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Volume 29 • Number 2 • Summer-Fall 2024 \$15 single copy price

I. CURRENT ISSUES

WET AFFAIRS, PART IV

Opposition is Fatal

Putin's Campaign of Oppression

Peter C. Oleson and Daniel Osen

arely a month goes by without journalists reporting new assassinations or other repressive measures taken by the Putin regime in Russia. The use of "wet affairs," (that is murder) has reached pandemic levels among real or imagined opponents of Vladimir Putin and his close supporters.

Assassination of political opponents has a long history in Russia going back to the 9th Century. In Soviet times it began with the murder of Sergei Kirov in 1934 on the orders of Josef Stalin.¹ "Most of the Politburo members subsequently were shot or forced to commit suicide during the Great Purge." This totaled through the show trials of the 1930s over two dozen. Assassinations were relatively few with the regimes of Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, and Gorbachev.³

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the chaotic kleptocratic years that followed in the Yeltsin period, the competition between oligarchs and those trying to seize control of and consolidate former state enterprises, resulted in many bloody affairs. The New York Times reported that more than 500 contract killings occurred in Russia in 1994 alone.

Then in 1999 came Putin.

He reined in the Yeltsin-era oligarchs in his initial terms as president. Those who opposed him were imprisoned, killed, or went into exile. Today all oligarchs are supporters of Putin. Those who opposed the "special military operation" in the Ukraine in 2022 have systematically been eliminated.

It is astounding to realize how many opponents of Russian dictator Vladimir Putin have met untimely ends. The Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO) has compiled an extensive list of Russians and others who opposed Putin, his war in Ukraine, or who, for one reason or another, ran afoul of Putin-supportive siloviki and have been assassinated or victims of an attempted assassination. The list includes people who have disappeared without explanation, died of supposedly of natural causes, such as a "heart attack," committed suicide, and/or been arrested and sentenced to prison terms.

The list totals more than 630 individuals.

This database is by no means comprehensive. Various sources list many others who may have died unnaturally, but details are scarce and the reliability of reports can be uncertain. It is challenging from open sources to determine with high confidence the cause of death in some cases or the related circumstances or motives. Given the secrecy of Russian authorities in most investigations reporting of the cause of death is unreliable and inevitably slanted to preclude criticism of the regime and, therefore, cannot be taken at face value. While readers might question the inclusion of some of the entries in the database and might wonder whether a listed "heart attack" was natural or induced, the sheer number of suspicious deaths of opponents of the Putin regime has to give one pause and leads to the conclusion that "wet affairs" – assassinations – have become a much-used instrument of the Russian state and its supporters.

The methods of assassination vary depending on whether the regime wants to send a public message or not. Those victims shot, blown up, butchered, or poisoned, always in a manner that is deniable, or imprisoned send a message to other potential regime opponents or defectors that there is a high price to be paid for disloyal behavior. In other cases, when the regime wants to punish or eliminate an opponent, but not be blamed publicly, it employs more subtle methods such as induced "heart attacks," suicides (especially falling from upper story windows), or unexplained, but supposedly natural, deaths. Russia has a long history of developing poisons of varying types. The KGB and its successor, the FSB, have main-

^{1.} Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sergei-Kirov.

^{2.} See Peter C. Oleson. "Stalin's Disciple: Vladimir Putin and Russia's Newest 'Wet Affairs,'" *The Intelligencer*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 2016], pp. 19-27.

^{3.} There was the assassination of Bulgarian Georgi Markov in 1978 in London and attempted poisonings of Nikolai Khokhlov, a KGB defector, in 1975, and Nobel Laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1970. See Fred Burton. "Playing by Moscow Rules: The Murder of Alexander Litvinenko," Stratfor, January 30, 2016. https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/playing-moscow-rules-murder-alexander-litvinenko; and Oleg Kalugin. The First Directorate. New York: St. Martins Press, 1994, p. 180

tained a specialized poisons laboratory. Novichok, the unique nerve agent used to poison KGB defector Sergei Skripal in 2018 in the UK, is a notable example. There are other poisons too developed at GosNIIOKhT (the State Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology). Some reportedly can cause victims to "go mad" and commit suicide. Some can cause the victim's heart to stop and is almost impossible to detect. In recent investigations Bellingcat has identified several members of the specialized "poison squad" who poisoned Putin critic Alexei Navalny.4 Unit 29155, a covert action, sabotage, and murder element of the GRU operating outside of Russia has been linked to the poisonings of Skripal, Bulgarian Emilian Gebrev and others. A favored method of unattributable assassination appears to be defenestration – assisted falls from windows. Suicide is always cited by the authorities, knowing it is hard to prove otherwise.

The extraterritorial reach of Putin's assassins has reached far and away. The United Kingdom has experienced 22 assassinations or attempts and Ukraine has witnessed many also. Others have occurred elsewhere in the Middle East, Western Europe as well as a dozen incidents in the United States.⁵

It is easier to understand Russia's actions when one recognizes that Putin in essence declared war on the West about 2007.6 He has harbored a sense of betrayal since the collapse of the Soviet Union, which he believes was a national tragedy, and has sought since to restore Moscow's region of influence. But he has been blocked by the expansion of NATO since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. He views NATO's expansion to the borders of Russia as a betrayal of promises made by the West. Since the demise of the Warsaw Pact, NATO has grown from 16 to 32 nations, including all of the nations that the Soviets controlled. This was not what Moscow desired and it sought assurances that NATO would not expand. But NATO did invite the former Warsaw Pact nations into the alliance. Putin has quoted a 1990 speech by the former German defense minister and NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner that NATO promised not to

Russian expert Amy Knight notes that Stalin's successors rarely turned to assassinations, as they did not need to. What is the difference with the Putin regime? Knight notes that it is threatened by the rise of democracy surrounding Russia (e.g., the Baltic states, Poland, Georgia, and especially Ukraine) and its stagnating economy.⁸

Due to Putin's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 today seven NATO members border Russia. Having Western democracies on its borders is viewed by the Kremlin as a potential existential threat. That primal fear was reinforced by the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004-2005 that ousted Putin-friendly President Viktor Yanukovych. It has been a fundamental belief of the Russian security services that all domestic opposition to the regime has its roots and support from foreign sources. From the Cheka to the FSB, Russian security and intelligence services are focused first and foremost on the survival of the regime. As chief of the FSB from July 1998 to August 1999 Putin was in charge of ensuring the Yeltsin regime was secure from threats (even as he maneuvered against potential rivals to replace the drunken and weakened Yeltsin). In an interview former CIA Director Leon Panetta observed that Putin was the "power behind the throne" in the final years of Yeltsin's rule. And after he assumed power, Panetta noted "Putin is KGB," and this "identifies the way he behaves..." Opposition is not tolerated.

Putin has shown a fixation on "traitors." Especially those of the security services who have defected

expand into Eastern Europe. Putin has said "[Worner] said at the time that: 'the fact that we are ready not to place a NATO army outside of German territory gives the Soviet Union a firm security guarantee.' Where are these guarantees?" "The dispute over this sequence of events has distorted relations between Washington and Moscow ever since," historian Mary Elise Sarotte of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University wrote in Foreign Affairs. "By design, Russia was left on the periphery of a post–Cold War Europe"—and a young KGB officer stationed in East Germany would return to Moscow "full of bitterness" at the Soviet Union's dissolution and he would one day have the power to act on that bitterness."

^{4.} Shaun Walker. "Poison squad stalked Alexei Navalny on 40 flights, say Bellingcat investigator," The Guardian, 17 Jan. 2021. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/17/poison-squad-stalked-alexei-navalny-on-40-flights-says-bellingcat-investigator.

^{5.} See Oleson. "Wet Affairs, Part III," *The Intelligencer*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Winter/Spring 2022, pp. 5-24. It is interesting to note that since Putin's extraterritorial assassinations other autocratic nations have instituted similar actions including China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and India

^{6.} See Putin's speech at 43rd Munich Security Conference on 10 Feb. 2007. "Putin says US wants to dominate world," *Reuters*, 10 February 20

^{7.} Mary Elise Sarotte. A Broken Promise? What the West Really Told Moscow About NATO Expansion," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014

^{8.} Amy Knight. Orders to Kill, St. Martin's Press, September 2017, pp. 3-4.

