, which sets out a thesis. The Public Prosecutors’ closing argument, delivered on 25 June 2026, argues the opposite thesis on decisive points. This fact-sheet takes no position: it sets out the essential data of the trial and the two readings side by side, so that the reader may find his bearings in each.

The quotations from the closing argument cited in the brief come from the transcription of the public audio of Radio Radicale and are in the course of being verified. All the defendants are presumed innocent until a final, irrevocable judgment; the same applies to the persons under investigation in the connected proceedings.

1. The trial in brief

ADJUDICATING AUTHORITY	THE MILAN COURT, THIRD CRIMINAL SECTION, SITTING AS A PANEL
Docket numbers	criminal proceedings no. 4659/2023 R.G.N.R. – 643/2024 R.G. (trial register)
Current name	the trial of the “false Eni conspiracy” (in the press reports also the “Eni misdirection” (depistaggio))
Defendants	12 natural persons and one company: Piero Amara, Vincenzo Armanna, Michele Bianco, Giuseppe Calafiore, Alessandro Ferraro, Massimo Gaboardi, Vincenzo Larocca, Giuseppe Lipera, Massimo Mantovani, Francesco Mazzagatti, Antonio Vella and Napag Italia s.r.l. in liquidation

Offences charged (in various combinations)	criminal association (Art. 416 of the Criminal Code); inducement not to make, or to make false, statements to the judicial authority (Art. 377-bis); calumny (calunnia, Art. 368); fraud; self-laundering. Among the counts cited in the brief: count B — the calumny of 9.2.2017 against the public prosecutor Fabio De Pasquale and Avv. Luca Santa Maria; count L — calumny, from 2.7.2019, against Claudio Descalzi and Claudio Granata
Public Prosecutors	Cristian Barilli and Giovanni Polizzi (trial and closing argument); the investigations were opened and conducted, in different phases, by other magistrates of the office, among them Laura Pedio and Paolo Storari
Civil parties	Eni S.p.A.; Claudio Descalzi (chief executive of Eni); Claudio Granata (senior Eni manager); Avv. Luca Santa Maria, defence counsel for Armanna until 9.2.2017, injured party of count B and damaged by the association offence (count A), author of the brief published here
Time-span of the facts	according to the charges, from 2014-2015 to 2019; by order of 21.5.2026 the Court held the subsequent events (Equalize, “Operation Grey”) to exceed the perimeter of the counts
State of the proceedings	closing argument concluded on 25.6.2026 with the prosecutors’ requests; there follow the arguments of the civil parties and of the defences and of the civilly liable party; judgment expected in the coming months

2. What is at issue

The trial arises from the investigation into an alleged system of misdirection built around the great Eni proceedings (first and foremost “Eni-Nigeria/OPL 245”, concerning the oil licence worth some \$1.3 billion). Between 2014-2015 and 2017, at the Public Prosecutors’ Offices of Trani and Siracusa, case files took shape on an alleged “conspiracy” against Eni’s top management — among the alleged “conspirators” figured the independent directors Karina Litvack and Luigi Zingales, the manager Umberto Vergine, prestigious managers such as Franco Bernabè, Avv. Nino Cusimano, at the time General Counsel of Telecom, Avv. Bruno Cova, former General Counsel of Fiat and Parmalat, and Avv. Luca Santa Maria — fed, according to the prosecution, by fabricated statements and documents; in 2019 two of the protagonists, Piero Amara and Vincenzo Armanna, switched sides — the latter from July 2019, after having been the “pentito” (turncoat witness) of the OPL 245 trial — and accused the chief executive Claudio Descalzi and the senior manager Claudio Granata of having bought, in 2016, the retraction of the accusations on OPL 245 that Armanna had made in 2014 and maintained until April 2016 (Art. 377-bis of the Criminal Code).

The two readings in play. For the closing argument, the “conspiracy” was the work of a criminal association composed of Amara and Bianco, with Armanna for one phase; the 2019 accusations against the top management were its final act: a calumny (count L), which matured when Eni severed the economic channels that fed the protagonists. The prosecutors concede that the purpose of the Art. 416 association was the defence of the

CEO but, together with it, treat the personal economic motive as the priority. For the civil party Santa Maria, the picture is reversed: the conspiracy set in motion from 2014, from the moment Armanna accused Eni's top management, was a complex system of power which made instrumental use of the Public Prosecutors' Offices of Trani and Siracusa and as far as Milan, in order to sabotage the Milanese OPL 245 investigation and trial; the 2019 accusations were well founded (the subornation under Art. 377-bis would be documented by the Naoc–Fenog–Armanna money flows and by the concomitant courtroom retractions, as well as by various other indicia such as the irregularities in the payments and in the award of the contracts from Naoc to Fenog), while the evidence used against the accusers from 2020 onwards — in the investigation then conducted by the prosecutor Storari — would be “procedural chimeras”: constructs devoid of probative value, originating directly or indirectly from the Eni defence and designed to prove Armanna's unreliability and the non-liability of Eni's top managers, the victims. The same body of evidence is said to have been used by the Brescia Public Prosecutor's Office for the trial of the two OPL 245 prosecutors. The Court will have to choose between the two reconstructions, or draw one of its own.

The possible outcomes are mirror images. If the Court were to exclude calumny, holding the 2019 accusations not to be false — bringing the facts back, that is, within the channel of Art. 377-bis, as at the origin of the investigation — the premise that today makes Descalzi and Granata the victims of calumny would fall away: their position would again become assessable by the Public Prosecutor's Office, with possible repercussions also on the association count. If, instead, the calumny is confirmed, the framework of the closing argument — Amara, Armanna and Bianco guilty, with or without the complicity of Mantovani, Vella and Larocca of Eni; Descalzi and Granata victims — will remain exactly as it stands.

The principal questions committed to the Court:

- whether there was a criminal association between Amara, Bianco and (for one phase) Armanna, and with what roles — or whether the original charge is well founded, which numbers among the members of the Art. 416 association also Mantovani, Vella and Larocca — and whether there are further positions for which the records should be transmitted to the Public Prosecutor's Office;
- whether the July 2019 accusations by Amara and Armanna against Descalzi and Granata amount to calumny (Art. 368) or were well-founded — or in any event non-calumnious — reports of subornation (Art. 377-bis);
- what weight to give to the money flows documented in the case file (Naoc→Fenog contracts; Fenog→Armanna and Fenog/Napag→Amara payments) and what meaning to Armanna's retractions — documentary in themselves — of the original accusations;
- whether the “Rinascente Pact” is proven, or provable circumstantially, or not proven, or proven non-existent, and what the effects are on the accusatory framework;

- whether the 2013 chats between Armanna, Granata and Descalzi are authentic or altered, and by whose hand and why; the same for Armanna's Wickr and Telegram chats, which have been disavowed in their entirety by Granata;
- what weight attaches to the false documents filed with the Public Prosecutor's Office in 2020 on behalf of Eni's General Counsel (the "doormat" affair) and to their origin — which remains part of the subject-matter of the trial, because the Alecci-Speroni note was admitted by the Court, while the note of the Guardia di Finanza (GdF, Italy's financial police) of 4.7.2025 and the records of the statements of two Equalize suspects were not admitted;
- what the statement of the consultant Bedarida — that he had identified a "very strange" synchronisation between Armanna's mobile phone and an unidentified third-party computer — is, and what it implies;
- the civil parties' claims for damages.

