

## Litvinenko Transcript – Tape 2

00:00:16:10 All right now, is it working? After Kamyshnikov had actually given me the order - and I think it was an order - to organise the liquidation of Berezovsky... Because he set Task No1, Task No 2 and he gave the Task No 3 to me personally - to organise Berezovsky's murder. ... I immediately took my subordinates and drove to my section head - Gusak Aleksandr Ivanovich. That was on Saturday 27 December 1997. It was his day off so we went straight to him. 00:46:21

00:47:00 And I told him, "Sasha, we've been charged with organising an attempt on Berezovsky's life, Boris Berezovsky." He said, "That's right." Because in November that year, a month before, Gusak had been ordered to begin preparing for the murder of Berezovsky by the head of our Directorate, Hoholkov. So in November 1997 the head of our Directorate, General Hoholkov charged Gusak with begin preparing the murder of Berezovsky, and a month later Hoholkov's deputy Kamyshnikov set before me, Gusak's deputy, a task of organizing Brerzovsky's murder. 01:24:00

01:24:10 And... so there'd be no doubt at all about it... I have a document here that fully confirms, that proves that such a task had indeed been set. I can even read it out to you and we'll film it later. That document is dated... 2 October 1998. It was issued by the Head Military Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation. 01:47:10

01:48:08 Well... "To the Executive Secretary of the UIS, Berezovsky Boris Abramovich, Moscow, Novokuznetskaya St., 40..." I won't be reading it all out, that's too long... I'll just read out several short extracts. "Dear Boris Abramovich, I inform you that on 30 September 1998 the preliminary investigation on the criminal case regarding the former head of directorate of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation Hoholkov and his deputy Kamyshnikov that started after your appeal of 15 April 1998 to the deputy Chief of the Presidential Administration Savostyanov is over. The case is closed on the basis of Clause 2, Part 1, Article 5 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation because of the absence of the corpus delicti." 02:29:00

02:29:18 "It has been established that neither the officers nor the administration of the said Directorate had not planned or taken any illegal actions against you in years 1997 and 1998. Regarding the report of the officer of the said Directorate Gusak Aleksandr Ivanovich that in November 1997 Hoholkov had asked him whether he would be able to kill you, during his interrogation he testified to the following: his conversation with Hoholkov happened with no other witnesses present, during the conversation Hoholkov while talking about life in general and reminiscing about his active combat duty in the

Chechen Republic asked whether Gusak could bump you off." "Bump off" - I'm translation it into Russian - means "murder". 03:12:04

03:13:02 So Gusak repeated it verbatim. That's what Hoholkov told him "bump off". And the prosecutor wrote it down verbatim. 03:20:10

03:20:14 "That question was asked by Hoholkov within the context of a general discussion that was not touching you directly. Therefore Gusak did not perceive the words of his superior as a direct order to engage in committing murder." And here the prosecutor lies. Because Gusak did take it as being charged with organising a murder... of Berezovsky. And I have an audio... videotape - I'll give it to you - where Gusak openly admits that he had been ordered to kill Berezovsky. He just sits there and tells it to Dorenko during an interview. We have that tape. 03:51:00

03:51:16 "Hoholkov himself flatly denies having any intentions of killing you or making any statements to that effect. As for the thoughtless statements directed against you by Kamyshnikov on 27 December 1997 in the presence of his subordinates Litvinenko, Shibalín, Pontin and Latyshonok..." - that's the meeting I told you about. "... those remarks discredit him as a superior, however they also do not prove the existence of an intention to organise your murder. 04:20:08

04:20:12 It is signed "senior special cases investigator Nikolay Ivanovich Pavlov". Here "senior special cases investigator at the Chief Prosecutor's office, colonel, military justice (?)". Here is his signature. Here is this document. I can show it to you.

04:33:06 So in fact this document proves that the task... that our head of Directorate in November 19... This document proves, this document proves that in November 1997 a head of the FSB Directorate, the URPO Directorate - the Directorate for investigation and suppression of criminal organisations - major general Hoholkov in November 1997 set before Gusak, the head of the Section 7 that task, and inquired whether he could "bump off" Berezovsky. 05:07:06

05:07:10 So a head of a Directorate called a section head and set before him a task to organise Berezovsky's murder. People don't say such things without meaning them. And next month in December 1997 the deputy head of the same Directorate charges me with the same task in presence of three other subordinates - by the way, all of them testified that it did happen - well, to prepare Berezovsky's murder. 05:31:00

05:31:04 And here, the prosecutor is even afraid to write down... the prosecutor who received orders from the top - Mr. Demin was the head of the Hear Military Prosecutor's office at the time, he was the former FSB general, they transferred him from the FSB to the Hear Military

Prosecutor's office, he was a friend of Nikolai Dmitrievich Kovalev. Naturally, the Chief Military Prosecutor ordered them to close the case. And the prosecutor doesn't even spell out what Kamyshnikov said, verbatim, he only says that those statements discredit him. 06:02:08

06:02:12 So even while those statements discredit... discredited Kamyshnikov as a superior - and the prosecutor does write about that - so that proves that Kamyshnikov discredited himself with his statements on Berezovsky... Do you know what happened to Kamyshnikov after this paper arrived? Well, after the prosecutor's office sorted it out and wrote that that Kamyshnikov discredited himself with his statements about Berezovsky - meaning by giving orders to kill Berezovsky - Mr. Putin, already the Director of the Federal Security Service, after all this... he gave Kamyshnikov his new appointment - he became a deputy head of the FSB Russia Directorate for Protection of the Constitutional Regime. 06:50:04

06:50:08 So Kamyshnikov got promoted and continued his service. And those officers who refused to follow his criminal orders were expelled from the FSB, and Gusak was found guilty as well. 07:02:12

07:40:12 Well, I know about those murder operations that were handled by the officers of our Directorate. Firstly, I did not take part in those operations but I ended up in that Directorate because Kovalev thought that I had participated in one operation of that type. I know that in 1997 our section head Gusak - at that time all of us were still serving in a different Directorate, the Counter-terrorist Directorate - following the orders of the Director of the FSB Nikolai Dmitrievich Kovalev as well as the head of the Ops Department Mironov took part in a bandit "meet up", as they say - it's a jargon word - I mean in a bandit "sort-out", a meeting... 08:25:00

08:25:04 Well... And after that meeting they took to... to an outlying... to one of the districts in the Moscow countryside, not far from Moscow... they took five or six men that later were killed. Well, as far as I know... when that criminal case was opened in 1998 they started blackmailing Gusak to force him to change his statements. He was afraid... I tried to find out what happened and I learned the following... 08:53:16

08:53:20 Well... I also found out who took part in that operation. I found that in 1997 the former Chairman of the KGB Semichastny together with his son had opened a company in Moscow... How that company was called? I think it was called "???? VRV", I might be mistaken, but I think that's what it was. Yes. That company was located in Moscow. Its head... the former Chairman of the KGB Semichastny, his son was the head of that company. And they borrowed money from someone and refused to return it,

they couldn't give it back. 09:29:16

09:29:20 And those people who lent them that money would come to the company premises and demand that money from Semichastny and his son. Semichastny asked the FSB Director Kovalev to help him to solve that problem - so those people would go away and he wouldn't have to return the money. So Kovalev called Ivan Kuzmich Mironov and Gusak, and Mironov was the head of the Directorate where we served, he's now the head of the Counter-terrorist Directorate, or rather the head of the Operative and Investigative Directorate in the FSB Counter-terrorist Department. 09:59:18