^{9.} Amazon Prime Video, "The Spies Next Door," Season 2, https://www.primevideo.com/detail/Declassified /oNW35G2Q2FLU8AoT58D676BFVA.

or joined the Ukrainian army. "Putin compared these [defectors] to vlasovstsy, the name given to the Soviet soldiers who defected to the Nazi side during World War II—part of a movement that was considered one of the worst episodes of treason in Soviet history. (The name derives from Soviet General Andrei Vlasov, who, after being captured by the Germans in 1942, agreed to serve the Nazis and founded the Russian Liberation Army to fight against the Soviets.)"10

By 1991, when Putin was a KGB operative in East Germany, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) knew that the USSR was failing as a state and in desperation worked to preserve the funds they had accumulated. Where did the funds go? The KGB helped to move uncountable billions of rubles and gold out of Russia creating hundreds of companies, off-shore accounts, Swiss bank accounts, luxury real estate deals (especially in the UK, New York City and Florida), and Persian Gulf states. The CPSU had a "department of affairs management" which was in charge of its funds. The exfiltration of Russia' wealth was to be secret. The leaking of the "Panama Papers" from the law firm Mossack Fonseca revealed off-shore accounts of several individuals with close ties to Putin and the laundering of over \$2 billion. 11 The revelations of the Panama Papers were a "personal slight to Putin," according to former CIA officer John Sipher. They also were a threat to his oligarch supporters, which had stashed billions of dollars in overseas safe havens.12 Unconfirmed rumors were that more than forty officials knowledgeable of how and where funds were laundered at that time "fell out of windows."

In recent years the massive theft of the Russian budget has continued, especially in the defense budget. Apparently, Russian oil companies have been the sources of funds for oligarchs' personal use and suspected payments to Putin. 13 As the accompanying database shows a number of LukOil and Rosnoft executives have died. In 2024 there have been more than a dozen such suspicious deaths. All were rich and knowledgeable of dirty money schemes. One has to conclude that those officials ("dirty money guys") who know of corruption and help to move funds and money laundering are eliminated by "falling out of windows" to protect higher up beneficiaries.

Putin exhibits the classic traits of a tyrant. In her study of tyrants' psychologies, political scientist Betty Glad posited that a tyrant is most apt to gain power in situations where there is a widespread sense of resentment or grievance based on historical or social events. Russia during the Yeltsin years exhibited this - the USSR had collapsed, there was a coup attempt, and the central economy was in poor condition with factions fighting to acquire state enterprises, and high inflation.14

She also noted the paradoxical behavior of tyrants, including narcissism and grandiosity but with severe superego deficiencies, and exaggerated paranoia. She used Aristotle's definition of a tyrant as "one who (1) rules without law, (2) looks to his own advantage rather than that of his subjects, and (3) uses extreme and cruel tactics against his own people as well as others. As Aristotle noted, the tyrant is one who cuts off the heads of those who are too high, undertakes measures to sow discord among subjects, impoverishes people with his exploits, and uses informers and betrayers to undermine trust among his subjects. The problem, as Plato recognized in The Republic, resides in the tyrant's character and the ways in which he exercises power. Lacking concern for elementary considerations of justice, he needlessly creates enemies and sets himself on a path that leads to increasingly chaotic behavior on his part. In short, the tyrant is one who seeks and exercises powers for his own rather than the general interest, does it outside the law, and creates a political order based on extreme cruelties and mistrust. But absolute power, paradoxically, is apt to result in even more extreme behavior. Tyrants, Glad concluded, are not inclined to moderate their cruelty after they have consolidated power. 15 As political scientist Robert S. Robins and former CIA psychiatrist Dr. Jerrold Post have noted, "when a paranoid leader becomes chief of state, his

^{10.} Andrei Solatov and Irina Borogan. "Putin's Defector Obsession: Moscow's Ruthless Campaign Against Russians Who Fight for Ukraine," Foreign Affairs, 1 May 2024. Also, security service defectors

^{11.} Michael Schmidt & Steven Lee Myers. "Panama Law Firm's Leaked Files Detail Offshore Accounts Tied to World Leaders," The New York Times, April 3, 2016.

^{12.} The Panama Papers consist of over 11 million documents that identify more than 214,000 offshore entities leaked in 2015 from the Panamanian law firm Mossack Fonseca. (Source: International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, "The Panama Papers: Exposing the Rogue Offshore Finance Industry." https://www.icij.org /investigations/panama-papers/. Also see Julia loffe, "What Putin Really Wants," The Atlantic, January/February 2018, pp 68-75.

^{13.} Oligarchs often fund efforts that would normally be government-funded. Examples include Putin's presidential palace near Sochi and Prigozhin's funding of the Internet Research Agency and Wagner private military company.

^{14.} Betty Glad. "Why Tyrants Go Too Far: Malignant Narcissism and Absolute Power," Political Psychology, Vol. 23, no. 1, March 2002, pp.

^{15.} Glad. She cites Aristotle, 1948, pp. 132, 158, 212, and 287; and Plato, 1941, pp. 26-27, 325; and Plato, The Republic, 1941, pp. 26-27, 325-327, 330-332.

THE 2024 HOSTAGE EXCHANGE

The complex hostage exchange between Russia and six western countries involving 24 prisoners has shed light on the fact that Russia has an untold number of political prisoners in various gulag-like prison camps. Evan Gershkovich, the imprisoned Wall Street Journal reporter, upon his release spoke of the many political prisoners with whom he was incarcerated. The number is unknown and, therefore, not included in the database of those known to have been assassinated or otherwise silenced since Putin's rise to power.

paranoia infects the nation" This certainly applies to Vladimir Putin.

FORECAST

Putin has the overriding goal of restoring the Russian empire and making Russia a preeminent world power. He has used Russia's military (or the Wagner Group's mercenaries) to seize the Georgian provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in 2008, Crimea in 2014, and invade Ukraine in 2022, as well as exploit several African countries. As Betty Glad concluded compromise with a tyrant is likely only to whet the appetite. "Since returning to 'wet work' ... Russian intelligence has encountered very few consequences to deter it from such nefarious activities. Russian operatives involved in assassinations in Turkey and Qatar were caught and subsequently released back to Russia." Vadim Krasnikov, who openly assassinated a

Peter C. Oleson is a former senior US intelligence officer and author of the three predecessor articles to this one. All are available on the AFIO website. https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_on_Putin_from_AFIOINTEL_FALL2016_Vol22_n02.pdf; https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_Wet_Affairs_II_AFIO_INTELLIGENCER_SPRING_2018_Vol24_n01.pdf; and https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_Putin_PartIII_UPDATED_AFIO_INTEL_SPRING_2021_Maro5.pdf.

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Chechen refugee in Berlin in 2019, was exchanged for hostages held by Russia in July 2024. As long as Putin remains the modern-day tsar there will be perpetual conflict with the West. Much of it will be covert. As Frank Figliuzzi, the former assistant FBI director for counterintelligence has stated "The Cold War is not over." 19

^{18.} Western European nations have experienced a rise in sabotage by Russian agents, including the GRU's Unit 29155, and questions remain whether the Anomalous Health Incidents ("Havana Syndrome") affecting US and foreign diplomats and intelligence personnel are surreptitious attacks using microwave technology by Russian operatives.

19. Amazon Prime Video, "The Spies Next Door," https://www.amazon.com/The-FBI-Declassified-Season-1/dp/BoCJJJF15S.

^{16.} Robert S. Robins & Dr. Jerrold Post, *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 244

^{17.} Scott Stewart. "The Long Arm of Russian Intelligence," Security Weekly, Stratfor, 25 August 2016. https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/long-arm-russian-intelligence.

Some of the Individuals Attacked, Killed, Sentenced or Silenced Since the Rise of Putin.

Event	Description	Source
POST SOVIET PERIOD – 1990s		
THREAT OF ASSASSINATION Marina Salye St. Petersburg 1991 – 2000	A reformer and political opponent of St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak, who relentlessly investigated corruption regarding export quotas under Putin's control that he awarded to front companies, which were part of the KGB's slush funds scheme. Blocked by Sobchak from investigating further, she later published a report "V. Putin – The President of a Corrupt Oligarchy." Under threat of possible assassination, Salye self-exiled to a remote area near the Finnish border.	Catherine Beldon. Putin's People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and Then Took on the West. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2020, p. 87-92, 94-5.
ASSASSINATIONS??? Sons of Ryszard Kuklinski Florida 1993 – 1994	Polish General Staff colonel and prolific CIA spy (1972-1981) exfiltrated with family out of Warsaw and resettled in Florida. Sentenced to death in absentia. Within months both sons died mysteriously – one while boating (Dec. 1993), the other in a hit and run (Aug. 1994). The car was found torched. Neither case was ever resolved.	"The Dangerous Business of Exfiltrating Spies – Part Two." The Cipher Brief, Sep. 18, 2019. A conversation with Joseph Augustyn, chief of CIA's Defector Operations Center.
MURDERED Freddie Woodruff Republic of Georgia 8 Aug. 1993	Woodruff, the acting CIA station chief, was shot in the head while riding with an ex-KGB colonel, Eldar Gogoladze, the head of the security team for Georgian president, Eduard Shevardnadze. Theories of the murder abound – a drunken bystander was accused and sent to prison. Woodruff was investigating Georgia's mafia trans-Caucasus heroin trade. The murder has never been satisfactorily solved.	The Daily Beast, "Who Blew Out a CIA Spy's Brains? A New book Fingers His 'Best Friend," Dec. 2018. Michael Pullara. The Spy Who Was Left Behind: Russia, the United States, and the True Story of the Betrayal and Assassination of a CIA Agent, Scribner, 2018.
ASSASSINATED Vladislav Listyev Russia 1 Mar. 1995	One bullet in the head and one in the arm. The killer did not rob him for money or other essentials. Vladislav had originally worked for USSR State Radio and television. A hypothesis is that Kremlin did not like his broadcasting. It is marked as an 'unsolved murder.'	Republic RU. https:// republic.ru/posts/48942