3. Essential chronology

The entries marked (PC thesis) or (PM thesis) report reconstructions by one of the parties (PC = the civil party; PM = the Public Prosecutors); the others refer to records, court orders or facts not in dispute.

2011	ENI AND SHELL ACQUIRE THE NIGERIAN LICENCE OPL 245: IT IS THE TRANSACTION FROM WHICH THE "ENI-NIGERIA" INTERNATIONAL-CORRUPTION TRIAL WILL ARISE (MILAN, 2018-2021). THE VALUE OF THE DEAL IS AROUND \$1.3 BILLION; ACCORDING TO THE TRIAL RECONSTRUCTIONS IN THAT PROCEEDING, THE FINAL DESTINATION OF A SUBSTANTIAL PART – AT LEAST \$400 MILLION – HAS NEVER BEEN ESTABLISHED, HAVING BEEN MOVED IN WAYS THAT PREVENTED ITS TRACEABILITY
2013	Eni charges Armanna with improper expense claims and dismisses him; an economic settlement follows. First contract awarded by the board of Naoc (Eni's Nigerian subsidiary) to the supplier Fenog: River Crossing, \$40.5m
May–July 2014	Descalzi becomes chief executive (May); the Milan Public Prosecutor's Office investigations into OPL 245 are under way (the first searches in July). The independent directors Karina Litvack and Luigi Zingales, on the Control and Risk Committee, raise doubts about the deal; at the Board meeting of 30.7.2014 Descalzi defends the managers and invites anyone who does not trust him to dismiss him (records and testimony cited in the brief)
28-30.7.2014	Video filmed in the offices of Ezio Bigotti: Armanna announces that he will accuse Eni over OPL 245 ("avalanche of shit" and notices of investigation (avvisi di garanzia)). Armanna had been Eni's project leader on the deal — wanted by Scaroni and Bisignani — until its closing. On 30 July he makes statements to the Milan prosecutors: Scaroni and Descalzi are entered in the register of suspects for OPL 245
21.11.2014	Dinner at the Jumeirah hotel (Rome) with Matthew Tonlagha (Fenog). A meeting between Granata and Tonlagha in the lobby is asserted by Amara and Armanna and denied by Granata; the alibi put forward by Granata (a dinner in his diary) will turn out to have been postponed by a week (witness Noviello, hearing of 18.9.2025)
17.12.2014	

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	Naoc releases \$1.7m to Fenog in derogation from its internal procedures (Eni audit 46/2019; examination of Insulla, hearing of 29.5.2025)
Jan.-Feb. 2015	Fenog pays Armanna \$800,000. For the whole of 2015 Armanna makes no statements and gives no interviews
2015	In Trani and Siracusa the case files on the alleged anti-Eni “conspiracy” develop: three anonymous complaints (2015) name as “conspirators”, in various capacities, Vergine, Zingales, Litvack, other professionals and Avv. Santa Maria; Trani investigates Zingales — who had demanded that the top management account for the Akinmade invoice: “to an ignoramus like me this looks like corruption” (email of 26.10.2014) — and in 2015 Zingales leaves the Board
Apr.–May 2016	On an undetermined day in the spring, in Rome, near the Rinascente department store in Piazza Fiume, the corrupt pact with Granata (the “Rinascente Pact”) is said to have been concluded: Amara and Armanna will state (July 2019) that Granata handed Armanna two pages of text to be incorporated into the retraction brief; Granata denies it; for the prosecutors the meeting finds no corroboration (see §§ 5 and 7)
27.5.2016	Armanna’s defence files the brief retracting the accusations against Descalzi. The same day, the Fenog–Napag framework contract granting Amara 10% of the contract awards is recorded as created and as entering into force, with the “IDU Project” already listed (Col. Ferri, hearing of 23.9.2024)
8–28.7.2016	The prosecutor Longo (Siracusa), to whom the Trani Public Prosecutor’s Office had transmitted the file for lack of territorial jurisdiction, sends Vergine — described by Amara as Descalzi’s real “competitor” — a notice of investigation for defamation against Eni which also mentions Zingales and Litvack, without Eni having lodged a complaint against any of the three; the complaint arrives “after the fact” on 28.7, signed by Mantovani under a power of attorney from Descalzi, on a text by Grosso, Eni’s defence counsel in both proceedings (OPL 245 and the “conspiracy”); the complaint indicates neither names nor facts. The same 28.7 the Board excludes Litvack — already the target in May of a defamatory article by the Agir agency — from the Control and Risk Committee
Oct. 2016 – early 2017	Mantovani takes over the direction of the Gas & Power area previously held by Vergine (October 2016); between late 2016 and early 2017 Vergine, who had been in the running for the appointment as CEO in 2014, is transferred to a non-operational foreign role on Granata’s proposal (Board minutes, KPMG and witnesses cited in the brief)
Dec. 2016	With the notice of conclusion of the investigations, the “Eni Nigeria” file is made available to the parties and their counsel: in the records, the transcripts of wiretaps from November–December 2014 and the Guardia di Finanza notes describing the Fenog→Armanna payments. From this date — the brief observes — it is known to Eni, as a matter of the proceedings’ record, that its accuser is being paid by its supplier
9.2–6.3.2017	Armanna sends the email accusing the prosecutor De Pasquale and his own defence counsel, who has just withdrawn from the mandate (count B): the accusation is that the prosecutor and the lawyer had directed from outside the accusations he had made against De-