09:59:22 They called Gusak in and ordered him to solve the problem - to make those people leave Semichastny alone. Gusak took the men of his unit - I wasn't serving under him at the time, we served in different sections, I was head of one unit and he was heading another, so we were at the same level but we were serving in one Directorate. He took his subordinates - lieutenant colonel Bavdey, I know that there was a lieutenant colonel Bavdey, and major Alyoshin. They drove to that company and waited for those people who came to collect that debt, who came for their money. 10:33:01

10:34:00 They tied those people up, illegally, put them in a car... As far as I understand it, they claimed they were officers of a law-enforcement agency... Gusak wasn't there alone. I know three names, but there were other people there. I don't know who they were. They drove them off to one of the outlying districts of Moscow and killed them all. As I was told they forced them on their knees and shot them through the head - five or six people. Well... 10:57:06

10:57:10 And well... Gusak reported to Kovalev, Kovalev knows, Mironov also knew that that operation had been completed. And after that Gusak was transferred... I mean, they offered him a transfer to that group... 11:13:04

11:13:08 And Kovalev offered me as well... I at the time... we were conducting an operation and one of my subordinates used his weapon... I mean he used his weapon according to the law... I mean, we were trying to arrest a criminal, there was a warrant out for him, he resisted arrest and tried to escape. My subordinate fired four shots in the air and then used his weapon and wounded the criminal so we arrested him. We reported that to the attorney general's office, and the attorney general's office closed the case because the weapon had been used legally. Well, police of any country has a right to use weapons against a criminal during arrest. 11:46:16

11:46:20 And Kovalev said "Oh, they're shooting people in your unit..." And then he said "You'd better transfer to the group... we need people like you there." 11:53:06

11:53:10 So Gusak... illegally, they killed several men, that's what I know. I also know that officers of our Directorate later... I mean, the one I served in, the Directorate for suppression of criminal organisations... namely I know that Andropov Aleksei, we had operative information on that, that Andropov Aleksei... they took part, they organised murders... we had operative information that they organised the murder of the Mayor of Nefteyugansk, someone called Petukhov, that that was done by the officers of our Directorate. What happened was a criminal "turf war" for oil or gas, whatever. 12:33:00

12:34:04 I also know that the officers of our directorate organised the murder of the director... of the Director of the Novorossiysk Port. I don't remember his surname but it was a famous case, it made a splash in the papers. Also I happen to know that even before our Directorate was created the FSB officers, I mean, those who worked with Hoholkov, kidnapped Feliks Lvov from the Sheremetevo-1 airport. 13:07:12

13:07:16 There was a man called Feliks Lvov; I think he even was an American citizen. And he was kidnapped from the airport. He was shown an FSB ID... By the way, I... They were seen by one man only, he'd been sitting there, an airport guard... Later I showed him the photos - he recognised our officers... It wasn't for the record, of course, because he was scared. He said... I showed him several photographs of our agents and asked him "Do you see the guy who was an officer... who showed the FSB ID and took Feliks Lvov away?" He identified one. "This one." he said. That was one of the officers from our Directorate. 13:40:00

13:40:04 Well, Feliks Lvov was found dead literally... several days later after he'd been kidnapped. 13:47:00

13:47:04 On top of that I know that Gusak personally organised the murder of an American citizen Paul Tatum (checked). That's the man who'd been a co-owner of the Radisson-Slavyanskaya Hotel. Mind you, when he was collecting data on Paul Tatum and I was helping him to get that data... because at the time I was serving in a unit that used tax police IDs as cover... 14:17:00

14:29:00 Well, I'll tell you how it happened. Yes. The murder of Tatum was organised by Gusak... I mean he did it. But the murder was organised as far as I know... Gusak wasn't trying to hide anything... It was organised - the request came from Luzhkov and then it went through Kovalev. So Luzhkov contacted Kovalev and Kovalev gave an order to Gusak. And so... Gusak, after that murder, after he killed that Paul Tatum, organised his murder... Gusak, well... I've seen a photograph where Gusak is with Luzhkov. He is, well... in... at... 15:10:08

15:12:12 Well, Luzhkov has a close friend, he was one of the deputies at MosGor... at the Moscow City Council, that's Nikolai, Marina, what's his surname? - Moskovchenko. So Gusak... wrote Moskovchenko in as our source... and Moskovchenko officially became Gusak's source. And Gusak was on good terms with Platonov, the head, the Chairman of the Moscow City Council... And once at one of our operative apartments, at an apartment used for covert ops, I saw Gusak, Moskovchenko and Platonov, the Chairman of the Moscow City Council. 15:49:08

15:59:12 They're all on the best of terms with each other, including Luzhkov. So when Moskovchenko's daughter was born, Gusak... Luzhkov was the godfather of Moskovchenko's daughter and Gusak was a part of the team. So Moskovchenko, Platonov, Gusak, Luzhkov - I saw that photo, Gusak showed me, where he's with Luzhkov... And so... I mean... Gusak performed as... Gusak got that commission personally from Luzhkov, I think, the only other thing was that Luzhkov approached Kovalev, so Kovalev wouldn't interfere with Gusak. They did that job, I mean, they killed Tatum... And after that Gusak received an official chart from Luzhkov, that was 800th anniversary of Moscow, those charts were issued to the most deserving citizens of Moscow, those who did some spectacular service to the city. And Gusak had that chart on his office wall right over his head. 16:39:10

16:39:12 And I said "Well, Gusak, nowadays you get this kind of citation for your work. Soon Luzhkov will give you a medal. He'll create one for you. Just shoot some more people who stand in his way and Luzhkov will give you a special medal, just for you... As the most... the most... the most noble muscovite." 17:02:00

17:05:22 Gusak had been found guilty. But naturally, he took back what he said and did not make any trouble. He got out on probation. Yes, he got a suspended sentence, three years, probation, though the charges contained 12 criminal episodes and one corpse. I mean, one death that was proved to be his work, they proved he killed and there was evidence that it had been murder. Well, and... Gusak got three years of probation. Today he lives in Moscow and, as far as I know, he works as a lawyer. 17:37:21

17:38:00 I mean, they don't abandon their own. They didn't touch Gusak and I'm sure that if need be Gusak will continue doing what he's been doing before. 17:48:08

17:48:12 I also know that they staged an attempt, Gusak was staging an attempt on a crime boss Lalahin, that's a crime boss from Podol'sk, he's called "Luchok" (little onion) and his surname is Lalahin. Two agents of

Gusak's booby-trapped his car; it was all under Gusak's control. Gusak himself kept his distance, he just passed the explosives on to his two agents, an explosive device. When they were attaching that device to Lalahin's car, it might be one of them received a pager call, the device exploded and two Gusak's agents died in that explosion... It's a well-known story so it's... 18:26:00

18:43:12 What did I feel when I went to see Putin?