^{1.} This database has been compiled by Peter C. Oleson, Association of Former Intelligence Officers, with the assistance of Daniel Osen, Brunel University, London, UK. It builds on Table 1, Significant Murders or Attacks Related to Putin's Regime, in Oleson, "'Wet Affairs,' Part II," *The Intelligencer*, Journal of US Intelligence Studies, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 2018)". This database is by no means comprehensive. Various sources list many others who may have died unnaturally, but details are scarce and the reliability of reports can be uncertain. It is challenging from open sources to determine with high confidence the cause of death in some cases or the related circumstances or motives. Given the secrecy of Russian authorities in most investigations reporting of the cause of death is unreliable and inevitably slanted to preclude criticism of the regime and, therefore, cannot be taken at face value. While readers might question the inclusion of some of the entries in this database and might wonder whether a listed "heart attack" was natural or induced, the sheer number of suspicious deaths of opponents of the Putin regime has to give pause and leads to the conclusion that "wet affairs" – assassinations – have become a much-used instrument of the Russian state. For background also see Oleson's articles "Stalin's Disciple: Vladimir Putin and Russia's Newest "Wet Affairs," *The Intelligencer*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 2016) and "Wet Affairs, Part III: Russia's Assassination Pandemic," *The Intelligencer*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Winter-Spring 2021). All three articles are on-line at https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_on_Putin_from_AFIOINTEL_FALL2016_Vol22_no2.pdf; https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_Use_Affairs_ILAFIO_INTELLSPRING_2018_Nol24_no1.pdf; and https://www.afio.com/publications/OLESON_DILESON_OLESON_Putin_PartIII_UPDATED_AFIO_INTEL_SPRING_2021_Maro5.pdf.

ASSASSINATED Mikhail Manevich St. Petersburg 18 Aug. 1997	Chief of St. Petersburg city property department, he tried to regain control of the port for the city government that had been taken over by criminals in league with Putin's position as deputy mayor. Shot dead by a sniper while driving to work. Yury Shutov was blamed (see below). Murder never solved.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p.104.
ASSASSINATED Galina Starovoitova St. Petersburg 20 Nov. 1998	A believer in democracy and crusader against corruption, Starovoitova, a Duma member, was gunned down in her apartment building's stairwell. The investigation determined the murder was organized by a former GRU hitman. She had pushed legislation for lustration (the purging of officials) and opposed the power of the KGB.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p.113. Helen Womack, "Obituaries: Galina Starovoitova," <i>Independent</i> , 23 Nov. 1998.
ASSASSINATED Yury Shutov St. Petersburg 1998	Fired former Sobchak aide and enemy of Putin was arrested in 1998 on trumped up murder charges of killing Galina Starovoitova. Also accused of murdering Mikhail Manevich. Shutov died on Dec. 12, 2014 in the White Swan maximal security prison. "The many secrets he'd dug up on Putin as deputy mayor disappeared with him forever."	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 519, footnote 42.
SILENCED Yuri Skuratov Moscow 17 Mar. 1999	Russian prosecutor general, 1995-1999. Critical of Yeltsin. Was investigating illegal offshore money transfers. Silenced after sex tape of him with two women shown on Russian TV.	"Follow the Money – The Latest Kremlin Scandal Involves Billions of Dollars Moving Offshore – Plus Sex and Videotape," <i>Newsweek</i> , March 29, 1999; <i>The Putin Murders: A Brief</i> <i>History of Putintime</i> , La Russophobe.
	2000	
ASSASSINATED Anatoly Sobchak St. Petersburg 19 Feb. 2000	Former mayor of St. Petersburg and Putin's boss. Had left Russia but returned and wrote article critical of KGB in St. Petersburg. Reported "heart attack" but probably poisoned by his KGB-associated security guard. Investigation closed without official finding.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 104, 170, 171-3.
	2002	
POISONED Ibn al-Khattab Chechnya, Russia 20 Mar. 2002	Poisoned by Sarin in a letter delivered by an FSB agent. Saudi born Chechen rebel military leader, previously an anti-Soviet mujahideen fighter in Afghanistan.	Andrew E. Kramer, "More of Kremlin's Opponents Are Ending Up Dead," New York Times, August 20, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/21/world/europe/moscow-kremlin-silence-critics-poison.html?_r=0
2003		
ASSASSINATED Sergei Yushenkov 17 Apr. 2003	Gunned down in entrance of his apartment block. Co-chairman of Liberal Russia movement, member of the Duma. Part of the non-government Kovalev Commission, formed to investigate allegations that Putin's FSB bombed the Moscow apartments in 1999 to justify the Second Chechen War.	La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders: A Brief History of Putintime."

ASSASSINATION Yuri Shehekochikhin Moscow Jun-Jul, 2003	Deputy editor of the independent <i>Moscow Novaya Gazeta</i> , hospitalized due to an "acute allergic reaction." Believed actually poisoned to prevent him from further uncovering the truth about a high-level corruption case involving officials from the Federal Security Services (FSB) and the Prosecutor General's Office. Poisoned before trip to US to talk with the FBI.	Committee to Protect Journalists, https://cpj.org/data/people/yuri -shchekochikhin/. La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders: A Brief History of Putintime."
ASSASSINATION??? Stephan Moss UK Sep. 2003	British lawyer, 46, linked to funneling Russian money into the UK. Associate of Stephen Curtis and Scot Young. First of 9 in the UK associated with Boris Berezovsky and Scott Young to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." ²
ARRESTED Mikhail Trepashkin Moscow 22 Oct. 2003	Lawyer, former KGB officer. Uncovered suspected FSB involvement in apartment house bombings. Was lawyer for Kovalev Commission. Arrested a week before presenting his case, initially for illegal possession of a firearm, and later for espionage. Sentenced to four years. Freed 2007.	La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders: A Brief History of Putintime."
ARRESTED Mikhail Khodorkovsky Moscow Oct. 2003	One of the original oligarchs. Head of Yukos Oil. The wealthiest and most powerful of oligarchs under Yeltsin. Supported parties opposing Putin. Accused of tax fraud. Imprisoned for 10 years. Moved to the UK after release in 2013. Yukos broken up and "sold" to government entities. Remains a major critic of Putin.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 220, 224, 303, 305, 310, 311, 313, 357, 495-6. Andrew Kramer, "Russian Oil Magnate Forced To Sell to Putin Loyalist, He Says," <i>New York Times</i> , July 31, 2007.
ASSASSINATION??? Gus Waldo Weiss Washington, DC 25 Nov. 2003	Found dead under his balcony at the Watergate. He was the mastermind of a CIA covert action, known as the Farewell Dossier, that supplied the USSR with defective software and other technologies sought by the KGB's Line X. Allegedly malware cause a massive explosion of the Trans-Siberian gas pipeline. Weiss was betrayed by FBI spy Robert Hanssen.	Peter. C. Oleson. "Farewell Dossier," The Intelligencer journal, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 2024), pp. 75-84.
	2004	
KILLED, CAR BOMB Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev Doha, Qatar 13 Feb. 2004	Killed by a car bomb. Acting president of the break-away Chechen Republic, 1996-1997. Three Russian agents arrested. One with diplomatic immunity released; two others returned to Russia after five months to serve their life sentences but soon went missing, probably released.	Sarah Rainsford, "Convicted Russia Agents 'Missing," <i>BBC News</i> , February 17, 2005.
ASSASSINATION??? Stephen Curtis Bournemouth, UK 3 Mar. 2004	Private helicopter accident. Crash deemed "suspicious." British tax lawyer linked to funneling money out of Russia. Worked for imprisoned Yukos Oil oligarch, Mikhail Khodorkovsky. Associate of Stephen Moss, Yuri Golubev, Paul Castle, and Robbie Curtis. One of 9 in UK associated with Scot Young to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." Nicola Harley and Victoria Ward, "Man who introduced Scot Young and 'Ring of Death' to Russians killed in helicopter crash," <i>The Telegraph</i> , 12 Dec. 2014.