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	scalzi. On 6 March Eni’s lawyers, Diodà and Grosso, file it with the Public Prosecutor’s Office, with Chief Prosecutor Greco, who transmits it to De Pasquale
14.3.2017	The Naoc board resolves to award Fenog the IDU contract: \$70.3m; Eni’s internal audit 46/2019 will find in it “numerous defects and irregularities”; the case file contains Fenog-Napag and Fenog-Armanna contracts providing for a payment to each of them of 10% of the total value of the contract
20.3.2017	De Pasquale, to whom the file has been transmitted from Siracusa, requests the dismissal of the “false conspiracy”: “there is no evidence whatsoever” that Vergine, Zingales and Litvack plotted against Eni
July 2017	OPL 245 preliminary hearing: Armanna repeats the accusations against his former defence counsel Luca Santa Maria — who in the meantime has reported him —; the prosecutors open a line of investigation into the email affair which will later merge into the main strand of the “conspiracy” case
Feb. 2018	Amara is arrested (investigations by the Rome and Messina Public Prosecutors’ Offices) for the final phase of the Siracusa “conspiracy” with the prosecutor Longo and Calafiore; Eni, after multiple internal audits, removes him from its panel of external counsel. The Naoc contracts with Fenog and the Fenog→Armanna payments in part continue
early 2019	With the Rome and Milan Public Prosecutors’ Offices at work on Fenog and Napag, and asking Eni for the complete documentation, Eni terminates the contracts with the two suppliers, thereby cutting off the payments from Naoc to Fenog and hence to Armanna and Napag
2–15.7.2019	Amara (from 2.7) and Armanna (also in the OPL 245 trial, still under way at the time) state to the prosecutors that the 2016 retraction was bought as a result of the “Rinascenza Pact”. On 13.7 Descalzi and Granata are entered in the register of suspects under Art. 377-bis. On 15.7 Granata lodges a complaint against Armanna. Speroni, Eni’s General Counsel, commissions defence and investigative engagements (Dentons; C&F Partners under Art. 327-bis; “Project Grey”, about €1 million in five months)
17–24.7.2019	OPL 245, hearings of 17 and 22-24 July: Armanna testifies, renewing the OPL 245 accusations and recounting the subornation; the Eni defence waives cross-examination. The defence of Casula (Eni’s number two, a co-defendant) files the note of the Turin GdF with the transcript of the Bigotti video of 28.7.2014, declaring that it had been in its possession for about a year and a half as counsel for another defendant; Eni too had it available (KPMG report) in a version in which the expression “avalanche of shit” does not appear, while the announcements of the notices of investigation do
Dec. 2019	Amara begins putting on record statements about the alleged “Ungheria” lodge; the records are placed under seal and entrusted to the sole custody of Lt Daniele Spello (GdF), at Amara’s wish; among the affiliates, or alleged affiliates, some seventy figures from the judiciary, the armed forces, top managers, lawyers, politicians
5.1.2020	First appearance of the anonymous documents on Speroni’s “doormat”; further deliveries will follow during the year: they are documents objectively accusatory towards Amara, Ar-

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	manina, Mantovani and Mazzagatti, and useful to Eni. In them appears for the first time the accusation that Armanna had bribed his own Nigerian witnesses in OPL 245; all the documents will turn out to be false
23-29.1.2020	On 23 January Speroni reports orally to the GdF officers and to Deputy Chief Prosecutor Pedio the “Armanna as briber of the witnesses” lead; on the origin of the documents he will over time give non-matching versions — first the “White Moon” defence investigation, then the anonymous package found on his home doormat. On 29 January, in OPL 245, one of the allegedly bought witnesses, heard in court, disowns even the letter bearing his signature, as well as any actual acquaintance with Armanna; he is placed under investigation for false testimony, his mobile phones seized; the investigation ends almost at once
5.2.2020	OPL 245: the Court rejects the prosecutors’ application to hear Amara under Art. 507. Amara’s records, made available to the parties on 29 January, were heavily redacted, including the passage — reported at second hand, from Bianco — about the Eni defence counsel allegedly “having access” to the President of the panel (Tremolada); in their written Art. 507 application the prosecutors had indicated, without names, “interference by the defences of certain defendants with Milanese magistrates”. The prosecutor Storari was opposed to the matter being spoken of during any examination of Amara. A judicial-police report of 30.6.2022 will document that the nine sealed records were opened in sequence (12:35:16–12:36:32) on Spello’s hard disk while the Court was deliberating in chambers on the application: the facts are documentary; the juxtaposition of the two events is an inference of the civil party (PC thesis)
9.2.2020	Spello dies of a heart attack; no autopsy is ordered
17.2.2020	During an interview, Armanna shows the prosecutors, Storari and Pedio, the copy of a page of one of Amara’s sealed records: the “Ungheria” leak is out in the open; violent altercation with the prosecutor Storari. The Milan Public Prosecutor’s Office will open an investigation into the unlawful disclosure only two years later (see 20.2.2026)
20.2–3.3.2020	Avv. Alecci files with the Public Prosecutor’s Office, on Speroni’s behalf, bank statements accusatory towards Mantovani, Napag (Amara and Mazzagatti) and Armanna, and the WhatsApp chat “vincenzo al.” (\$75,000, “two possible witnesses”); on 3 March, a USB stick with internal audits. It is the first time that the “Armanna as briber of the witnesses” lead surfaces in documentary form. Four foreign FIUs and an order of the judge for preliminary investigations (23.1.2024) will establish their falsity; the false chat will not be assessed in the investigations until 4 July 2025
Apr.–May 2020	Storari, co-holder of the file with Deputy Chief Prosecutor Pedio, hands Davigo a copy of Amara’s “Ungheria” records; he keeps the fact quiet within the Office for about a year, including from Pedio herself and from the Chief Prosecutor. Between late 2020 and 2021 the records reach the newspapers and the affair explodes: the leak strand and the CSM (Superior Council of the Magistracy) case are born; the records of the file had been sent from Milan to Perugia; the prosecutor Storari will denounce the unwillingness of the OPL 245 colleagues, and of the Chief Prosecutor too, genuinely to investigate; Storari sends emails in

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	which, to defend Milan’s jurisdiction, he declares that Amara, as matters then stood, was credible
23.9.2020	Eni delivers documentation (diaries, badges, meetings) intended to attest that Granata took no part in the meeting recounted by Amara and Armanna (Eni note 535600), Rinascente Pact
Oct. 2020	The first anti-money-laundering checks (FIU) certify the falsity of the bank documents delivered to the Public Prosecutor’s Office on 20 February; in Milan an ad hoc file is opened, distinct from that of the “conspiracy” to which Alecci had addressed the 20 February filing; the file will have complicated vicissitudes: Speroni will make contradictory statements on the provenance of the documents and will for that reason be placed under investigation
5.11.2020	Seizure of Armanna’s iPhone, after the defences of Descalzi and Granata had denounced as false two 2013 chats between Armanna and the two top managers, published in a newspaper. The safeguarded technical examination under Art. 360 of the Code of Criminal Procedure begins: Granata’s defence — which, like the Descalzi defence, has not made the mobile phones of the two top managers available to the prosecutors — requests a full-extraction technology that will become available only eight months later; the same defence insists that the Art. 360 examination be extended to the whole of Armanna’s phone and not only to the 2013 chats; prosecutor Pedio rejects the application and the ruling will be upheld in the Court of Cassation; in the meantime the prosecutor Storari starts, on the copy, a parallel examination under Art. 359, without adversarial safeguards and without keeping the Deputy Chief Prosecutor and the Chief Prosecutor informed
23.12.2020	A draft GdF report transmitted to the prosecutor Storari (which emerged only in April 2026) indicates a “possible meeting” near the Rinascente, “also with Granata”
14.1.2021	GdF note 23961 (final version): having collected the Eni documents and run the Sfera query on the phone records of Amara, Armanna and Calafiore only, not Granata, it concludes that there is no evidence of the Rinascente meeting. The same day the GdF, following the Art. 359 examination conducted on the semi-complete copy without use of the technology requested in the Art. 360 procedure, reports the extraction from Armanna’s iPhone of chats with the possible Nigerian witnesses in which \$50,000 paid to them is spoken of; in mid-March 2021 De Pasquale and Spadaro will object that those \$50,000 were the price of a “file” against Eni, not of the witnesses; the accusation, which arose from Speroni’s confused initiatives of 23 January and 20 February, with “vincenzo al.”, will be taken up by the prosecutor Storari, who would like to arrest Armanna, and then also in Brescia in the form of a charge of failure to disclose the evidence to the Eni defence, and will then deflate without leading to the opening of criminal proceedings against Armanna
17.3.2021	OPL 245: the Court acquits all the defendants “because the fact does not exist”; the acquittal will become final after the Prosecutor General’s Office waives the appeal. In its reasoning the Court will give great weight to the video of 28.7.2014 — whose transcript had been in the case file since July 2019, filed by the Casula defence (see 17–24.7.2019) — stigmatising the prosecutors’ failure to disclose it to those very defences: that reproach will arrive un-