18:48:02 Yes, Putin...18:50:00

18:53:14 Well, I... well, I had only one meeting with Putin. He was the Director of the FSB, I came to his office. He called me. I'll tell you - I immediately realised he was lying. I mean, I looked into his eyes... he never looks you i the eye, he lowers his eyes. Well, I... We started speaking about serious matters, I gave him that report and said "In principle, Vladimir Vladimirovich, ... the situation, and I'm not speaking about the countrly as a whole, even if we take just the FSB the situation is critical. There are, for all practical purposes there are criminal gangs led... that are led by our generals." 19:31:14

19:31:18 "Well... It's very difficult... I don't know... It's very difficult to work at really fighting crime, organised crime or terrorism here. Everything is sold, everything is betrayed and actually everything that is happening here, all the major murders all the major acts of terrorism, they come from the offices here, from the floors in this building." 19:58:18

19:58:22 Well, Putin listened to me and shook my hand. I actually brought him a huge scheme where we had drawn our generals, the MVD generals, certain people in the Kremlin and the arrows went down to the commercial companies through which the money was being laundered and to the criminal organisations. It was just a general scheme. It was huge, it covered the whole table. We drew it, me and my subordinates... we spent about two weeks doing that, sitting there, drawing it, preparing it... 20:29:21

20:31:00 Well, and he looked at that diagram. He refused to take it. The report... the one on drug dealing that I've given him he did take. And... he also asked for my home phone number. I gave him my home phone number and asked what was it for. He said, "I'll give you a call." And, naturally, in the space of a few days I found out... from my colleagues in the internal security Directorate that Putin ordered to tape my home phone. 20:57:00

20:57:04 Well, I'll tell you that... I came to that man openly, I came, after all I... well, we did have operative information on him that said he wasn't completely clean, but I thought that if he'd been appointed to the position of the FSB Director then he was somehow, you know... he'd be thinking about the state and not about his own pocket. And I, after all, you know... after all, somehow... well... you understand that if your superior, the head of the FSB is a bandit, a drug-dealer, there's nowhere to fall from there. But still, you know... you understand that you are... in real terms you understand that you are... past the point of no return but still you don't want to believe it, not completely. 21:37:08

21:37:12 You want to cling to some hope that... that... that something could change... I mean any man would... I mean, it's a feeling as if a doctor told you that you had cancer. I mean, "You have cancer. You're going to die in, say, a month." And you hope, till the very end, that he was mistaken. That's the feeling. 21:57:16

21:57:20 So you diagnose that organisation... "That's it, it's cancer... It can only be cut out." But since you're still looking from the inside - you served there, you built your career, you had a job there, you have a family, and your children... you want to have some future. You want to have a future. You don't want to... you don't want it to collapse tomorrow - your life, things you believed in... You don't want really to go past the point of no return. And I still believed that maybe, maybe... 22:26:21

22:27:00 So I came to Putin as if he was my last hope, well... er... almost, as they say, like one would come to God Himself... I came, and said... Perhaps... You know, we Russians have it built in our mentality that some authority - a Tsar, a God - can deliver us from our troubles... So I came to him and honestly told him everything. Well, and in a couple of days my comrade from the internal security directorate laughed at me and said, "You found the right person to talk to. You went to Putin and showed him those materials... he's part of that bunch himself. What did you achieve? They just laughed at you. You gave him your phone number, right?" I asked my friend "How come you know that I gave him my phone number?" "He gave us an order to put a tab on it." - that means to tape it. 23:04:14

23:04:18 So, look... I mean, well... we see each other for the first time, and I ask you "Nick, give me your phone number." And you ask "What for, Sasha?" "Nick, I'm going to give you a call." And you kindly give it to me. Right? Now imagine, Nick, that a week later you find out that I'm taping your phone calls. What ill you think of me? You'll say, "That Litvinenko is just scum.", right? Well, I think that Putin is scum. 23:36:00

23:36:20 Because I came to him honestly. I was responsible for my subordinates, and they were giving honest service. I came to him, I trusted him after all. I gave him the materials... serious materials that perhaps... well... we wouldn't offer them to all comers... And the man asked for my home phone, that's where my wife and my little son live... I gave him my phone number and instead he... and he deceived me and started taping it. 24:07:08



24:07:12 Well... To me all this was... personally... it wasn't anything serious really - well, they listened to my phone calls - what could they hear? Nothing. I'm not a criminal, I don't deal in drugs and don't kill people in dark lanes. But Putin... he showed his true colours. And if he could behave in such a dishonourable way - and I think what he did was foul - then that's what characterises him. I mean, he'd do that not only to me but to anyone. 24:40:14

24:40:18 And when they sign all those joint anti-terrorist treaties, and he's visited by presidents - I watch it all and laugh. Because I'm 100% sure he'll cheat them. You can't trust that man. He could have behaved differently. He didn't have to ask for my number. Or he could have asked for it but without saying "I'll give you a call." Or he could have just went to the human resources and asked for my number and given a quiet order to put a tab on it. 25:09:04

25:09:08 But he bothered to take it from me and told me "I'll give you a call." I mean... well... I mean, he... I wouldn't say he humiliated me... well... I mean, I don't even have words for that. Decent people don't behave like this. I mean, no professional responsibility, no duty, I think, no higher duty can force a man to behave this way. 25:35:16

25:35:20 I mean, even when I had to deal with criminals, with murderers - well, it's my line of work - you arrest murderers, you arrest terrorists, you talk with them... And it happened occasionally that... well, you talk to him and write down his statement and then, well, you ask him about something intimate, personal, you try to clarify something and he says "Let it stay off the record. I'll tell you, just don't write it down. Give me your word you won't pass it on. I'll tell it just to you, so you'd know. But I can't confirm it on public. Please, it's not for public knowledge." 26:16:21

26:17:00 It happens to journalists too, right? People often tell you something but want it to not to go any further. And any operative in any country, any policeman has cases like that. And if we give our word - that's how I worked and how I trained my subordinates to work - if I give my word "All right, tell me, it won't go past me but I need to know." I'll never allow myself to cheat anyone in this. I mean, if a man trusts you - whatever kind of man it is - if a man tells you something just for your reference, you can't deceive him. Ever. 26:48:12

26:48:16 The same thing happened between me and Putin. I came to Putin, I came... and I, I mean... I trusted him, I told him everything. He knew... I mean, well, that we were really engaged in fighting organised crime and terrorism, that we really had leads to our generals... and that we had real data on our generals, real crimes... and corruption. I brought it all ho him and he disbanded our section... and all the officers who took part in that, who honestly served their motherland, honestly served their people - these are not just words, all those guys did serve honourably and well - all of them were expelled from the service, they lost their jobs and some even were convicted, illegally... 27.36.00

28:23:16 I have it. That's it, I understand. I'll explain. All right, I'll be brief. As for the explosions... it's hard to explain in a few words... It's a serious problem... and it's a very serious crime - it was an act of terror and many people died. And it's hard to compress into a few words. But for the benefit of your TV audience, the people who'll be watching this film I'll try to be brief. 28:51:16

28:52:04 Well, we had four houses blow up in September 1999 - two explosions in Moscow, one in Volgodonsk and one in Buinaksk. And after those explosions another incident happened that opens our eyes naturally on who had been responsible for those explosions. I'll explain shortly. In September, sometime around the 20<sup>th</sup>, in Ryazan, yes the 20<sup>th</sup> or close to it, a house was mined. 29:25:10

29:25:14 People who had been setting the mine were noticed by one of the inhabitants, Mr. Kartofelnikov. He saw that car and the men who were taking sacks out of it and lowering them into the basement. Naturally, maybe if it was the first case, the first one, if not for those four previous explosions, he wouldn't have paid any attention to them. But since those four houses did blow up and all the country was in a state of emergency... everybody was talking of houses blowing up and those sacks of sugar in the basements... So he noticed them and called the police. 30:01:12

30:02:00 The police arrived but the people who put those sacks there had already departed. Our police always arrives on time. Well... And they found sacks full of explosives and an explosive device. Proceedings were instituted and the search for terrorists began. The search went on for three days. On the third day those persons were apprehended. They proved to be officers of the FSB and after they had been arrested the FSB Director Patrushev claimed it had been a trial exercise. 30:35:00

30:36:12 Well... after that incident happened... I mean... I understood that the four houses before that had been the handiwork of those people arrested in Ryazan. Why? Because any sleuth will tell you, any policeman in any country will tell you if you have one street or one city or one region where within a short limit of time a robbery happens, a bank robbery where people are sprayed from a machine-gun... 31:08:10

31:08:14 I mean, they rob one bank and machine-gun the personnel, several days later the neighbouring... well, let's suppose a few streets away again a bank is robbed and again people are machine-gunned, another case, then yet another... and then they arrest the guys with that machine-gun during an attempt to machine-gun another bank - and everybody understands that the previous four cases were their work. Well, naturally, they start gathering the evidence, but usually, naturally those people become suspects in those four cases as well because there are grounds for suspecting that they were responsible for those four crimes. 31:42:14