SHOT DEAD Nikolai Girenko St. Petersburg. 19 Jun. 2004.	Human rights defender, expert witness. Despite a claim of responsibility by the head of the neo-Nazi Russian Republic, investigation led nowhere.	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Nikolai_Girenko
GUNNED DOWN Paul Klebnikov Moscow 9 Jul. 2004	Machine-gunned on Moscow street. American editor of <i>Forbes Russia</i> , investigative journalist. Had written about FSB corruption and identified Russia's richest people. Exposed business empire of Kremlin kingpin, Boris Berezovsky. Russian investigation stalled despite US diplomatic pressure.	La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders."
POISONED Viktor Yushchenko Kyiv, Ukraine Probably 2 Sep. 2004	Anti-Russian candidate for presidency in Ukraine. Poisoned by dioxin probably in a meal of crayfish. Survived but disfigured. Later elected president of the Ukraine.	La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders." The dioxin, similar to the "Yellow Rain" used by Vietnam against the Hmong in Laos, "was so pure that it was definitely made in a laboratory." "Study: Dioxin that Poisoned Yushchenko Made in Lab," Associated Press. Referenced in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor_Yushchenko#Dioxin_poisoning; George P. Shultz, "Chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan: An Update," (Washington, DC: United States Department of State, November 1982).
2006		
ASSASSINATED Andrei Kozlov	A Russian central banker who tried to stop the siphoning of funds from various banks, some of	https://www.theguardian .com/business/2006/sep/14

ASSASSINATED	A Russian central banker who tried to stop the	https://www.theguardian
Andrei Kozlov	siphoning of funds from various banks, some of which he closed. He was investigating Diskont	.com/business/2006/sep/14 /russia.internationalnews.
Moscow	Bank. Shot dead with his three security guards in	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> . p.
14 Sep. 2006	a sports arena parking lot.	410, 472.
	First deputy chairman, Russia Central Bank, 1997-1999 and 2002-2006. Murdered days after accusing Diskont Bank in Russia and Raiffeisen Zentralbank in Austria of money laundering. Moldovan investigative reporter Natalia Morar, also examining Raiffeisen Zentralbank was threatened by the FSB and expelled from Russia as a threat to the security of the state. She was told, "There is no need to end your life with an article – someone might simply wait for you at the entrance to your apartment building, and they will not find a killer afterward." This was a good summation of what has happened to several investigative reporters in Russia, including Dmitry Kholodov in 1994, Paul Klebnikov 10 years later, and Anna Politkovskaya in 2006.	Adam Federman, "Moscow's New Rules," Columbia Journalism Review, February 1, 2010. https://www.cjr.org/feature/moscows_new_rules.php.

GUNNED DOWN

Anna Politkovskaya Moscow 7 Oct. 2006 Journalist for the independent *Novaya Gazeta*, critic of Putin. Gunned down in her apartment block. Wrote about state corruption and rights abuses in Chechnya. "At the time of her death [she] was writing an article that allegedly included eye-witness accounts of Russians torturing Chechens as well as photographs of tortured bodies...." Survived a 2004 poisoning attempt on a flight to the Caucasus.

"The Putin Critics Who Have Been Assassinated," SkyNews, http://news.sky.com/ story/ the-putin-critics-who-have-beenassassinated-10369350.

Gordievsky, "Russia's Killing Ways;" Richard Weitz, "The Mysterious Deaths of Russia's Journalists," Hudson Institute, April 8, 2007. https://www.hudson.org/humanrights/the-mysterious-deaths-of-russia-s-journalists-.

ASSASSINATED

Igor Ponomarev London 30 Oct. 2006 Supposed "heart attack." Probably poisoned. Body whisked back to Russia; no postmortem done in the UK. Was Russian permanent representative to the International Maritime Organization (IMO) in London. Age 41. Scheduled to meet with Italian parliamentary investigator of KGB links to Italian politicians.

BuzzFeed News, Part 3. "The Man Who Knew Too Much."³ Wikipedia, The Mitrokin Commission, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Mitrokhin_Commission

ASSASSINATED

Alexander Litvinenko London 23 Nov. 2006 KGB defector to the UK in 2000. Worked for oligarch Boris Berezovsky. Supported Italian Mitrokin Commission investigation of Russian organized crime and KGB activities. In an article had accused Putin of being a pedophile. Given radioactive polonium 210, produced at Russia's Mayak facility, by two Russian KGB visitors, Andrei Lugovoy and Dmitri Kovtun, on Nov. 1, 2006 in his tea at the Millennium Hotel. One of 9 in the UK associated with Boris Berezovsky to die unnaturally.⁴

Former KGB officer who fled to the UK, outspoken critic of Putin. Litvinenko accused Putin of corruption and directing the 1999 apartment bombings in Moscow to blame the Chechens. Also called Putin a pedophile. "Following years of trying to expose corruption in the FSB's upper echelons he had come to believe the agency was nothing more than a brute squad for Putin's government, bent on picking off the president's political opponents one by one."

Amy Knight, *Orders to Kill*, St. Martin's Press, September 2017. BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia

with Blood."

Fred Burton, "Playing by Moscow Rules: The Murder of Alexander Litvinenko," Stratfor, January 30, 2016. https://worldview.stratfor.com/ article/playing-moscow-rules-murderalexander-litvinenko; Howard Amos & Tom Parfitt. "Kremlin Critics Killed During Vladimir Putin's Leadership," Telegraph, February 28, 2015. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/ worldnews/europe/russia/11441919/ Kremlin-critics-killed-during-Vladimir-Putins-leadership.html; "The Litvinenko Case and the Obstacles to Cross-Territorial Investigations, Analysis, Stratfor, December 9, 2006. https://worldview. stratfor.com/article/litvinenkocase-and-obstacles-cross-territorialinvestigations.

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Igor Gaidar Ireland 24 Nov. 2006 Free market economic reformer and former Russian prime minister under Boris Yeltsin. Publicly criticized the murder of Galina Starovoitova, a Duma member and leader of the Democratic Russia party, in St. Petersburg on 20 Nov. 1998. Possibly poisoned, but lived.

Amy Knight, *Orders to Kill*, p. 57. Obituaries: Yegor Gaidar, *The Telegraph*, 16 Dec. 2009.

^{3.} BuzzFeed News, Part 3, "The Man Who Knew Too Much," is at https://www.buzzfeed.com/janebradley/scientist-who-helped-connect-litvinenkos-murder-to-the?utm_term=.qrL84nNm7#.uy2eKMLE5.

^{4.} See also Peter C. Oleson, "Stalin's Disciple: Vladimir Putin and Russia's Newest 'Wet Affairs,'" in The Intelligencer, Vol. 22, No. 2, Fall 2016, p 23.

	2007		
ASSASSINATED Yuri Golubev London 7 Jan. 2007	Former Soviet trade official. Helped build up Yukos Oil with oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky, and fought Kremlin efforts to seize the company. Worked with Stephen Curtis. Supposed "heart attack" shortly after flying in from Moscow.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." Obituaries: Yuri Golubev, Independent, 12 Jan. 2007.	
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT Paul Joyal Adelphi, MD 1 Mar. 2007	Shot, critically wounded but survived. Security consultant, commentator on Russian affairs, former staffer for Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Shooting took place four days after <i>Dateline</i> NBC broadcast in which Joyal said "A message has been communicated to anyone who wants to speak out against the Kremlin – if you do, no matter who you are, where you are, we will find you and we will silence you – in the most horrible way possible."	Eric Rich. "Analyst Robbed During Shooting," <i>Washington Post</i> , Mar. 5, 2007. Telephone interview with Peter C. Oleson.	
ASSASSINATION??? Ivan Safronov (father) Moscow 2 Mar 2007	Russian journalist died after "falling" from his fifth-floor apartment. Wrote about problems with military training and unacknowledged weapons failures. Prosecutors ruled death a "suicide." Family members disagreed.	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Ivan_Safronov. Fred Burton & Scott Stewart, "Russia and the Return of the FSB," Security Weekly, Stratfor, April 2, 2008. https://worldview.stratfor.com/ article/russia-and-return-fsb; "Ivan Safronov," Committee to Protect Journalists, https://cpj.org/ data/killed/2007/ivan-safronov.php.	
POISONED Yury Gladkov St. Petersburg 6 Oct. 2007	A St. Petersburg council deputy, who worked with Salye investigating corruption under Sobchak and Putin, likely fatally poisoned.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 519, footnote 42.	
POISONED Oleg Gordievsky Surrey, UK 2 Nov. 2007	Soviet KGB rezident in London and British agent since 1974. The Secret Intelligence Service secretly exfiltrated from Moscow July 1985. Sentenced to death in absentia for treason – still in effect. Poisoned at home in Surrey, UK, probably by highly toxic thallium salt and was unconscious for 34 hours.	Sadie Gray, "Double agent Gordievsky claims he was poisoned by the Kremlin," <i>The Independent</i> , Apr. 6, 2010.	
SUPPOSED SUICIDE Oleg Zhukovsky Moscow Dec. 2007	VTB bank executive. Opposed the state's take- over, which wanted to appoint its own overseers. Allegedly performed the feat of committing suicide by being tied to a chair and thrown into his swimming pool, where he drowned.	Fred Burton & Ben West, "A Killing in Vienna and the Chechen Connection," Security Weekly, Stratfor, January 22, 2009. https:// worldview.stratfor.com/article/killing- vienna-and-chechen-connection.	