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	changed in Brescia, where it will hold up through two levels of judgment as the basis of the conviction of the two prosecutors, later quashed by the Court of Cassation on 18.6.2026
5-10.11.2021	Report of the prosecutor’s technical consultant (Bedarida) after the availability of the full-file-system technology: 45 chats from 2013 (Armanna–Descalzi–Granata) “altered” — that is, their database altered, the rest intact (including the Telegram and Wickr databases); in the report, and later in court, Bedarida records that Armanna’s iPhone appeared synchronised with an unidentified computer (“John Doe”). The news, however, passes unnoticed, not least because Bedarida does not investigate it. Five days later Armanna is entered in the register of suspects for calumny (Art. 415-bis notice of 2.12.2021)
2022-2025	Brescia trial of De Pasquale and Spadaro (refusal to perform official acts, for the failure to disclose to the Eni defence records deemed favourable, consisting of the “evidence” of the prosecutor Storari): sentenced to 8 months at first instance (judgment 3178/2024) and on appeal (Oct. 2025). The body of evidence used against Armanna in the Milan investigation coincides in large part with that on which Brescia founded the prosecution of the two prosecutors (PC thesis)
Oct. 2022 – Oct. 2024	The OECD Working Group on Bribery, in its Phase 4 report on Italy and in the subsequent follow-up, criticises the drastic fall in proceedings for international corruption and records 23 of the 48 recommendations as not implemented (see § 10); above all, however, it criticises the Court’s judgment on OPL 245, regarded, for its reasoning, as not in conformity with the OECD Convention, which Italy too has signed; great criticism comes Italy’s way for the double conviction of the two OPL 245 prosecutors
31.1.2023	The Milan judge for preliminary investigations dismisses the case against Descalzi and Granata (Arts. 377-bis and 416) on the matching request of the Public Prosecutor’s Office
13.9.2023	The Perugia Public Prosecutor’s Office dismisses the investigation into the alleged “Ungheria” lodge, which had originated in Amara’s statements, partly because — according to the dismissal request itself — of the 2020-2021 leak, which had compromised any development of it
2023-2024	Committal for trial: the decree fixes the present framework — Descalzi and Granata injured parties of the calumny charged to Amara and Armanna; the association count (416) charged to Amara, Armanna, Bianco, Mantovani, Vella and Larocca. The calumny against Santa Maria and De Pasquale charged to Amara, Armanna, Mantovani, Bianco and Lipera. The Court of Cassation confirms Milan’s jurisdiction (February 2024); in the spring the trial opens
autumn 2024	The Equalize case (illegal dossier-building) breaks. From the excerpts of wiretaps between two of the company’s figures, Gallo and Calamucci, there emerge — according to the press reports quoting them verbatim — a “pantomime” staged on Speroni’s behalf, with the delivery of documents on the “doormat”, the reported acquaintance with Descalzi, Amara’s credibility put at 80%, and the accomplished steering of the investigations which then issued in the reversal of the accusation as described
17.12.2024	

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The PC files a complaint linking the authentic data of the Armanna-Renda chat, extracted from Armanna’s iPhone, to the false chat “vincenzo al.” filed by Alecci-Speroni on 20 February 2020: whoever fabricated the forgery knew the original; therefore, he had the copy of the phone before the seizure of 5.11.2020. The Santa Maria complaint does not appear to be registered in any file of the Public Prosecutor’s Office. The identity of the data of the two chats will be confirmed by the GdF in 2025 (report of 4.7.2025; Santamato note of 2.10.2025)

5.6.2025

Three NGOs (Corner House, Hawkmoth, HEDA) formally ask the OECD Working Group on Bribery to establish the breach, by Italy, of Art. 5 of the Anti-Bribery Convention: a dossier with 60 “red flags” covering the OPL 245 case, the acquittal and the “conspiracy”, with the judicial outcomes then known, including the conviction of the prosecutors (see § 10)

4.7.2025

136-page GdF report on “Operation Grey”, Equalize and the genesis of the 2020 forgeries: from the interviews of the two Equalize figures wiretapped in 2022, excerpts of which had been published in the press, it emerges that the “pantomime” was Speroni’s work and that the fabrication of the forgeries is traceable to the investigative engagements commissioned in 2019 (in particular Carr, formerly of Kroll); among the papers, Gallo and Calamucci recount, the photograph of Gorelick, former CIA head in Italy. The GdF formulates hypotheses on the authorship of the forgeries — not excluding the Amara and Armanna leads, though highly improbable compared with the Speroni one — and proposes further inquiries

20.2.2026

Judgment on the leak of the records, known since 17.2.2020 following the showing of a page by Armanna to the prosecutors: Amara acquitted; Armanna sentenced to 2 years and 6 months for calumny — he had accused the Interior Ministry official Filippo Paradiso of having supplied him, for payment, with Amara’s records, later retracting. In the parallel strand, disclosure of secrets from Storari to Davigo, Davigo is convicted irrevocably on second appeal (29.10.2025); Storari, who had handed him the records, had been acquitted definitively for want of an appeal by the Prosecutor General’s Office to the Court of Cassation

19.3.2026

The prosecutors — who are also the prosecutors of the “conspiracy” case — request the dismissal of Speroni’s position in the connected proceedings on the filings of 20.2 and 3.3.2020; the decision of the judge for preliminary investigations is pending

21.5.2026

The Court excludes the evidence on Equalize/“Grey” (it exceeds the temporal perimeter of the counts) and does not admit the PC’s applications under Art. 507 (GdF report of 4.7.2025, Carr report, examination of the investigating officers and of Speroni, “John Doe”)