31:42:18 The same thing happened here - the place, the MO of the crime - the mining of that house in Ryazan is identical to those explosions that took place in Moscow. I mean - the object of the attack is an apartment block, a high-rise apartment block, the lodgement

place is the basement, highly effective explosives are used and are delivered in sacks marked "sugar". These are not my words, these are the statements of the FSB officials. 32:12:00

32:12:10 So, let's go back to Ryazan. Patrushev claimed that it had been an exercise. But what could he say if his officers were arrested while their tracks were still warm? Well, I completely dismiss Patrushev's version that it had been an exercise. How? Well, firstly... in the basement of that apartment block they left no sugar, but cyclonite, an explosive. Because Patrushev claimed that it had been an exercise and they used sugar. I say they used cyclonite. 32:43:00

32:43:04 How can it be proved? It can be proved by the fact that a device, gas analyser M02 that is used by Russian sappers (people that are responsible for deactivating explosives) cannot make a mistake. There were two studies performed, it has replaceable cartridges, and both showed the presence of cyclonite vapours. 33:04:00

33:04:04 Secondly, the mine clearing was performed by the sapper named Tkachenko, an explosives technician Tkachenko together with his assistant. Well, Tkachenko, he's been working on deactivation of explosive devices for more than five years. He clears... he performs up to a 100 clearing operations a year and in five years he hadn't made a single mistake. Besides, Tkachenko also doubles as an instructor; he holds classes for other... explosives technicians. I have an audiotape where he talks about it. 33:36:10

33:36:14 Well. Under no circumstances could Tkachenko take sugar for cyclonite. Because all the experts questioned by us say in one voice: if a man had seen cyclonite even once he wouldn't be able to take sugar for it. In fact, even if he hadn't seen it... Why? Because everybody knows what sugar is. Because we use sugar in our food every single day. Well... That's the second fact. 34:03:00

34:03:04 The third fact - Tkachenko couldn't mistake an explosive device... er... well... I mean... we have explosives and an explosive device... If we had explosives that were in fact sugar... plus an explosive device the case would have been handled by the FSB, by the police, by the fact that an explosive device had been present. If we had real explosives but a dummy explosive device the case, once again, would have been handled by the police, by the fact that explosives device had been present. 34:33:00

34:33:04 But since we had both the explosives and an explosive device the case was pursued by the FSB because it was defined as an act of terrorism. We had both the explosives and an explosive device - so Tkachenko had to mix up both sugar and cyclonite and a functional device with a dummy one. It's impossible for a man with five years experience to mix them up. 34:57:10

34:57:14 Now... The use of a gas analyser - that showed cyclonite vapours - proves that explosives were present. In the explosive device we have all the elements present - the battery, well, batteries that were its energy source, further on, we have (by the way, we

have a photo of that explosive device), we have an electronic clock used as a timer and we have a detonator - they used a hunting cartridge for a detonator, and all the FSB officers and their superiors claim unanimously that it had been a hunting cartridge.  
35:30:04

35:30:08 The very presence of a hunting cartridge and its illegal use in itself constitutes a criminal offence. I mean, well... that hunting cartridge is a detonator. We held an experiment in the USA and the detonator... and a hunting cartridge had detonated cyclonite. So we have an explosive device, we have the explosives and we have an explosive device. So the house had been mined. 35:53:21

35:54:00 Now. The next fact. How can we prove it had been an act of terrorism? They started a criminal investigation according to the Article 205, terrorism. That's one of the major pieces of evidence. Secondly: the inhabitants of the house were moved out for the whole night. The police was working under an equal-to... under combat conditions. I mean if they were apprehended, I mean, they could have been killed, I mean, the police could have used force... By the way, I have inside information that after the arrest one of the police officers, one of the FSB officers that mined that house resisted arrest and was... they used force against him... I mean, he was badly beaten during his arrest by the police officers in Ryazan. 36:36:00

36:38:10 Everything, everything was for real. And Patrushev hoped that his officers will manage... that his officers would get away clean and the whole thing would be presented as... I mean... as a success and a prevention of an act of terrorism. By the way, Rushailo, the Minister of Internal Affairs - before Patrushev claimed it had been an exercise - announced that it had been a successfully prevented act of terrorism. 37:00:00

37:00:04 Now... what does completely overthrow the story about an exercise? Firstly, an exercise is always announced beforehand, because it's an exercise. You can't have an exercise... you can't train people so they don't know they're being trained. Well, what is a training exercise for? To train, right? But if you're training somebody you must tell him "I'm training you." The fact that such an exercise was to be held in Ryazan was known neither to the inhabitants of the house, who, by the way, couldn't be trained without their prior accord, it's a crime - to experiment with people without their permission. They're civilians, they're not Patrushev's subordinates. They're taxpayers. It's Patrushev who has to report to them, not they to him. 37:46:18

37:46:22 So, an exercise is announced well beforehand. The people in the house didn't know, the local police didn't know, the FSB, the local authorities, the ambulance, the attorney general's office - nobody knew. So if an exercise... if it was an exercise... they're announced beforehand, the public is drawn in, civil defence services are involved, there are special documents prepared and among those involved... I mean the units that provide... the ambulance, medical units, I mean... 38:21:00

38:21:04 And an exercise should be held... with the inhabitants of one house, with their permission, but also people living in other houses must be involved because what does it mean? We trained one house - what about the rest? Why did we choose this particular group? 38:34:10

38:34:14 Now, the second fact, a very important one. There will be no exercises held with bombs already going off. Well, imagine, a war is starting... well, right now there's a war starting in Iraq... And imagine that the USA right now are launching an exercise - I mean removing troops from the frontline and training them at leisure... Funny, isn't it? 38:54:00

38:54:04 Now... A very, very important fact is that to lodge the explosive device the officers of the FSB used a stolen vehicle. I mean... I mean... stealing a car is a criminal offence. The Law on the Federal Security Service spells it out quite clearly: under no circumstances can the FSB officers commit crimes. Any crimes. I mean... why did they use that stolen car? 39:25:00

39:25:12 Well... I don't know... Perhaps they were being trained... really, if we believe what Patrushev said, perhaps they were also taught how to steal cars... I don't know what do they need it for - I served there for 20 years and I never had to steal a car... It's not necessary, not for policemen... in any country, in a normal, civilised country an officer of the secret service doesn't have to know how to steal things. It is not part of his duties. It doesn't protect the security of the state - I mean, stealing cars or whatever. 39:57:04

39:57:08 Well, therefore why did they steal that car? Because that car was the only thing that could link those people - the FSB officers that inserted that bomb - with the explosion itself. If Kartofelnikov didn't notice them, it would have happened. After the explosion... After the explosion happened there could have been witnesses who noticed a car standing there - I mean, those who survived... well, and they could have traced the car to its owner and come to those who had set that bomb. That's why they took a stolen car, so that later when the owner is found there'd once again be a report... they always report to us that "Well, we found the car on which the crime had been committed. The owner is apprehended. Bu the car... The owner reported that the car had been stolen two days ago. 40:44:12

40:44:16 Well - that was the scheme they acted upon. Well, therefore I can tell you that we have proof - mind you, in any court, I have no doubt that any jury would conclude that what happened in Ryazan was not an act of terrorism... oh, no, that what happened in Ryazan was not a training exercise but an attempt to commit an act of terrorism. According to the law of the Russian Federation an attempt to commit an act of terrorism is a completed criminal act and it carries the same responsibility as a real crime. 41:18:08