2008		
ASSASSINATED Badri Patakatsishvilli Surrey, UK 12 Feb. 2008	Georgian oligarch and best friend and business associate of Boris Berezovsky, age 52. Accused of financial crimes in Russia. Exiled in London. Embarrassed Putin in interview about the Kursk submarine disaster. Supposed "heart attack," but probably poisoned at lunch in London.	Amy Knight, <i>Orders to Kill</i> . BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood."
DISAPPEARED Leonid Rozhetskin Latvia Mar. 2008	Naturalized US citizen. International financier and lawyer. Held stakes in strategic companies, including mobile phone giant MegaFon. Lost Kremlin favor when he sold assets to multiple parties, including some former FSB agents. Remains found in 2013.	Burton & Stewart, "Russia and the Return of the FSB." <i>RANE Worldview</i> , Apr. 2, 2008.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Bob Dudley Moscow Summer of 2008	American citizen and BP executive running joint venture TNK-BP diagnosed as having been poisoned slowly. Alleged purpose was to force him out along with other western managers. Dudley fled Russia in August 2008. TNK-BP later sold to Rosneft, run by Putin friend and oligarch Igor Sechin.	Robert Mendick and Adrian Gatton, "BP chief executive Bob Dudley 'poisoned in Russian plot,'" <i>The</i> <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 30 Apr. 2018.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Mikhail Beketov Khimki, Russia 13 Nov. 2008	A journalist, assaulted and crippled, was left brain-damaged after an assault. He had highlighted government corruption and fought against the planned destruction of the Khimki forest near Moscow to make way for a highway to St. Petersburg. Previously in 2007, his dog was killed and car was set on fire. He died in 2013.	BBC News, 18 Apr. 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43781351. Ellen Barry, "Journalist in Russia, Badly Beaten in 2008, Dies," New York Times, April 8, 2013.
	2009	
ASSASSINATED Umar Israilov Vienna, Austria 13 Jan. 2009	Shot dead leaving a supermarket in Vienna. Israilov, a former bodyguard for Chechen strongman, Ramzan Kadyrov, fled the republic and made allegations of torture against Chechen forces and Kadyrov personally.	Philip Oltermann and Shaun Walker. "Russia denies ordering assassination of Chechen exile in Berlin," <i>The</i> <i>Guardian</i> , 28 Aug 2019.
ASSASSINATED Stanislav Markelov & Anastasia Baburova Moscow 19 Jan. 2009	Human rights lawyer gunned down in broad daylight in Moscow. Was campaigning against release of Russian colonel convicted of murdering a Chechen woman. Assassin used a silenced pistol. Anatasia Barburova, working with Markelov and killed with him, had previously studied with murdered journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Authorities blamed a radical neo-Nazi group.	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Stanislav_ Markelov#Murder; La Russophobe. "The Putin Murders." Steve Gutterman. The List is long: Russian who have died after running afoul of the Kremlin," Homeland Security News Wire, 16 Feb, 2024.

^{5.} The Russian nuclear submarine, Kursk, sank in the Barents Sea on 12 August 2000 with the loss of all of its crew. Poor maintenance and inadequate training were cited in the postmortem evaluation. The public reaction of the Russian government resulted in a domestic public relations disaster. (Amy Knight, *Orders to Kill*, p. 224).

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Alexander Antonov Moscow Mar. 2009	Lost use of arm after being shot by three Chechen men. Mastermind was never identified. Allegedly owed German Gorbuntsov consider- able monies (see Mar. 2012 entry).	Luke Harding and Miriam Elder, "Attack on Russian banker in London leaves trail of clues back to Moscow," The Guardian, 30 Mar. 2012. Will Stewart and Leon Watson, MailOnLine, 26 Mar. 2012.
MULTIPLE ASSASSINATIONS Yamadayev Brothers Moscow & Dubai 2003, Sep. 2008, & Mar. 2009	Former Duma member and an enemy of Chechnya's pro-Putin president, Ramzan Kadyrov, Ruslan Yamadayev was gunned down outside the British embassy in Sep. 2008. His brother, Sulim, a Chechen commander in the first Chechen War also opposed to Kadyrov, was shot dead in Dubai in Mar. 2009. Previously, Dzhabrail was assassinated by a bomb in 2003.	Luke Harding and Miriam Elder, "Attack on Russian banker in London leaves trail of clues back to Moscow," The Guardian, 30 Mar. 2012.
KIDNAPPED AND SHOT Natalia Estemirova Grozny, Chechnya 14 Jul. 2009	Human rights activist. Critic of Chechen strongman and Putin ally Ramzan Kadyrov. Reported on government burning down rebel homes with women and children inside. Previously worked with journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Kadirov (head of Chechnya Republic) may have ordered the assassination due to reputation of the Republic.	SkyNews, "The Putin Critics Who Have Been Assassinated."; La Russophobe, "The Putin Murders." https://www.rferl.org/a/enemies-kremlin-deaths-prigozhin-list/32562583.html https://republic.ru/posts/48942
MURDERED Sergei Magnitsky Moscow Butyrka Prison 16 Nov. 2009	A tax lawyer supporting Hermitage Capital Management that was accused of tax evasion and fraud. Alleged Russian officials stole funds from the state. Corrupt police had given unlawfully seized materials to organized criminals, who used them to take over three of Hermitage's Russian companies and who fraudulently reclaimed \$230m of the taxes previously paid by Hermitage. Attacked and beaten to death in his cell one week before his mandatory release from one year of pre-trial incarceration. Lawyer. Investigated tax fraud against Hermitage Capital Management, a company owned by Putin supporter William Browder. Arrested in November 2008 and jailed without trial. After he discovered that police were involved, he was then accused of tax fraud. In November 2009, riot police burst into his cell and beat him to death. The Kremlin subsequently put Magnitsky on trial, even though he was already dead, after western countries sanctioned the corrupt officials involved.	Philip Aldrick, "Russia refuses autopsy for anti-corruption lawyer." The Daily Telegraph, 19 Nov. 2009. Kathy Lally (20 January 2011). "UN-appointed Human Rights Experts to Probe Death of Russian Lawyer Magnitsky." The Washington Post, Jan. 20, 2011. Shaun Walker, "Russia drops inquiry into death of Sergei Magnitsky." The Independent, Mar. 19, 2013. Luke Harding, "Who Killed Boris Nemtsov? We Will Never Know," The Guardian, March 3, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/boris-nemtsov-never-know-who-killed-moscow-vladimir-putin-russian-opposition; Letter to first deputy of the general prosecutor of the Russian Federation from the chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group, March 26, 2010, at http://russian-untouchables.com/docs/D39.pdf.

2010

POISONED???

Anatoly Sobchak Kaliningrad, Russia 20 Feb. 2010 Putin's original mentor and former mayor of St. Petersburg. Asked by Putin to campaign in Kaliningrad. Journalist Arkadi Vaksberg wrote "two bodyguard-assistants, both physically fit young men, had to be treated for mild symptoms of poisoning following Sobchak's death. This was a hallmark of contract killings by poisoning: many a secretary or bodyguard had fallen similarly ill when their bosses were killed." A few months after his book was published, Vaksberg's car was blown up in his Moscow garage.

Masha Gessen, "The Best Theory for Explaining the Mysterious Death of Putin's Mentor," *Business Insider*, February 17, 2015. https://www.businessinsider.com/the-mysterious-death-of-putins-mentor-2015-2.

MASS MURDER -PLANE CRASH

Ninety-six Polish officials Smolensk, Russia 10 Apr. 2010 Polish Air Force flight 101 was bringing senior Polish officials and families of those 22,000 Polish soldiers, police, and POWs murdered by the NKVD (Katyn Massacre) to the 70th anniversary remembrance. Flight 101 crashed in thick fog. While pilot error was blamed, suspicions are that Russia manipulated automatic landing signals or planted a bomb on the plane. Those killed included Poland's anti-Russia president, a former president, the Polish General Staff, 18 members of the Polish parliament, Polish clergy, and family members of those killed in the Katyn massacre.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Smolensk_air_disaster

Valeria Gertz. Crash or Crime? Investigations into the Polish Presidential Plane Crash of 2010, Guarana, 2020.

Eugene Poteat. "Russian Image Management," *Charleston Mercury*, Oct. 21, 2010.

DIED

Sergei Tretyakov Osprey, Florida 13 Jun. 2010 SVR officer at the UN, but deputy rezident of the New York SVR office, who defected to the US in Oct. 2000. Known to have passed information to the FBI from 1997 until October 2000, when he officially defected. May have been original source on Russian "illegals" operating in the US and arrested in 2010. May have helped identify FBI spy Robert Hanssen. Died, age 53, probably by choking to death on a piece of meat. Reliable sources state that Tretyakov died of natural causes. However, conspiracy theories continue about his death. Given his history, he is included in this list.