18.6.2026

The Court of Cassation acquits De Pasquale and Spadaro “because the fact does not exist” (the reasons have not yet been filed); press reports state that De Pasquale is said to have asked the Chief Prosecutor for a copy of Speroni’s mobile phone and that the Chief Prosecutor is said to have transmitted the file to Brescia, which has jurisdiction over proceedings concerning Milanese magistrates (Art. 11 of the Code of Criminal Procedure), hypothesising accusations by De Pasquale, of calumny, towards Milanese magistrates

24.6.2026

After the Cassation ruling, the NGOs (with ReCommon) make known the commitment of the OECD Working Group to examine the complaints of political interference in the OPL

2011	ENI AND SHELL ACQUIRE THE NIGERIAN LICENCE OPL 245: IT IS THE TRANSACTION FROM WHICH THE “ENI-NIGERIA” INTERNATIONAL-CORRUPTION TRIAL WILL ARISE (MILAN, 2018-2021). THE VALUE OF THE DEAL IS AROUND \$1.3 BILLION; ACCORDING TO THE TRIAL RECONSTRUCTIONS IN THAT PROCEEDING, THE FINAL DESTINATION OF A SUBSTANTIAL PART – AT LEAST \$400 MILLION – HAS NEVER BEEN ESTABLISHED, HAVING BEEN MOVED IN WAYS THAT PREVENTED ITS TRACEABILITY
	245 case, now that the proceedings against the two prosecutors are concluded: the review under Art. 5 becomes live (see § 10)
25.6.2026	Closing argument of the prosecutors Barilli and Polizzi and final requests

4. The Public Prosecutors’ requests (25 June 2026)

DEFENDANT	REQUEST	PRINCIPAL CHARGE
Piero Amara	6 years and 4 months	criminal association and calumny against Descalzi and Granata (count L)
Vincenzo Armanna	6 years and 4 months	criminal association and calumny (count L)
Michele Bianco	4 years	criminal association
Francesco Mazzagatti	3 years	self-laundering
Giuseppe Calafiore	acquittal	“for not having committed the fact”
Massimo Mantovani	acquittal	with different formulas according to the counts
Antonio Vella	acquittal	considered extraneous to the conduct charged
Other defendants and Napag s.r.l.	acquittals or discharge as time-barred	according to the individual positions

Source: press reports of 25-26.6.2026 (Il Fatto Quotidiano, La Sicilia, Ansa and others); the full detail of the requests, count by count, appears from the hearing record. In separate proceedings, on 19.3.2026, the same prosecutors requested the dismissal of the position of Stefano Speroni.

5. The thesis of the closing argument, in brief

The prosecutors described the affair as “one of the most ferocious attacks on the judicial and economic life of the country”. In briefest summary, according to the prosecution:

- there existed a criminal association between Amara, Bianco and, for one phase, Armanna, which constructed the false anti-Eni “conspiracy” through compliant Public Prosecutors’ Offices (Trani, Siracusa), anonymous complaints and fabricated documents, drawing professional and economic advantage from it;
- the motive of the 2019 calumny (count L) was economic: in that year “an important channel of supply of money for Armanna and also Amara” was closed (the termination of the Fenog and Napag contracts);

- the “remote cause” of the design dates back to the video of 28.7.2014, which is said to reveal Armanina’s will to use “the judicial lever against the company’s top management”;
- on the accusation of subornation levelled at the top managers in 2019 (Art. 377-bis) there is “absolute zero” by way of proof: the Rinascente meeting finds no corroboration (GdF note of 14.1.2021); the 2016 retraction is “undeniable” but its purchase is not proven; the money flows are “an objective datum” which does not demonstrate an agreement with the top managers;
- the 2013 chats are altered (Bedarida technical consultant’s report, 5.11.2021) and form part of the calumnious strategy charged to Armanina;
- the positions are differentiated: acquittal for Calafiore, Mantovani and Vella; time-bars or acquittals for others; conviction of Mazzagatti for self-laundering.

Note: the summary is drawn from the press reports and from the passages of the closing argument cited in the brief, on the basis of the unofficial transcription of the audio (Radio Radicale); the exact context of the individual quotations must be checked against the audio.

6. The thesis of the civil party’s brief, in brief

The brief (“A Peregrination between 377-bis and 368 — Procedural Chimeras”) revolves around one category: the procedural chimera — a construct of null or poor probative content which a prosecutor “puts to work as if it were evidence”, on the direct or indirect initiative of the Eni defence. The brief distinguishes three degrees of it: the suffered chimera (an authentic document used beyond what it proves: the 2014 video), the cultivated chimera (lawful defence moves that steer the investigation: the complaint alleging the falsity of the 2013 chats), the fabricated chimera (false evidence introduced into the proceedings: the 2020 filings; the email of 9 February 2017 against De Pasquale and Santa Maria).

The load-bearing arguments:

- the “mountain”: the documentary data which, for the PC, prove a repeated subornation (Art. 377-bis) — four Naoc→Fenog contracts worth over \$23m (2013-2017); \$800,000 to Armanina in 2015 and €6.46m from 2015 to 2021; “consultancy” contracts at 10% for Armanina and for Napag/Amara; three calendar coincidences (Jumeirah dinner → release of \$1.7m within 26 days; retraction and Napag contract on the same 27.5.2016; filing of the calumnious email → IDU award within a week); the entry of the top managers in the register of suspects on 13.7.2019;
- seven “chimeras” examined chapter by chapter (the video of 28.7.2014; the Jumeirah dinner; the Rinascente; the 2013 chats; Telegram and Wickr; the “doormat”; the leak), plus two chapters on facts: the second video of 18.12.2014 and the email of 9.2.2017 (count B);

- the facts relied upon: the judicially established falsity of the documents filed in 2020 by Alecci-Speroni (four foreign FIUs; order of the judge for preliminary investigations of 23.1.2024); the false chat “vincenzo al.” constructed with authentic data from Armanna’s iPhone before the seizure (GdF report of 4.7.2025); the anonymous computer “John Doe” synchronised with that iPhone (technical consultant’s report, p. 12); the collapse in court of Granata’s alibi for the Jumeirah; the GdF draft of 23.12.2020 pointing the opposite way from the final note on the Rinascente; the accesses to the sealed records during the chambers deliberation of 5.2.2020;
- the internal reverse side of the manoeuvre: for the PC, the “false conspiracy” of the first phase served also to purge the inconvenient inside Eni — the removal of Litvack, the resignation of Zingales, the transfer of Vergine — and to reward the loyal (see § 8);
- the conclusion: count L should be reversed — the 2019 accusations were well founded, the subornation of the top managers real, and the conduct to be prosecuted would if anything be the fabrication and use of false evidence; hence the criticism of the exclusion of the evidence on Equalize/“Grey” and of the request for the dismissal of Speroni’s position.

The brief declares its own method (“abduction to the best explanation”, on the model of the Franzese judgment of the Joint Chambers of the Court of Cassation) and its own status: the facts cited are records of the proceedings; the overall design is an inference of the party.