41:18:12 I mean, imagine that a man wants to kill you and shoots at you with a rifle from the roof. And the bullet narrowly misses your heart and you stay alive not because he

took pity on you and abandoned that crime but because the bullet passed in 2 cm from your heart. So it's an attempt to murder you and it carries the same penalty as murder. The consequences are milder of course; the consequences are a bit milder. 41:42:31

41:43:00 Though in our case there were some consequences because people were disturbed and that could be taken into... and that... that... and that is naturally considered to be the consequences... the consequences of a crime. 41:56:00

42:07:12 Well, well I'll tell you this: I've met Kovalev; he made a very good impression on me. I want to say that he is an honest and decent man, a real citizen of his country, a man of conscience. But I'm sure 100% that Kovalev will do everything he can so that the people who voted for him - and he's a member of the Duma - learn the truth... But it seems to me that he will never manage to make sure that those people who blew those houses up - that's Patrushev, Putin and their close associates - that those people answer for that deed. 42:53:10

42:53:14 Well... I think those people can be called to account for the crimes they've committed only after the political regime in our country is changed. I'd like to add that the only argument the government offers as their justification is that the FSB didn't not blow up those houses... They're told "Here, I have proof that you blew up those houses. What can you say?" They give only one answer "We didn't blow up those houses because we can't, because the officers of the FSB can't blow up their fellow citizens." That's it. That's it. They don't say anything else that makes sense. 43:31:04

43:31:08 But I tell you, if we look at the history of the State Security Committee - there's no one but them there to do it. Read the documents that Bukovsky managed to get - they were deeply involved in terrorism, they trained Irish terrorists, they trained Palestinian terrorists, they trained terrorists for Latin America. They supplied weapons to Palestinian terrorists for their terrorist activities. I have a real document, a top-secret document signed by Andropov. 43:58:00

43:59:20 More... Who in 1994 before the first Chechen war blew up a rail bridge, tried to blow up a bridge and died there - Captain Shenkov, an FSB agent who's been working with Lozovsky, who is also an FSB agent. Who blew up a bus and was convicted for that? 1994, a bus blew up at the VDNH metro station. The explosion happened a couple of minutes after it stopped and the passengers had time to get out. If the explosion happened two minutes earlier there would have been not just one victim - the driver - I think half of the bus would have ended up as mincemeat, they would have died... 44:36:16

44:36:20 That bus was blown up by lieutenant colonel Vorobiov who was an FSB agent. And at Vorobiov's trial the FSB gave him a positive character reference as a valuable agent who had displayed valour and fortitude while defending the state security... the interests of the Russian state... And the FSB asked to give him a milder sentence - for an act of terrorism, for blowing up a bus... Look - the FSB confirms that Vorobiov is their

agent and asks to mitigate his sentence for an act of terrorism. And do you know how much Vorobiov got? Three years - for blowing up a bus. 45:13:00

45:13:14 They gave me three and a half for speaking about those things and Vorobiov who'd blown up a bus got three years. Because he's their agent. So the FSB already... if you consider this fact of a bus blown up, one bus before the first Chechen war... it already can be defined, according to the laws of the Russian Federation, as a terrorist organisation - because the Anti-terrorist law has it straight and clear: if an organisation had committed even one terr... To be precise... an organisation is defined as a terrorist organisation if it commits a single act of terror its leadership is aware of.  
45:47:12

45:47:18 So what we have is... we have Vorobiov, a lieutenant colonel who had committed an act of terrorism, that act of terrorism had been committed with his superiors' full knowledge - because one of the FSB's top people gave him a positive character reference for his trial and asked for his sentence to be... So he knows that Vorobiov is a terrorist and he speaks on behalf of that terrorist. 46:06:12

46:07:12 So what we get is... that even this single incident with Vorobiov gives us grounds enough to qualify the FSB as a terrorist organisation and dismantle it. And all the people serving in it can be defined as people who served in a terrorist organisation, including Mr Putin who is currently occupying a place of the President of the Russian Federation. I mean, according to the laws of the Russian Federation, Putin was a head of a terrorist organisation. And now that man is signing anti-terrorist treaties with all the civilised states. 46:40:16

46:40:20 Tomorrow Russia's political regime will change. It will... It will change sooner or later. And those decent honest people who take power will label that organisation a terrorist one as the KGB had been labelled a terrorist organisation. And I'd like to see the leaders of those countries who'd signed those anti-terrorist treaties with Putin - how will they be viewed by their fellow citizens, by their taxpayers when they are told "Gentlemen, who are your allies in the fight against terrorism? Terrorists?" 47:09:08

47:09:12 And it will be found out that they still maintain contacts with the terrorists in the Middle East, and with the terrorist active in other regions. And, excuse me, right now, today they said on TV that Saddam Hussein had allegedly used chemical weapons... Where did he get those chemical weapons from? Everybody knows by now that those chemical weapons came from Russia. And I tell you, when this war begins new T-72 tanks will be used, with the date of manufacture that's after 2001. And new Russian weapons that were provided in Putin's time. 47:44:00

47:45:00 You see? That's what we're speaking about. That in Russia... And when I'm told, "They couldn't have done it." - who else is there? Who blew up that bus? Who engaged in terrorism in the KGB times? I beg your pardon, Andropov was a terrorist. I've seen documents signed by him where he gave weapons to terrorists for their terrorist

activities. Haddad, there was a man called Haddad. That was the head of the external operations section of the Palestinian Liberation Front. A terrorist known all over the world. That terrorist was part of the KGB network.48:20:00

48:20:04 And I have a document where Andropov reports that that terrorist had been issued weapons for committing acts of terrorism against... including the citizens of Great Britain, the USA, Israel and other developed countries, capitalist countries as they were then called. 48:35:04

48:35:08 So what? Doesn't Putin know about that? We do know and he doesn't? Those documents hang on websites. On the Internet. He fights against terrorism, doesn't he? So Putin gives to the er... terrorist Andropov, he with his own hands puts a memorial board for him at the Lubyanka. So he sends a message to everybody "Folks, we keep going on with this." In 1994, the acts of terrorism... that's the FSB, 1995, 1996 bombs go off in Moscow, explosions in the metro... - nobody's been found. They've even stopped searching by now. 49:08:14

49:08:18 Then... houses blowing up before the second Chechen war. If you please, they were caught in Ryazan red-handed. It's a terrorist organisation, and besides... beside... apart from... and actually apart from terrorism there's nothing they can do, they have no other skills. I've got facts, they kill people. And I'll tell you; they'll continue to engage in terrorism just as they've done before. And there'll be more acts of terrorism committed in Russia. Nord-Ost is not the end of it, there'll be more. 49:39:06

49:39:10 And the only difference between the KGB and the FSB is that the KGB was the more powerful of the two, as the USSR used to be a more powerful country that had more weapons and more money than Russia currently has. They just don't have enough money to engage in terrorism on the scale the KGB used to do that. So if they had a bit more strength to them they'd be engaging in terrorism on the same scale the State Security Committee used to. 50:08:21

50:09:00 I mean, I mean, take a look. The Soviet Union fell apart, the KGB was gone - and so was the terrorism in the South America. Because that was too far away and there was no need. It stopped immediately. In 1996... Up until 1996 our place... I mean, I mean... the atmosphere in the FSB had been as follows - that at any moment we could be closed and dismantled - the world was quiet. After 1996 they started strengthening their positions yet again, yet again we had former 5th Directorate people in power... 50:39:18

50:39:22 I'll tell you, the dissidents... for example Bukovsky Vladimir Konstantinovich, 1996 was when he was refused a visa for the first time, 1995-96... And starting with 1996 - look what starts again in the Middle East. So once again they rise to their full height, rebuild their strength, they restore their network and it all starts all over again. 50:59:00