Stratfor, "US: Death of a Russian Defector."; Frank J. Rafalko (ed.)., *Counterintelligence Reader*, Vol. 4, (Washington, DC: Office of the National Counterintelligence Executive, nd), 102-131

ASSASSINATED??? Gareth Williams London 18 Aug. 2010	GCHQ officer, age 31, assigned to MI6.6 Investigating Russian international money laundering. Reportedly cooperating with the US National Security Agency. Reportedly involved in kinky sexual relationships.7 Found in locked gym bag. Unknown cause of death due to decomposed body. Death viewed as "highly suspicious."	BuzzFeed News, Part 4. "The Secrets of the Spy in the Bag." ⁸
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Oleg Kashin Moscow 6 Nov. 2010	Oleg Kashin, was severely injured with skull fracture and broken bones resulting in an amputated leg. He had been reporting on protests against the Khimki forest highway. Beaten after "insulting" Pskov region governor, a Putin ally, who was named but never brought to justice.	Andrew Roth, "Journalist Oleg Kashin knows who tried to kill him," Washington Post, 18 Sep. 2015. BBC News, 18 Apr. 2018. https:// www.bbc.com/news/world- europe-43781351.
ASSASSINATION OR SUICIDE??? Paul Castle London 17 Nov. 2010	"Suicide" by subway. Property dealer associated with Scot Young. Jumped in front of a subway train after being threatened by Russian-linked crime gang members. One of the 9 in the UK associated with Boris Berezovsky to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." Martin Evans and Nicola Harley, "Ring of Death – the Scot Young associates who have all died in the past few years," <i>The Telegraph</i> , 12 Dec. 2014.
ASSASSINATION OR SUICIDE??? Robbie Curtis London Late Nov. 2010	"Suicide" by subway. London property agent, age 47. Associated with Russian laundered money purchases. One of the 9 in the UK associated with Boris Berezovsky to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." John Dunne and Tom Harper, "Property tycoon dies in fall under Tube in haunting echo of royal polo friend's suicide," Evening Standard, 20 Dec. 2012.

^{6.} GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) is the British signals intelligence organization. MI6 is the designation for the British Secret Intelligence Service. GCHQ and the US National Security Agency are two parts of the "five eyes" international signals intelligence alliance, also comprising Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

^{7.} According to The Telegraph, "the US State Department asked M16 to ensure that no details of Mr. Williams's work should emerge at the inquest of his death." (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9218325/Secret-meeting-between-M16-and-police-hours-after-discovery-of-spy-Gareth-Williamss-death.html.) There are a number of theories about Williams' death. One reported by The Independent is that he refused to become a double agent for the SVR when it attempted to blackmail him and the SVR killed him to protect the identity of one of its penetration agents. (www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/mi6-spy-gareth-williams-was-killed-by-russia-for-refusing-to-become-double-agent-former-kgb-man-a6670196.html) KGB defector Boris Karpichkov also told a UK tabloid that Williams was killed to protect a SVR mole within M1-6 codenamed-ORION about whom Williams had become suspicious. An attempt to recruit Williams failed, so he was killed. Karpichkov defected to the UK in 1998 with two suitcases of documents. He claimed there have been three attempts on his life using poison since 2006. (https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/former-spy-codenamed-gordon-identified-12404228; https://intelnews.org/2018/04/16/01-2307).

^{8. &}quot;The Secrets of the Spy in the Bag," is at https://www.buzzfeed.com/tomwarren/secrets-of-the-spy-in-the-bag?utm_term=.ygM4ARNn2#.wxKY36240.

2012		
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION German Gorbuntsov London Mar. 2012	Shot in an ambush with a silencer-equipped pistol, Gorbuntsov survived. Former owner of banks in Russia and Moldova. Charged with money laundering by Moldova. Fled to London in 2010. Suspected of underworld ties. The Russian banker allegedly had evidence relevant to the attempted murder of Russian billionaire Alexander Antonov, who claimed Russians were behind the attempt.	Will Stewart and Vivek Chaudhary and Richard Spillett, MailOnLine, 6 Dec. 2019. https://www.dailymail.co .uk/news/article-7763071/Family-Russian-billionaire-killed-Surrey-carcrash-urge-witnesses-come-forward.html. Luke Harding and Miriam Elder, "Attack on Russian banker in London leaves trail of clues back to Moscow," The Guardian, 30 Mar. 2012.
ARRESTED Mikhail Kosenko Moscow 8 Jun. 2012	Charged with mass riot. Street protester and anti-Putin activist. Sent to psychiatric detention for "chronic psychiatric disorder in the form of paranoid schizophrenia."	Boris Bruk, "Political Prisoners," Institute of Modern Russia, March 23, 2014. https://imrussia.org/en/special- projects/697%E2%80%8B-russias- political-prisoners-mikhail-kosenko.
ARRESTED Pussy Riot Moscow May 2012 ASSASSINATED Alexander Perepelichny	Feminist protest group singing anti-Putin songs. Charged with "hooliganism" and fomenting "religious hatred." Sentenced to two years and jailed. Released early just before Sochi Winter Olympics in Feb. 2014. Authorities prosecuted about 30 participants in a public protest, and many of them were sentenced to prison terms of several years. The police also roughed up and detained sympathizers who gathered outside the courthouse. Initial cause of death reported as "heart attack." Later toxicology tests revealed poisoning by gelsemium, a rare Himalayan toxic plant that	Ilya Arkhipov, "Pussy Riot Inmates Freed," Bloomberg, December 23, 2013. http://www. bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-12-23/pussy-riot-inmates-freed-from-prison-on-amnesty-before-olympics. Maria Lipman. "How Putin Silences Dissent," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2016. BuzzFeed News, Part 1. "Poison in the System." Catherine Beldon. Putin's People,
London, UK 10 Nov. 2012	can induce a heart attack. 44-year old financier, who after the beating murder in prison of lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, exposed the \$230 million fraud involving Hermitage Capital Investors and widespread corruption by Russian government officials. Fled to the UK in 2010. Died hours after returning from an assignation in Paris with a young Ukrainian woman.	p.411. Mary Louise Kelly, "The Curious Death of Kremlin Critics," NPR Now interview, August 30, 2016. https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/08/30/491898040/the-curious-deaths-of-kremlin-critics
ARRESTED Sergei Udaltsov Moscow 15 Dec. 2012	Organized a public protest against Putin in Lubyanka Square. Had been arrested multiple times before and accused of trying to overthrow Putin. Sentenced to four and a half years.	David M. Herzenhorn, "Opposition Figure Wanted in Russia Says He Was Kidnapped and Tortured," New York Times, October 22, 2012; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei_ Udaltsov.

2013		
ASSASSINATED Boris Berezovski Berkshire, UK 23 Mar. 2013	Yeltsin-era Russian oligarch and media owner, tied to Russian mafia. Viewed himself as "king maker" of Vladimir Putin. Later fell out with Putin and fled to UK in 2000 when accused of financial crimes. Was "linchpin" of Russian exiles in the UK. Used his billions to oppose Putin. Helped fund 2014 "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine, which ousted Putin ally, Viktor Yanoukovych. Supposed suicide by hanging in his bathroom. Forensic evidence suggests murder.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." Amy Knight, Orders to Kill. Catherine Beldon. Putin's People, p. 7. Eric Spitznagel, "The Mysterious Death of Russian Oligarch Boris Berezovsky," Bloomberg, April 4, 2013. https://www.bloomberg. com/news/articles/2013-04-04/the-mysterious-death-of-russian-oligarch-boris-berezovsky Eric Townsend & Simon Goodley, "Boris Berezovsky Found Dead," The Guardian, March 23, 2013 Alex Goldfarb & Marina Litvinenko, Death of a Dissident, New York: The Free Press, 2007) UK House of Commons Written Answers for 13 Jan. 2004. http://www.publica-tions.parliament.uk.
SENTENCED Alexei Navalny Moscow 15 Jul. 2013	Anti-corruption lawyer and blogger. Critic of Putin. Leader of the Progress Party. Had called Putin's United Russia party the "party of swindlers and thieves." Arrested several times. Charged with defrauding several companies. Sentenced to five years.	David M. Herzenhorn, "Putin Critic Gets 5-Year Jail Term, Setting Off Protests," <i>New York Times</i> , July 18, 2013.
	2014	
ASSASSINATED Reshat Ametov Simferopol, Crimea 15 Mar. 2014	Crimean activist who protested seizure of Crimea by Russia. Abducted on 3 Mar. and tortured. Body was found in a forest.	Sarah Hurst, Oren Dorell & George Petras, "Suspicious Russian Deaths: Sacrificial Pawns or Coincidence?" USA Today, 2 May 2017.
ASSASSINATION??? Alexander Pochinok Moscow 16 Mar. 2014	Former Russian government minister opposed to annexation of the Crimea from Ukraine. Criticized government on Russian TV. Reportedly suffered a "stroke" two days before Moscow ceremony to annex Crimea.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
ASSASSINATED Volodymyr Rybak Donetsk, Ukraine 17 Apr. 2014	City council member in eastern Ukraine who protested pro-Russian militia takeover. Body found with another, both with signs of torture.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Valeriya Novodnorskaya Moscow 12 Jul. 2014	Soviet era dissident and liberal politician opposed to invasion of Ukraine. Called the "grandmother of the Russian democracy." Diagnosed cause of death: toxic shock syndrome. (Possibly natural causes.)	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.