7. The knots of the dispute: the two readings compared

QUESTION	READING OF THE CLOSING ARGUMENT	READING OF THE PC’S BRIEF
Video of 28.7.2014	“Remote cause” of the calumnious design: it shows the will to use the judicial lever against the top management	An outburst which does not prove the falsity of the accusations; Armanna was an intraneus in OPL 245; even if it were blackmail — and it is not proven — attempted extortion does not prove the falsity of the information one threatens to divulge, if anything the contrary; no manager ever lodged a complaint against Armanna for the accusations on OPL 245; for twelve years the video has replaced refutation on the merits with the argument of the “avalanche of shit” and of the notices of investigation. The transcript, moreover, was filed in OPL 245 as early as July 2019 by the Casula defence — which declared that it had had it for a year and a half — and Eni too had it available (KPMG): the defences had the document well before the Brescia trial of the prosecutors for its non-disclosure
Naoc→Fenog→Armanna (and Napag) flows	“An objective datum”, which however does not prove	The price of silence (2015) and of the retraction (2016-17): a repeated 377-bis; payments outside procedure, imposed from the top of the chain

QUESTION	READING OF THE CLOSING ARGUMENT	READING OF THE PC'S BRIEF
	an agreement with the top management; their cessation in 2019 is the motive of the calumny	
Retraction of 27.5.2016 and "Rinascente" meeting	Retraction "undeniable", but purchase not proven: the GdF checks (note of 14.1.2021) do not corroborate the meeting; on the 377-bis, "absolute zero"	A verification constructed so as not to find: an unsuitable tool ("Sfera"), Granata's phone records never obtained, the time window closed before the filing; the GdF draft of 23.12.2020 saw a "possible meeting"; the Napag contract enters into force the same day; the sealed envelope with the original of the note has never been opened; and Calafiore, who confirmed the meeting, has his acquittal requested "for not having committed the fact"
"Phase 1" and the independent directors (2015-2017)	The false "conspiracy" was fabricated by the association (anonymous complaints, the Trani and Siracusa Public Prosecutors' Offices conditioned); among those damaged, also Vergine, Zingales and Litvack	The same records would show that the manoeuvre benefited the top management and was abetted by it: the Siracusa notice without a complaint "cured" by the complaint signed by Mantovani under a power of attorney from Descalzi; Litvack excluded from the CRC and left without legal cover; Vergine — Descalzi's rival for the appointment — transferred on Granata's proposal; Mantovani promoted in his place: an internal settling of scores covered by the "false conspiracy"
The 2013 chats	Altered (technical consultant Bedarida): a piece of Armanna's calumnious strategy	In any event irrelevant (a year earlier than the accusations, they prove neither 377-bis nor 368); an alteration without author, mode, time; logs destroyed by a network connection of 8.4.2021; the "John Doe" computer never looked into, proof that Armanna's iPhone was controlled by an unidentified external computer; Telegram and Wickr intact for the same technical consultant, but disavowed by Granata, whose devices have never been analysed
The "doormat" affair and the "vincenzo al." chat (2020)	Outside the perimeter of the counts (which stop at 2019); for Speroni dismissal has been requested, his awareness of the falsity not being proven	The body of the offence inside the case file: established forgeries, constructed with authentic data from the iPhone before the seizure, directed at steering the investigations onto Armanna; the dismissal would leave the forgeries without an author, despite the fact that the evidence obtained by the same prosecutors indicates — for the PC — solid traces that everything was born inside Eni, from July 2019, with the aid of the formidable firepower of private global intelligence agencies (up to the allusion, made by an Equalize man, to the former CIA station chief in Italy)

QUESTION	READING OF THE CLOSING ARGUMENT	READING OF THE PC'S BRIEF
Equalize / "Operation Grey" evidence	Excluded by the Court by order of 21.5.2026 because exceeding the perimeter of the indictment	It would prove the genesis of the forgeries and the "true conspiracy"; its exclusion deprives the trial of the necessary context; for the PC, graver still is the will to close down every investigation, inferable from the prosecutors' request for dismissal in Speroni's favour
The leak and the accesses of 5.2.2020	Not the subject of the counts of this trial (the related facts are judged in other proceedings)	Amara, in one of the sealed records, declared that he had learned from Bianco that the Eni defence counsel had "access" to the President of the OPL 245 panel; in Brescia the related investigation is said to have been dismissed, but the reasons are not known. The forensic datum of the accesses, set alongside the outcome of the OPL 245 hearing of 5.2.2020, would bear upon the correctness of the entire trial and also upon the "conspiracy"; the hypothesis of a criminally unlawful communication between the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Court is declared as such — a hypothesis is supported, for the PC, by objective data drawn from incontrovertible documents, not an established fact

8. Who's who

Roles indicated with reference to this trial. Corporate titles are those of the time of the facts.

PIERO AMARA	EXTERNAL LAWYER FOR ENI UNTIL 2018; STATES THAT HE HAD A ROLE IN DE-SCALZI'S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN 2014; APPEARS OBJECTIVELY VERY MUCH INSIDE THE POWER SYSTEM OF THOSE YEARS, WITH DOCUMENTED RELATIONSHIPS WITH PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES; FOR THE PROSECUTION THE CENTRAL FIGURE OF THE ASSOCIATION; INVOLVED IN NUMEROUS CONNECTED PROCEEDINGS; 6 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS REQUESTED
Vincenzo Armanina	former Eni manager, project leader of OPL 245 in Abuja, wanted by Scaroni and Bisignani; accuser of the top management in 2014-2016, retracted and returned to accusing in 2019; 6 years and 4 months requested; convicted at first instance (2 years and 6 months) in the leak-of-the-records strand, for having named the Interior Ministry official Filippo Paradiso as the paid source of Amara's records, according to the Court thereby calumniating him
Michele Bianco	lawyer in Eni's in-house legal department; 4 years requested
Giuseppe Calafiore	lawyer, formerly Amara's partner; present, according to the reconstructions, at the "Rinascenza Pact", but without having taken part in it; acquittal requested
Francesco Mazzagatti / Napag	entrepreneur from Gioia Tauro, partner in Napag Italia s.r.l.: the company sold soft drinks and fruit juices and, after the meeting with Amara, entered Eni's register of suppliers and the oil-products market; 3 years requested for self-laundering