50:59:04 And it will be happening over and over - until that organisation is recognised as what it is. I mean, as a terrorist organisation, as an organisation that had - first and



foremost - killed 40 million Russian citizens, Soviet citizens, the organisation that has to recognise and condemn the crimes they've committed in the 20th century. And until such a judgement is passed, until there is a public trial, until the former KGB officers feel the same shame as the former officers of the Fascist Gestapo or SS - until they're ashamed to admit where they served, until all this is done terrorism won't stop. 51:40:21

51:41:00 They'll just keep changing names, they'll keep reorganising, they'll continue using... I mean, to move their sections apart or to draw them together. And... really... everything they did before - they'll just keep on doing it. Mark my words. 52:00:00

52:15:00 All right, about the Nord-Ost. Any... I don't want to throw around empty accusations, I go by the facts. However... I'll name you, I'll give you some facts. Nord-Ost. Any crime that happens - any professional investigator will tell you, any policeman, any secret service officer in any country - they always look first into who benefits from it, into the motive. And then check it against the time and location of the crime, and location. All right, I'll tell you, the situation was as follows. 52:43:16

52:43:20 That thing with Nord-Ost happened exactly at the moment when Zakaev and the Chechens started gaining recognition in Europe. People started meeting with them. I mean, before the Nord-Ost, I'd like to remind you, there'd been a meeting between Zakaev and Mrs del Ponte, that's the prosecutor on the Yugoslavian criminal case, that had frightened the Kremlin a lot. I mean, Zakaev started to be listened to at the Europarlament and people started to look at the Chechen problem with slightly different eyes. 53:13:21

53:14:00 And I mean, immediately after that, when Zakaev was conducting a series of meetings in Europe, right after... a Chechen Congress had been - successfully, I'd say - held in Denmark... It had attracted the world's er... attention, and er... the attention of the people within Chechnya itself. The Chechen people were invigorated, they realised that the world remembered them and knew what was happening to them. 53:44:00

53:44:12 Then the Nord-Ost happened. And first and foremost it was a major blow to the international reputation of the Chechens - Zakaev, Mashadov... the latter, I say, is a legitimate president, he was elected legally and Yeltsin signed a treaty with him as with a subject of the international law, signed a peace treaty. You can only sign a peace treaty with a neighbouring state. Yeltsin signed a peace treaty with Mashadov so... and Mashadov was elected in the presence of the international observers. 54:18:00

54:18:04 So everybody understood... I mean, the Chechens started building up... er... er.. I mean, Zakaev and Mashadov started building international relations, including... all over the world. And so... in order to turn the world public opinion against the Chechens... that Nord-Ost incident happens that brought the Chechens nothing, nothing, they reaped no dividends from it. So who benefited from it - only those who fought against Mashadov. 54:48:06

54:48:10 Mashadov didn't need that Nord-Ost thing - and neither did Zakaev. Naturally, those people aren't stupid and they must have understood that if they organised that - what would the consequences be, firstly, personally for them, for the ideas they had been promoting and for their people, their state. 55:07:21

55:08:00 The second aspect... Now the purely technical side... I'm going to leave the politics aside, it's a purely technical side of it. What are those aspects? Question number one: I'll tell you that in Russia there's a system currently in operation... I mean, there are lots of various law-enforcement organisations, secret services, the FSB, then the FAPSI, the tax police, the police proper - and in all of them there are operatives that have their sources. So all of Russian society is riddled with informers. 55:40:10

55:41:00 And I tell you, the FSB alone has about 100000 clandestine informers, that's informers only, that's not counting the trustees, those who maintain safe houses and other er... undeclared sources of information. And that's just the FSB. I'm not counting the officers, it's just the clandestine informers, clandestine agents who comprise that 100000. That's not counting the officers proper who have rank and go to work every day. The same thing is going on in the police, the tax police and other organisations. 56:10:16

56:10:20 I mean, with this system in operation in Moscow, especially now with that spy craze about the people from Caucasus going on... I tell you, under no circumstances could 50 Caucasus people get together with weapons in their arms and cross Moscow undetected in their camouflage uniforms. So it's as if... As... as comparison... it's as if Bin Laden gathered 30 Afghan fighters, came to Washington, went through the city carrying their arms and took some building by force. Can you imagine Bin Laden, armed, driving through Moscow? 56:43:21

56:44:00 So Arbi... that Movsar Baraev was a familiar name to the law enforcement agencies. If when those houses were blown up the head of the regional operative directorate, Mironov, made a statement that they couldn't prevent those explosions because those people had never been in our field of vision... well, Movsar Baraev... the photo of Movsar Baraev had been issued to every Russian policeman on the beat. Every single one of them had a photo of Movsar Baraev, terrorist, and there was a warrant out for Movsar Baraev. 57:13:12

57:13:16 And it's not an accident that two weeks before those events Movsar Baraev had been removed from the "wanted" list. It was declared that he had been killed. They probably were afraid that some sergeant would arrest him somewhere in the street and take him to the police station. And then they'd have had to sort out that mess - on one hand he'd been dead and on the other he was apparently alive. So under no circumstances barring help from the secret service or other law-enforcement agencies could have 50 Chechens gather in Moscow, arm themselves and take over a building. That's one. 57:42:14

57:42:18 The second thing is... I... naturally, many people who live in Moscow think... Well, the second fact that's very important: after it was taken over... that building of the... that theatre... all those people, many of them were poisoned with that gas, that was also illegal, by the way. I mean, those terrorists who took those people hostage weren't arrested, they all were killed. Mind you, none of them, and that's understandable, had offered any resistance. They were killed in their sleep, especially the women. 58:24:16

58:24:20 That... no law, no Russian law, no law, under no circumstances allows that, under no circumstances does it allow to kill somebody who is offering no resistance. I mean, anybody. If a man offers no resistance you cannot use weapons against him. Weapons are used only... only to prevent resistance or during an escape attempt. 58:54:00

59:01:00 Ah, there were no precedents, none. Either a man had to offer resistance, adequate armed resistance, or he had to be running away... for us... so we had to stop him and arrest him. But once again, it had to be a matter of emergency - when the escape happens at night or in the forest, you understand me, right? Or if it's in the city and you understand that in a moment he'd be gone, lost in the crowd... only then. And even then before using a weapon in daytime several shots are made in the air, shots are fired in the air, a warning is given "Stop, or I'll shoot!" and only after that you use a weapon - if you can do so without harming bystanders. 59:39:16

59:39:20 And they tell us that they were all set with explosives so they had to shoot them. I beg your pardon, what about detonating it with a shot? A shot could detonate it and cause an explosion. I mean, shooting them is more dangerous than simply arresting them. They slept. They should have been divested of explosives. They should have been handcuffed while asleep, cleared of explosives and arrested. It was safer than shooting them and risking a shot detonate a bomb. That detonation was far more likely to cause an explosion. 01:00:07:00

01:00:07:04 They were shot. Why were they shot? Because somebody found their evidence uncomfortable. Because they would have told who had supplied them, where they had stayed, who had taken them to the Nord-Ost, who had armed them, how they had met in Moscow. And naturally the ears of the secret service would have stuck out. That's why they were killed. Because they... when they were killed, they weren't killed as terrorists, I'm telling you, the FSB killed them as witnesses. 01:00:33:21

01:00:34:00 I mean the FSB killed them as witnesses... as those who witnessed something others must not know about. 01:00:43:04

01:00:44:00 Now, let's continue, we got interested in that topic...