MASS ASSASSINATION Malaysian Air Flight MH-17 Netherlands / Ukraine 17 Jul. 2014 KIDNAPPED AND JAILED Leonid Razvozzhaev Ukraine / Russia 24 Jul. 2014	A Russian BUK surface-to-air missile downed Flight MH-17 from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia killing all 298 on board. The Russian missile was moved into the rebel area of eastern Ukraine and removed back to Russia after the incident. Ukrainian COMINT identified Oleg Vladimirovich Ivannikov, a GRU officer, as stating two days before "we got a BUK nowso we start shooting the hell out of their planes." Parliamentary aide, colleague of Udaltsov. Accused of trying to overthrow Putin, fled to Ukraine on Oct. 15, 2012. Claims he was kidnapped and returned to Russia and tortured by the FSB. Convicted and sentenced to four and a	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Malaysia_Airlines_Flight_17. Kevin G. Hall. "Russian GRU officer tied to 2014 downing of passenger plane in Ukraine," McClatchy, May 25, 2018. https://www.mcclatchydc .com/news/nation-world /world/article211836174.html https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Leonid_Razvozzha-yev.
MURDERED, POISONED??? Timur Kuashev Kabardino-Balkaria, Russian autonomous region Jul 2014	half years. Journalist who had criticized Russian officials found dead, having been beaten, after receiving anonymous threats. Two special agents from the police's anti-extremism department had cautioned him about one of his articles. He had been openly critical of Russia's seizure of Crimea and of Putin. A Bellingcat investigation has tied FSB clandestine poison experts to Kuashev's death and a subsequent cover-up.	https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2021 /01/27/navalny-poison-squad -implicated-in-murders-of-three- russian-activists/
AIRCRAFT ACCIDENT? Christophe de Margerie Moscow 20 Oct. 2014	CEO of French oil company Total SA killed in Moscow airplane crash returning to France. His departing plane hit a snowplow on takeoff. His negotiations to fund the Yamal LNG project with Euros was in difficulty due to sanctions over Russia's activities in Ukraine. Russian sources blamed a CIA assassination plot.	BBC News, October 21, 2014. https://www.bbc.com/news/ business-29699733 Sorcha Faal, "Russia Classifies CIA Assassination of Top French Oil CEO," October 21, 2014. http://www. whatdoesitmean.com/index1812.htm
ASSASSINATION OR SUICIDE??? Johnny Elichaoff London 20 Nov. 2014	British finance expert and entrepreneur, age 55. Suicide by jumping off roof. One of 9 in the UK associated with Scot Young to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood." –, Express: "Trinity Woodall 'griefstricken' after unexpected death of ex-husband Johnny Elichaoff."
ASSASSINATED Scot Young London 8 Dec. 2014	Close associate of Boris Berezovsky who helped funnel money out of Russia. Berezovsky's "fixer." Caught up in "Project Moscow" scandal. Defenestration from fourth floor apartment window and impaled on fence spikes. One of 9 in the UK associated with Boris Berezovsky to die mysteriously.	BuzzFeed News, Part 2. "From Russia with Blood."
ASSASSINATION??? Boris Kolesnikov Moscow Unknown date, 2014	Interior Ministry police officer who investigated the siphoning of funds by the SVR's Department K. Arrested and "fell" to his death while in custody.	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 491.

2015		
ASSASSINATED Boris Nemtsov Moscow 27 Feb. 2015	Liberal politician, Duma member, former deputy prime minister, and opponent of Putin. Wrote scathing reports of Putin's transgressions, human rights violations, and rampant corruption. Opposed seizure of Crimea and war in eastern Ukraine. Shot from behind four times on the bridge near the Kremlin. Police seized all of his papers the next day.	Amy Knight, <i>Orders to Kill</i> . Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. have-been-assassinated-10369350; Harding, "Who Killed Boris Nemtsov? We Will Never Know."; Joshua Yaffa, "The Unaccountable Death of Boris Nemtsov," <i>The New Yorker</i> , February 26, 2016.
POISONED Ruslan Magomedragimov Kaspiysk, Republic of Dagestan 24 Mar. 2015	Local activist of the Sadval (Unity) movement found dead near his car. Syringe marks were found on the body. A Bellingcat investigation has tied FSB clandestine poison experts to Magomedragimov's death and a subsequent cover-up by authorities.	https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2021 /01/27/navalny-poison-squad -implicated-in-murders-of-three- russian-activists/
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS Emilian Gebrev Bulgaria Apr- May 2015	Bulgarian arms dealer, considered hostile to Moscow's interests, poisoned and placed in coma. A month later after visits by two Russians he was poisoned again. Toxicology tests showed traces of two organophosphate pesticides and an unidentified element. Survived both attempts. Gebrev exported weapons to Georgia during the Russo-Georgian War of August 2008.	Martin Arotegul, "Hunt for Russian Black Ops Specialist Rages from Spain to Bulgaria," Voice of America, Feb. 27, 2020. https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2019/11/23/thedreadful-eight-grus-unit-29155-and-the-2015-poisoning-of-emilian-gebrev/.
FIRST ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT, POISONED Vladimir Kara-Murza Moscow 20 May 2015	Head of NGO founded by ousted oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky. Advocate for free elections in Russia and US Congress' passage of the Magnitsky Act ⁹ in 2012. Traveled to the US to urge Congress to impose Magnitsky Act sanctions against Russia. Believes he was poisoned on an Aeroflot flight. He had been tailed by members of the FSB's Criminalistics Institute ("Poison squad"). Recovered after being in a coma for a week.	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Vladimir_Vladimirovich_Kara-Murza Andrew Kramer, "More of the Kremlin's Opponents Are Ending Up Dead," New York Times, August 20, 2016. https://www.nytimes. com/2016/08/21/world/europe/ moscow-kremlin-silence-critics- poison.html?_r=o. https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2021 /02/11/vladimir-kmurza-tailed- by-members-of-fsb-squad-prior-to- suspected-poisonings/
JAILED Vladimir Yevtushenkov Russia Sept. 2015	Head of Russian oil company Bashneft. One of Russia's richest men. Accused of money laundering, but released after three months after the government seized his holding company, Sistema.	SkyNews, "The Putin Critics Who Have Been Assassinated."

^{9. &}quot;The Magnitsky Act, formally known as the Russia and Moldova Jackson–Vanik Repeal and Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012, is a [2012 US law]... intending to punish Russian officials responsible for the death of Russian tax accountant Sergei Magnitsky in a Moscow prison in 2009" (Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magnitsky_Act).

MURDERED Mikhail Lesin Washington, DC 5 Nov. 2015 ARRESTED Ildar Dadin Moscow	Putin's former press minister. Later head of Gazprom-Media. Moved to Switzerland and the US after falling out with Yuri Kovalchuk, Putin's personal money manager and close friend. "He was one of the legendary Kremlin officials who helped Russian President Vladimir Putin consolidate power charged with handling the state's takeover of Russia's media assets. He set up much of the Kremlin's modern propaganda machine, including the Russia Today channel." Under suspicion for his large real estate assets, he was scheduled to talk with the US Department of Justice to avoid corruption charges. Had "insight on Putin's personal banker [that] would be of great interest to the United States and a serious threat to the Kremlin." Died of blunt force trauma to the head, neck, and upper torso. Despite initial findings of the Washington Metropolitan Police, Lesin was likely beaten by thugs hired by an unnamed Russian oligarch, according to a secret report provided by former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele. Under "a new law restricting public assembly, authorities sentenced the peaceful Moscow activist Ildar Dadin to three years in jail for anti-government street protests, some of which	"A Mysterious Death in Washington," Analysis, Stratfor, March 11, 2016. Steven Lee Myers, "Mikhail Lesin's Strange Death in US Follows a Fall From Russia's Elite," New York Times, Apr. 2, 2016. Joe Fitsanakis, "Mystery death of Putin's ex-adviser in DC was accident, say US authorities," IntelNews.org, 31 Oct. 2016. BuzzFeedNews FOIA request https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/jasonleopold/christopher-steele-mikhail-lesin-murder-putin-fbi Maria Lipman. "How Putin Silences Dissent," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2016.
Late 2015	had involved no one but Dadin himself."	
	2016	
DEATH Igor Sergun Russia 4 Jan. 2016	Colonel General head of the GRU (Russian military intelligence). Reportedly died at age 59 due to a heart attack. Was engaged in a power struggle with the FSB.	"A Mysterious Death Raises Questions in Russia," Geopolitical Diary, <i>Stratfor</i> , January 6, 2016.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Alesya Malakyan Moscow 25 Jan. 2016	Unknown cause. Daughter of opposition activist Irina Kalmykova, who fled Russia to avoid trial for protesting against the government. Her daughter remained in Russia.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Vyacheslav Sinev Location unknown 3 Feb. 2016	Chairman of Russian Anti-doping Agency that was found complicit in widespread doping of Russian athletes in the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics. ¹⁰	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
ASSASSINATION??? Nikita Kamaev Outside Moscow 14 Feb. 2016	"Heart attack" after cross-country skiing. Resigned as executive director of Russian Anti-doping Agency two months prior to his death at age 52.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.