PIERO AMARA	EXTERNAL LAWYER FOR ENI UNTIL 2018; STATES THAT HE HAD A ROLE IN DESCALZI'S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN 2014; APPEARS OBJECTIVELY VERY MUCH INSIDE THE POWER SYSTEM OF THOSE YEARS, WITH DOCUMENTED RELATIONSHIPS WITH PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES; FOR THE PROSECUTION THE CENTRAL FIGURE OF THE ASSOCIATION; INVOLVED IN NUMEROUS CONNECTED PROCEEDINGS; 6 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS REQUESTED
Mantovani, Vella, Larocca, Ferraro, Gaboardi, Lipera	co-defendants in various capacities (former head of Eni legal affairs — who in 2016 succeeded Vergine in the Gas & Power area —; former upstream chief; lawyers and others); Mantovani, Vella and Larocca figure in the association count of the indictment; for Mantovani and Vella acquittal has been requested
Claudio Descalzi	chief executive of Eni; civil party; injured party of count L; formerly under investigation under Arts. 377-bis and 416 and dismissed (31.1.2023)
Claudio Granata	senior Eni executive (formerly head of External Relations); civil party; injured party of count L; formerly under investigation and dismissed; at the centre of the Jumeirah, Rinascente and chat affairs
Eni S.p.A.	civil party; its defences and structures (legal, security, audit) recur throughout the affair
Luca Santa Maria	lawyer; defence counsel for Armanca until 9.2.2017; injured party of the calumny of count B; civil party damaged also under count A; author of the brief
Karina Litvack and Luigi Zingales	independent directors of Eni and members of the Control and Risk Committee from 2014; the first to raise doubts about OPL 245; named among the “conspirators” in the anonymous complaints of 2015; Zingales left the Board in 2015, Litvack was excluded from the CRC in July 2016; the dismissal of 20.3.2017 excluded any evidence against them; not parties to the trial
Umberto Vergine	Eni manager (Chief Midstream Gas & Power), in 2014 in the running for the appointment as CEO which then went to Descalzi; recipient of the Siracusa notice of investigation of 8.7.2016; transferred in 2016-17 to a non-operational foreign role; not a party to the trial
Paolo Scaroni	chief executive of Eni until 2014; charged and acquitted first in the Algeria trial and then in OPL 245; not a party to this trial
Roberto Casula	Eni manager (E&P), the operational “number two” of the period; co-defendant and acquitted in OPL 245; his defence filed in July 2019 the transcript of the video of 28.7.2014; not a party to this trial
Stefano Speroni	General Counsel of Eni from 2019; delivered to the Public Prosecutor's Office, through Avv. Alecci, the 2020 documents that turned out to be false; under investigation in connected proceedings, with a request for dismissal by the prosecutors (19.3.2026) on which the judge for preliminary investigations has not yet ruled
Charles Carr / Equalize / Bigotti	Carr: investigative consultant (Kroll/K2 area) engaged in 2019 (“Project Grey”); Equalize: investigations company at the centre of the 2024 dossier-building inquiry, which received copies of the documents that “rained down” on Speroni (Gallo and Calamucci interviews, 2025); Ezio Bigotti: entrepreneur, in whose offices the 2014 videos were filmed
	Tonlagha: Executive Director of Fenog, a Nigerian supplier; Naoc: Eni's subsidiary in Nigeria, commissioning party of the contracts; Insulla was its General Manager

PIERO AMARA	EXTERNAL LAWYER FOR ENI UNTIL 2018; STATES THAT HE HAD A ROLE IN DESCALZI'S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN 2014; APPEARS OBJECTIVELY VERY MUCH INSIDE THE POWER SYSTEM OF THOSE YEARS, WITH DOCUMENTED RELATIONSHIPS WITH PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES; FOR THE PROSECUTION THE CENTRAL FIGURE OF THE ASSOCIATION; INVOLVED IN NUMEROUS CONNECTED PROCEEDINGS; 6 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS REQUESTED	
Matthew Tonlagha / Fenog / Naoc		
Fabio De Pasquale and Sergio Spadaro	prosecutors of the OPL 245 trial; convicted in Brescia of refusal to perform official acts, acquitted by the Court of Cassation on 18.6.2026 ("the fact does not exist")	
Laura Pedio and Paolo Storari	deputy chief prosecutor and assistant prosecutor; co-holders of the investigations in the first phase (Pedio from 2017, joined by Storari in the period 2019-2021); Storari handed Davigo the "Ungheria" records and in that strand has been acquitted definitively; Piercamillo Davigo (former member of the CSM) has instead been convicted (second appeal, 29.10.2025)	
Daniele Spello	GdF lieutenant, sole custodian of Amara's sealed records; died on 9.2.2020	
Bedarida / Graziani	Bedarida: the prosecutor's technical consultant on the 2013 chats (report of 5.11.2021); Graziani: technical consultant for the Armanna side, of critical bent (hearing of 9.4.2026)	

9. The connected proceedings

PROCEEDINGS	SUBJECT-MATTER	OUTCOME / STATUS
"Eni-Nigeria" OPL 245 (Milan Court)	international corruption over the OPL 245 licence (defendants, among others, Eni, Descalzi, Scaroni and Casula)	acquittal of all (17.3.2021, "the fact does not constitute an offence"), final after the Prosecutor General's Office waived the appeal
Brescia – De Pasquale and Spadaro	refusal to perform official acts: failure to disclose to the Eni defence records deemed favourable (including the video of 28.7.2014)	sentenced to 8 months at first instance (3178/2024) and on appeal (Oct. 2025); acquitted by the Court of Cassation on 18.6.2026 "because the fact does not exist"
Leak of the "Ungheria" records (Milan and connected strands)	disclosure of Amara's sealed records; connected calumnies	Storari acquitted definitively for the handover to Davigo; Davigo convicted (second appeal 29.10.2025); Amara acquitted and Armanna sentenced to 2 years and 6 months (Milan Court, 20.2.2026)
"Ungheria" lodge (Perugia)	verification of Amara's statements on the existence of a secret lodge, whose alleged members are named by Amara; the "true list" was said to be in Dubai: Calafiore	dismissal in Perugia (13.9.2023), linked to a leak said to have rendered the investigation useless; in Milan the failure of proof has been converted into a charge of

PROCEEDINGS	SUBJECT-MATTER	OUTCOME / STATUS
	offered to retrieve it with the aid of the judicial police, but nothing came of it	calumny against Amara, as if the lie were proven; the file is now in Brescia
Trani, Siracusa, Potenza-Messina	conditioning of judicial offices in the orbit of the “false conspiracy”: the prosecutor Capristo on trial in Potenza for Amara’s corruption at Trani; the prosecutor Longo entered a plea bargain in Messina over the corruption for the Siracusa facts	proceedings concluded or under way: among the outcomes, the arrest of Longo (2018) and of Capristo (2021) and Longo’s plea bargain for corruption in judicial acts
The “Speroni” proceedings (Milan)	the 2020 filings with the Public Prosecutor’s Office (documents useful to the Eni defence, later found to be false); repeated statements to the prosecutors on the origin of the documents (the account of the “doormat”, repeated over time, comes from Speroni)	request for dismissal by the prosecutors (19.3.2026); decision of the judge for preliminary investigations pending
Equalize / dossier-building (Milan)	unlawful accesses to databases and illegal dossiers; intersects “Operation Grey”	investigation under way (since 2024); evidence excluded from the present trial by order of 21.5.2026

10. The international dimension: Art. 5 of the OECD Convention

The affair has for years had an international projection, which the reader must know in order to weigh both documents. Art. 5 of the OECD Convention against the bribery of foreign public officials (1997), ratified by Italy, requires that investigations and prosecutions in this field not be influenced “by considerations of national economic interest, the potential effect upon relations with another State or the identity of the natural or legal persons involved”. Eni is a state-controlled company and the national “champion” of energy; OPL 245 touched relations with Nigeria; the acquitted defendants were the top management of the country’s principal industrial group: the OPL 245 case has therefore become an international test bench for Art. 5.