**END OF TAPE 2 / INTERVIEW ALEXANDER LITVINENKO**

### **TAPE 3 / INTERVIEW ALEXANDER LITVINENKO**

00:00:12:08 Well... Well... I mean, we looked into that matter even more thoroughly, because there were the signs that... as it's said, as Russians say, the situation didn't look completely clean. And we learned the following... so... a colleague of mine, Mikhail Ivanovich Trepashkin, in 1995-96 got a lead to a group of Chechens, that - by the way he told me about it today, I recorded the story, I have an audio tape...00:47:00

00:47:04 that was located at the "Salut" hotel, the "Salut" hotel at Vernadsky parade is a hotel that belongs to the MVD, the ministry of Internal Affairs. So, the manager of the hotel was a Chechen and around him a group of Chechens gathered that carried arms, sold drugs, killed people and also sent weapons to Chechnya illegally. 01:11:12

01:11:16 The connections... I mean, he deputy of that hotel manager, the Chechen. I have his surname somewhere, was a former KGB general, I have his surname as well... I mean, besides, they had connections with the officers of the Search and Operations Directorate, the former head of the Directorate, Kuznetsov. Well, with one officer of the General Staff, a general from the General Staff... and they also had connections with one colonel from the General Staff. 01:37:06

01:37:10 Trepashkin conducts an operation and arrests some of them. There was a Novikov Visrudi... (checked) Well, Novikov is released from custody, Trepashkin is sacked from the service. They give an order... Though he sends the materials on that group to the MVD, to the internal security directorate of the FSB, to the Presidential security service - because they sit armed on the route the President takes - and also to the Economical Counter-Intelligence Directorate of the FSB. But nobody would touch those Chechens. That manager is still a manager. Well... And the people from that group are still active - and Misha got sacked. 02:16:04

02:16:08 The only thing... there was a man there called - as he said - "Abdul the Bloody", because it was established that he took part in the military action in the First Chechen War and tortured soldiers - he killed them, he cut soldier's throats, cut their heads off... So that Abdul the Bloody whom Misha had staked was part of that group. So Abdul the Bloody left Russia, left Moscow, he was advised to leave because the law-enforcement agencies got interested in him... Well, and Misha was sacked on the orders from Barsukov Mikhail Ivanovich. 02:44:10

02:44:14 By the way, he went to court claiming he'd been dismissed illegally and won the case. The court agreed that he... that they'd dismissed him illegally and Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, the FSB Director

at the time, did not follow the decision of the court through - and that, by the way, is a criminal offence, as far as Russian legislation is concerned, disobeying the verdict of the court. And I think, it is so not only in Russia. In any civilised country disobeying a court decision is a crime. 03:07:08

03:07:12 So... Misha was sacked and all the work on that group was abolished, blocked. While Misha pursued his case an attempt had been made on his life. That attempt was organised by Major Chernogorov, I have all his details. The orders came from Patrushev, personally. Major Chernogorov and several other FSB officers organised an attack on Trepashkin. But Misha managed to beat them off, he was slightly wounded but he survived. After that an order to kill Trepashkin was given to our unit - while he was still suing the FSB - we refused to do it...03:44:10

03:44:14 Well and right now there is a criminal case against him - they planted 18 cartridges at his place and then fabricated a charge that he had given away information constituting a state secret. I mean, the information that belonged to the State Security Committee. That he had given away the information, a state secret of the Soviet Union. They are going to bring him to court today in Russia for giving away the secrets of the country that is gone and of the organisation that no longer exists. 04:06:00

04:06:04 Well... it seems they're even going to arrest him on Monday - he called me today. 04:11:18

04:11:22 Let's go back to that group of Chechens. So, three months before the Nord-Ost incident that Abdul and Abu Bakar, the members of that criminal organisation linked to the FSB, appear in Moscow. Misha informs the FSB. He says, "Look, Abdul is in Moscow." The FSB knew that Abdul and his people came to Moscow - nobody took any measures. 04:38:21

04:39:00 When the Nord-Ost was taken over, both of them, Abdul and Abu Bakar showed up at the Nord-Ost. The next... Besides, even before that they were... the warrant for them went out when the bomb went off next to the McDonald's. About a couple of weeks before the Nord-Ost there was an explosion next to the McDonald's. So... the investigator on the McDonald's case established that it was done by the people Trepashkin had been investigating in 1995-96 - the people because of whom he got sacked. 05:08:00

05:09:00 And it was established that those people had been present in the Nord-Ost. Well, then an investigator from the attorney general's office called Misha and said, "Mikhail Ivanovich, could you please..." He's a lawyer nowadays, Trepashkin. An investigator from the attorney general's

office called Trepashkin and said, "Mikhail Ivanovich, could you please come and identify them. Take a look... You do remember those two - Abdul and Abu Bakar?" "Yes, I do." "So could you identify them among the terrorists killed at the Nord-Ost, because they definitely were there." Actually Abu Bakar, I think, took part in the negotiations with Nemtsov. 05:42:14

05:43:12 So when they tried to find Abdul and Abu Bakar among the dead terrorists - they weren't there. That means that the FSB had let its agents out. So the FSB agents among the people of Chechen nationality on the orders from the FSB (I'm sure of that) had organised the whole thing. And later... those agents were released. And in order to avoid evidence against them the rest - those who weren't part of a secret service network and who were used blind...06:10.10

06:10:14 In every secret service there is such a term and any secret service officer will tell you "to run somebody blind". A man is run blind by a secret service. Through their agents they involve him in some affair - and so the man does the secret service's bidding, but he doesn't know that he does the secret service's bidding, because the agent of the secret service that gets him enmeshed him in some affair, does not disclose his connection to a secret service. There's such a term, any operative of any country would confirm that. 06:37:10

06:37:14 I mean, those terrorists who were killed - they were run blind by Abdul and Abu Bakar about whom we have information that they are cooperating with the FSB, with the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation. And we have surnames of those with whom they work, their connections. 06:55:00

06:55:00 So when Misha raised that issue, he was... the FSB stepped up the operative measures centred at him, his phones were controlled, all his phones, he was bugged on all sides, he started receiving threats... And on Monday, today is the 20th, Thursday, so what we have - 21, 24, on the 24th he's going to be arrested. We have operative information that they want to place him in detention, to send him to prison. To shut his mouth. So he won't be able to tell the people what he knows about the Nord-Ost. That's another proof that the FSB... FSB... I mean that this Nord-Ost thing isn't... isn't... as straightforward as we'd like it to be. 07:79:08

07:39:12 And there's one more interesting fact that I want to tell you. When Movsar Baraev captured hostages... hostages at the Nord-Ost... Both Akhmed Zakaev - Akhmed told me about it himself, I think, he'll confirm that - and Maskhadov reacted to the whole affair very negatively. I mean that neither Maskhadov, nor... nor Zakaev knew anything

about it. 08:02:08

08:02:12 And when it happened they naturally... well... found a way to contact Movsar or those people who were working with him and told them that what he's been doing was pure stupidity, and that it only could... and that it only could harm the whole cause - the thing that Maskhadov and Zakaev were busy with - stopping the war in Chechnya. I mean, the talks began, a chance for peace appeared... And that thing would only do harm. Instead of stopping the war it would intensify it. 08:31:08

08:31:12 That was Zakaev's opinion and Maskhadov's opinion. Naturally, they had nothing to do with that act of terrorism. When it happened... I mean... they condemned it. Publicly, mind you. So... Maskhadov and Zakaev, either directly, or through go-betweens - I can't tell you for sure - the thing is, they contacted Movsar and ordered him to release the hostages... "If you are such a... if you want to... to die for your homeland, let the hostages go, don't cover yourself with shame, let the women and children, let everyone go - and then fight and die, or surrender - it's up to you what to do next." 09:09:00

09:09:12 And they reached an agreement that Movsar would let all the hostages go. All of them. And he also had to... well... the negotiations ended on Friday night, but I know that Rybkin, I think, knew about it, everybody knew, and at the HQ they knew it - that the next day Movsar was going to - at 10 a.m., at daybreak - he was going to release the hostages. Why were they afraid to do so at night? So the people wouldn't be killed - I mean, people start running around at night, they'd get shot and then they'd be the ones who'd get the blame. 09:37:08

