

Litvinenko described an episode in 1998, when Malyshev called Patrushev on behalf of Gusak, who was under an internal investigation.

74. In 'The Gang from Lubyanka', Sasha also described Vladimir Kumarin (Barsukov) as the "leader of the Tambov criminal organisation" in St. Petersburg. He goes on to say that "president Putin's relationship with the criminal Barsukov-Kumarin is currently the number one state secret in Russia... [but] the whole of St. Petersburg knows that Putin is linked to this man by personal friendship and financial ties."<sup>2</sup>

75. I cannot be absolutely certain that Sasha's revelations – which he made known to a number of journalists - were the only source of publications in the Russian press related to Kumarin – Putin connection. Having said that, he was certainly one of the first and most vocal and authoritative voices talking about those links. The subject had serious political implications for Putin as summarised in the pamphlet published by the Russian opposition figures, former Deputy Prime Minister Boris Nemtsov and former Deputy Minister of Energy Vladimir Milov report (<http://www.putin-itogi.ru/putin-corruption-an-independent-white-paper/>), which says:

*"Vladimir Smirnov was in the past closely linked with the well-known "mafia" businessman Vladimir Barsukov (Kumarin), who is currently in jail. Back in 1994, V. Smirnov was head of the Petersburg subsidiary of the German company SPAG and Kumarin was a member of its board. In 1999, SPAG was accused by the BND (Bundesnachrichtendienst, the German Federal Intelligence Service) of laundering money for Russia's organised crime and also for Columbian drug dealers. SPAG director Rudolf Ritter was arrested for this in 2000. Between 1996 and 2001 V. Smirnov was also in the upper management of ZAO Petersburg Fuel Company. During the same period Kumarin-Barsukov was its vice-*

<sup>2</sup> This quote was translated by me from the Russian original.

*president and to all intents and purposes controlled the company. Rif-Security, a security company controlled by Kumarin-Barsukov and V. Smirnov, provided security services to the Ozero Dacha Condominium."*

76. More importantly, Sasha was perhaps the only potential witness in any would be legal action related to those connections, by virtue of his living in the West and his credibility as an ex-FSB officer.

77. The scope of the Spanish investigation in which Sasha took part is available in the public domain as part of the Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) <https://reportingproject.net/occrp/index.php/en/about-us>, an international consortium of NGOs and media. Their investigation was summarised in a publication on 13 May 2009 in Novaya Gazeta (<http://www.novayagazeta.ru/inquests/45119.html>), which claimed to have access to documents and sources in the Spanish investigative team. In 2011, the English translation of the Novaya Gazeta report (exhibit 10) appeared briefly on the web site of Putin's press service - apparently by oversight - and was then quickly removed.

78. Among other things, the report states:

*"Gennady Petrov, Alexander Malyshev and their associates, all arrested in Spain for operating a criminal organisation, had significant connections in Russia, including with politicians, government officials, heads of state-owned companies, business leaders and friends of Vladimir Putin.*

*The examining magistrate, Baltasar Garzón, who is leading the investigation, has described the Russian businessmen arrested in Spain as members of the Tambov-Malyshev criminal organisation, thus establishing a link between Gennady Petrov and Vladimir Kumarin (Barsukov), the*