- the monitoring reports: the Working Group on Bribery (WGB), the OECD body overseeing the Convention, in its Phase 4 report on Italy (October 2022) expressed serious concern at the drastic fall in proceedings for international corruption after the acquittals in the great cases, formulating 48 recommendations; the follow-up of October 2024 recorded 23 of them as not implemented. The brief further recalls the criticism, made within the OECD, of the “atomistic” method of assessing the evidence followed in the OPL 245 judgment;
- the NGOs’ complaint: on 5 June 2025 Corner House (United Kingdom), Hawkmoth (Netherlands) and HEDA (Nigeria) formally asked the WGB to establish the breach of Art. 5 by Italy, filing a dossier listing 60 “red flags” of political interference in the handling of the OPL 245 case: among them, the admissions on the “pollution” of the

investigation, the present Milan trial and the — later quashed — conviction of the two prosecutors;

- the procedure under way: after the definitive acquittal of De Pasquale and Spadaro (18.6.2026), the NGOs (with the Italian ReCommon) made known (24.6.2026) that the WGB had undertaken to examine the complaints once the proceedings against the two magistrates were concluded: that condition has now been met. According to the same NGOs, the WGB had already held the OPL 245 acquittal not in conformity with the standards of the Convention (their assertion, to be checked against the official reports);
- what it is — and what it is not: the OECD review is a monitoring mechanism between States; it concerns Italy, not the defendants in this trial; it is not a criminal judgment and does not bind the Court. For the brief, however, it is the context that gives the affair its “systemic” significance: the two readings of the trial — private calumny or organised interference — have opposite outcomes on this plane too.

11. Minimal glossary

ART. 416 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE	CRIMINAL ASSOCIATION: THREE OR MORE PERSONS STABLY ORGANISED TO COMMIT OFFENCES	ART. 377-BIS OF THE CRIMINAL CODE	INDUCEMENT NOT TO MAKE, OR TO MAKE FALSE, STATEMENTS TO THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITY, BY MEANS OF VIOLENCE, THREAT, OR THE OFFER OR PROMISE OF MONEY OR OTHER ADVANTAGE (“SUBORNATION”, IN THE LEXICON OF THE BRIEF)
Art. 368 of the Criminal Code	calumny: accusing of an offence, by report or other act, a person one knows to be innocent	Art. 372 of the Criminal Code	false testimony
Art. 507 of the Code of Criminal Procedure	the judge’s power, once the evidentiary phase is closed, to admit new evidence that is absolutely necessary	Arts. 359/360 of the Code of Criminal Procedure	technical examinations by the public prosecutor: repeatable, without adversarial safeguards (359); unrepeatable, with notice to the defences (360)
Art. 415-bis of the Code of Criminal Procedure	notice of conclusion of the preliminary investigations	Art. 327-bis of the Code of Criminal Procedure	defence investigations entrusted by defence counsel to consultants and investigators
Art. 11 of the Code of Criminal Procedure	jurisdiction over proceedings concerning magistrates: for Milan, Brescia decides	R.G.N.R. / R.G. dib.	the general registers: reports of offences / trial
GIP	the judge for preliminary investigations	CT	technical consultant (of the prosecutor or of a party)
FIU	Financial Intelligence Unit: the national anti-money-launder-	“Sfera”	

ART. 416 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE	CRIMINAL ASSOCIATION: THREE OR MORE PERSONS STABLY ORGANISED TO COMMIT OFFENCES	ART. 377-BIS OF THE CRIMINAL CODE	INDUCEMENT NOT TO MAKE, OR TO MAKE FALSE, STATEMENTS TO THE JUDI- CIAL AUTHORITY, BY MEANS OF VIOL- ENCE, THREAT, OR THE OFFER OR PROMISE OF MONEY OR OTHER AD- VANTAGE ("SUBORNATION", IN THE LEXICON OF THE BRIEF)
	ing units; four foreign FIUs denied the existence of the ac- counts indicated in the 2020 documents		application for the analysis of telephone records used in the GdF checks on the Rinascente
Requisitor- ia	the public prosecutor's closing argument, with the requests for conviction or acquittal	Civil party	the person damaged by the offence who claims compensation within the criminal trial
Joint Cham- bers, "Fran- zeze"	Court of Cassation, Joint Cham- bers, no. 30328/2002: the stand- ard of "logical probability", in- voked by the brief as its meth- od	Art. 5 OECD Convention / WGB	prohibition of influence from national economic interest, relations with other States or the identity of the persons in- volved on proceedings for international corruption; the Working Group on Bribery monitors compliance with it

12. Criteria for reading

- The brief and the closing argument are party documents in the broad sense: neither of the two decides. The judgment decides, expected in the coming months.
- In reading the brief it is worth distinguishing, as it itself claims, the documentary facts cited (bank transfers, contracts, audits, resolutions, orders, records, with the sources in brackets) from the inferences that link them into a design: the former are verifiable against the records; the latter are the party's thesis.
- The quotations from the closing argument derive from the transcription of the public audio (Radio Radicale) and may contain inaccuracies: the brief itself announces that they will be checked against the audio.
- The falsity of the documents filed in 2020 is established by measures cited in the proceedings (foreign FIUs; order of the judge for preliminary investigations of 23.1.2024); their authorship, by contrast, has never been judicially attributed: no one appears to date to be charged or under investigation for their fabrication.
- All the defendants are presumed innocent until a final, irrevocable judgment. Stefano Speroni is not a defendant in this trial; the request for dismissal concerning him awaits the decision of the judge for preliminary investigations.
- The OECD review (§ 10) concerns the Italian State and produces no criminal effects on anyone; it is reported because both readings of the trial measure themselves against it.

- Where the versions diverge (Jumeirah, Rinascente, chats, doormat, phase 1), this fact-sheet reports both readings; the attribution of the sources is indicated in the text.

Sources of this fact-sheet: the civil party's brief published here and the records cited in it; the press reports of 25-26 June 2026 on the prosecutors' requests and of 18-19 June 2026 on the acquittal of De Pasquale and Spadaro; the reports of the OECD Working Group on Bribery (Phase 4, 2022; follow-up, 2024); the NGOs' request to the WGB of 5.6.2025 and their statement of 24.6.2026.

whitecollarcrimes

a collective byline · guarantor: Avv. Luca Santa Maria · 8 July 2026