09:37:12 So the journalists were to come on Saturday at 10 a.m. to the Nord-Ost, at daybreak, and collect all the hostages. The thing is, the FSB and President Putin were aware of that, and everybody knew quite well that in a couple of hours the hostages were to be released. So a couple of hours before the hostages were to be released that crazy takeover began - and 100 people got poisoned as a result, I think that the number of those poisoned was even higher than that. Well. We don't have the exact details, how many are dead, how many will become invalids for life... So people were killed. 10:13:02

10:13:06 And of course it didn't happen by accident, because the first priority of the Russian authorities during that hostage recovery operation was not saving people but showing to the Chechens all over the world that they were terrorists. I mean... and the way the Nord-Ost affair began, I tell you, the main purpose of the Nord-Ost was to present Chechens as terrorists and to link them to the international drug... to international

terrorism, which is, by the way, not the fact. 10:42:00

10:42:14 I've been serving in the FSB until 1999, I've been actively involved in fighting terrorism and I'm telling you that I've never heard of a name like Bin Laden and a group called Al Qaeda. I mean... they started linking them only after 2001. They started explaining to us that the Chechens happen to be linked to Al Qaeda and to Bin Laden. I'm sorry, Bin Laden had been a terrorist since 1998. I mean he'd been blowing things up and getting famous. The FSB paid him no attention at all. They had no interest in him. 11:12:18

11:12:22 The FSB only started needing Bin Laden and Al Qaeda so they could link the Chechens to them and show the world that what Russia did in Chechnya was not committing military crimes but fighting terrorism. That's it... 11:27:10

11:28:08 By the way, the main problem that prevents Putin from ending that war is that he's afraid he's be charged with the crimes committed in the last three years. I mean... an enormous number of people had been killed or kidnapped; they'd been put in those holes... I mean I gave a paper in Czech Republic at a conference on counter-terrorism and a Czech journalist or no... yes a Czech journalist said just like that "I know, I know where two of those pits are." When I told about those pits full of dead people a Czech journalist said, "I know where two of those pits are. Women, children and old men were killed there. Illegally. They were kidnapped and murdered." 12:00:06

12:00:10 So Putin, you understand, will have to answer for this... And, mind you, they killed several times more people there then had been killed in Yugoslavia. I mean, what Milosevic had done, Putin had committed more weightly and more hienous crimes. They had been committed on his orders. Putin is more guilty than Milosevic. And Putin understands it quite well that he could be next in line after Milosevic. 12:22:21

12:23:00 Therefore he has to link - the first stage is to link Chechnya to the international terrorism and the second stage is to try to organise a civil war there between Chechens. So when the troops withdraw it can all be blamed on the Chechens. That's why they're holding that referendum now. That's why Putin lies when he says to the Chechens "You'll soon be living on your own. You'll be left in peace." He needs... I mean, he need to get the troops out and organise and interchechen civil war. So all the crimes could be blamed on it. That's it. That's his plan. Everyone with a shred of common sense understands that. 12:57:12

13:09:00 Well... Of course we have contacts in the FSB that tell us some



things. I'll tell you, I've got the information from two other sources beside Trepashkin that... that everything that happened in the Nord-Ost, the terrorists that were killed - it all had been set up by the FSB - the information comes directly from the FSB officers... And that they killed those women while they were asleep in order to be able to remove their agents to safety. I mean, everything is confirmed. 13:38:08

13:38:12 And when I asked them "Can you declare that openly?" They said "No." I said "All right. What if you, let's say, go out to the West and we guarantee your safety?" They said, "We'll be killed. It won't work." So they're afraid to talk about it. Actually they say, "When the political regime changes, then we'll talk. When we can be sure that our lives and the lives of our loved ones are out of danger, then we'll talk about it." You see, they really are afraid. 14:01:18

14:01:22 You see, everyone has one term, one life. You can see what's happening in the world now. Therefore I think that dealing with an FSB officer or a policeman presents no problem whatsoever. They just put them in prison. They fabricate a criminal case just like that. Any officer of a law-enforcement agency, any investigator, any operative can be set with a fabricated criminal charge in 20 minutes. 14:24:21

14:25:00 It's very easily done. Any operative, any investigator had at some point arrested, locked people up for their crimes. They call that criminal who's been convicted and is now in prison... they either go to him, to prison, or bring him to Moscow through channels. They give him a sheet of paper and say, "Was it Litvinenko who arrested you?" "Yes." "When?" "7 years ago." "On what charge?" "Murder". "Have you been convicted?" "Yes." That's how it happened to me. They brought some investigator from the military prosecutor's office. He was convicted for murder. Well, he's been in prison for 8 years. He got 14 years. There's a court verdict, everything. It's all valid. It had all been proven. There is a corpse of a man he killed, everything. 15:00:21

15:01:00 And they put a sheet of paper for him on the table 8 years later and say "Write that he had beaten you up when he arrested you. And we'll cut your sentence." He takes that sheet of paper and writes, "Litvinenko had beaten me up during arrest." They bring criminal charges against me, arrest me and put me into prison. That's it. You can convict any policeman in any country like this. Give me such legal room, such opportunity here in England and I'll get half of the police force convicted. Any policeman - he detains a criminal, the criminal is in prison, I come to him and say, "Write that that policeman beat you up during arrest, we'll let you go and lock him up." Any criminal, any thief, any rapist, any repeat offender, any robber, any murderer will always

denounce his investigator or a police officer who arrested him. 15:41:00

15:43:08 That's the methods they use. That's it. So how could those people talk? They purposefully keep the society in fear of them and those people who keep the society in fear of them they terrorise as well. I mean, who does put fear into the people - the police and the FSB. And naturally with those people... they are also given to understand "You live... we give you a chance to do some protection racket..." I mean, nobody there lives just on the salary alone, of them, I mean. 16:11:08

16:11:12 "We give you..." They keep their salaries low on purpose. If a man lives on his salary he might start doing his duty - so they pay him a salary one can't live on, it's not enough to buy food. So he takes bribes and moves into protection racket. The authorities do that on purpose. But after... But if a man opens his mouth and tries to utter even a drop against his superiors or tries to stand up for any kind of justice, minimal justice, this man is put in prison in no time. 16:40:10

16:40:14 Because they come to his place "What's your salary? \$100? Yes? And you have a car, right? So what did you buy it with?" Because on the salary they pay you - you have to go barefoot, you can't afford to buy socks. The authorities do that on purpose. 16:56:00

23:49:20 To recruit people, to recruit people they're using the Interpol now. They re-established the policy of recruiting the emigrants, people from Russia. After 1991 this line had been closed, they restored it. When they recruit people they involve them in some criminal activity, because the foreign intelligence service works like an umbrella for the Russian Mafia here in the West, I have facts. For example, Margelov, he is now responsible for the entire West, when he was a resident agent in Switzerland, Margelov, he had meetings with the Swiss Mafiosi at one of the safe houses in Switzerland. I have a man who can confirm that 24:27:00

24:28:00 If they approach a man, a former citizen of Russia or the Soviet Union, I mean, if they recruit him, they involve him in some criminal activity - they force him to launder money or sell drugs. If that man refuses they blackmail him - "If you won't cooperate with us we'll fabricate a criminal case against you in Russia, and pass a warrant to the Interpol. They'll arrest you in the West and extradite you to us." That's what they do. 25:00:00

25:00:12 So they're using the Interpol to... to do harm... to breach the security of the people in the West, in the USA. That's what they do. 25:11:12

Sincerely yours,

Elena