^{10.} Others associated with whistleblowing about the widespread doping at the Sochi Olympics have fled Russia, including athlete Yulia Stepanova, whose World Anti-Doping Agency file was cyber-hacked, and Dr. Grigori Rodchenkov, the former director of the Russian anti-doping laboratory, who has been threatened with death for his revelations. (Rebecca Ruiz and Michael Schwirtz, "Russian Insider Says State-Run Doping Fueled Olympic Gold," New York Times, May 12, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/13/sports/russia-doping-sochi-olympics-2014.html?_r=o.)

UNEXPLAINED DEATH Viktor Parshutkin Moscow 27 Feb. 2016 UNEXPLAINED DEATH Alex Oronov New York City 2 Mar. 2016	Russian lawyer who forced Russia to withdraw false charges against a Ukrainian political prisoner, Serhiy Lytvynov, who was abducted and tortured after Russia invaded eastern Ukraine. Died suddenly of unknown cause. Ukrainian émigré and US citizen who organized a meeting with Trump's lawyer, Michael Cohen, concerning a peace plan that would give Putin control of Ukraine. Cause of death is unknown.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. Halya Coynash, "A loss for Ukraine and one tortured Ukrainian political prisoner," Human Rights in Ukraine, 1 Mar. 2017. Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. Rachel Roberts, "Ukrainian businessman with links to Donald Trump and Russia dies in unexplained circumstances," <i>Independent</i> , 6 Mar. 2017.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Yevgeny Khamaganov Ulan-Ude, Siberia, Russia 16 Mar. 2016	35-year-old Russian journalist known for articles critical of the Russian government. Reports differ: either died of a beating or complications from diabetes.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. –, "Russian Journalist Dies In Unexplained Circumstances," <i>Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty</i> , 17 Mar. 2017.
ASSASSINATED Denis Voronenkov Kyiv 23 Mar. 2016	Former Russian Communist Party lawmaker. Putin critic and opposed to invasion of Ukraine. Fled to Ukraine in 2016. Shot dead on street in central Kyiv.	Scott Stewart, "The Dirty Work of Russian Assassins," Stratfor Worldview, September 14, 2017. –, Stratfor Snapshot, "Ukraine: Assassination will worsen already strained relationship with Russia," 23 Mar. 2017.
ASSASSINATED Dr. Matthew Puncher Oxfordshire, UK 4 May 2016	UK Health Protection Agency scientist who identified radioactive Polonium 210 as the poison used to kill Alexander Litvinenko in 2006. Demonstrated severe personality disorder after returning from US Department of Energy-sponsored work at Russia's Mayak nuclear facility to measure the levels of polonium inside Mayak workers. Supposedly fatally stabbed himself multiple times using two kitchen knives.	BuzzFeed News, Part 3. "The Man Who Knew Too Much." Imogen Robinson, "Top scientist who discovered Litvinenko poison 'stabbed himself to death with two knives' after trip to Russia," <i>Mirror</i> , 24 Nov. 2016. Joseph Curtis, "Radiation expert, 46, who investigated the 'assassination' of KGB spy Alexander Litvinenko 'killed himself by stabbing his arms and chest repeatedly five months after a trip to Russia'," <i>DailyMail</i> , 24 Nov. 2016.
ASSASSINATED Pavel Sheremet Kyiv, Ukraine 20 Jul. 2016	Outspoken Belorussian journalist and critic of Russia, Belarus, and Ukrainian elements. Killed by car bomb.	Stewart, Stratfor Worldview. "Identifying a mundane but deadly threat," Stratfor Assessments, 15 Aug. 2016.

REPORTEDLY DIED, BUT DIDN'T Aleksandr Poteyev Florida July 2016	SVR colonel and defector in 2010 who revealed a ring of undercover spies arrested in 2010 in the US. Tried in absentia and sentenced to death. Death announced in the Russian, not US, press in 2016. "When Chapman and her fellow agents were exposed, Putin said: 'It is a result of betrayal, and traitors always end in a bad way. Usually from a drinking habit, or from drugs, right in the street." Reports of Poteyev's death were in error or, most likely, Russian disinformation for purposes of deterring others from defecting.	Will Stewart, "Mystery over 'death' of turn- coat who Russian leader predicted would 'end in a bad way," London Sun, July 7, 2016. https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1407470/mystery-over-death-of-turncoat-whorussian-leader-predicted-would-end-in-a-bad-way/.
ASSASSINATED Alexander Schetinin Kyiv, Ukraine 27 Aug. 2016	Russian journalist, founder of the <i>Novy Region</i> website, who called Putin a "personal enemy" and fascist dictator.	Stewart, <i>Stratfor Worldview.</i> –, "Journalist found dead in Kiev," <i>The Telegraph</i> , 29 Aug. 2016.
ASSASSINATED Ivan Mamchur Kyiv 16 Sep. 2016	Russians hired criminal, Oleg Smorodinov, to kill Mamchur, previously commander of a Ukrainian special forces regiment in Georgia during Rus- so-Georgian War of 2008.	Michael Schwirtz. "Russia Ordered a Killing That Made No Sense. Then the Assassin Started Talking." New York Times, Mar. 31, 2019.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Adam Osmayev Kyiv, Ukraine 31 Oct. 2016	Critic of the government of Chechen president Ramzan Kadyrov, a close Putin ally and reported "enforcer."	BBC News, 31 Oct. 2016. Stewart, Stratfor Worldview.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Sergei Krivov New York City 8 Nov. 2016	Diplomat in Russian consulate in New York City. Believed to be a security/counterintelligence official. Died of head injuries. Russia claims "heart attack."	USA Today, "Suspicious Russian Deaths." Ali Watkins, "The Strange Case Of The Russian Diplomat Who Got His Head Smashed In On Election Day," BuzzFeed News, 15 Feb. 2017.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Vladimir Shreydler Moscow 8 Nov. 2016	Pro-Ukrainian activist on Russian talk shows. Reported "heart attack" at age 48.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
PLANNED ASSASSINATION Milo Dukanovic Montenegro Oct. 2016	Coup was planned by Montenegrin pro-Russian opposition to prevent Montenegro from joining NATO. Plan was to attack the Parliament and assassinate prime minister Milo Dukanovic. The Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, then headed by a veteran SVR officer, was named as one of the coup organizers.	Martin Arostegul, VOA. https:// www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and- europe/2018/11/22/second-gru- officer-indicted-montenegro-coup -unmasked/

ASSASSINATED Oleg Erovinkin Moscow 26 Dec. 2016	Former general in the FSB and chief of staff to Russian oligarch Igor Sechin, a close Putin ally. As the go-between between the oligarch and Putin, Erovinkin had been rumored to be a source of information in the "Trump Dossier," compiled by former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele." Found dead in back of his car. Body sent to FSB morgue. No cause of death reported initially. Later officials claimed he died of a "heart attack."	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. Robert Mendick & Robert Verkaik, "Mystery death of ex-KGB chief linked to MI6 spy's dossier on Donald Trump," <i>The Telegraph</i> , 27 January 2017. –, "Top Rosneft Exec Found Dead in Moscow," <i>The Moscow Times</i> , 26 Dec. 2016.
	2017	
SECOND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT Vladimir Kara-Murza Moscow 2 Feb. 2017	Second poisoning. 35-year-old democracy campaigner and close associate of assassinated Boris Nemtsov. Promoted film about Nemtsov throughout Russia. Russian authorities refused to investigate either of his poisonings. Again, he was followed closely by the FSB's Criminalistics Institute ("Poison Squad").	Amy Knight, Orders to Kill. https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2021 /02/11/vladimir-kmurza-tailed- by-members-of-fsb-squad-prior-to- suspected-poisonings/
ASSASSINATED Vladimir Evdokimov Moscow 18 Mar. 2017	Stabbed to death in a Moscow prison while awaiting trial on embezzlement charges. Former executive director of Roskosmos space agency. Accused of being involved in fraud scheme.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. Matthew Bodner, "Death of a Rocketman," <i>The Moscow Times</i> , 20 Mar. 2017.
ASSASSINATED Nikolai Volkov Moscow 18 Mar. 2017	Shot near his home after reporting \$170 million embezzlement. Head of construction department of Russian Interior Ministry.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017.
ASSASSINATED Denis Voronenkov Kyiv 23 Mar. 2017	Former Russian lawmaker opposed Putin's government and fled Russia in 2016. Shot in hotel lobby in Kyiv by Pavlo Parshov, a far-right Ukrainian nationalist, who died from his own wounds. "This was a typical show execution of a witness by the Kremlin." Voronenkov had given testimony that implicated former Ukrainian president Yanukovych, a Putin ally, in providing cover for the Russian military intervention in Ukraine.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. Shaun Walker, "Denis Voronenkov: ex-Russian MP who fled to Ukraine killed in Kiev," <i>The Guardian</i> , 23 Mar. 2017. Sarah A. Topol, "He Played by the Rules of Putin's Russia, Until He Didn't: The Story of a Murder," <i>New</i>

York Times Magazine, Feb 5, 2019.

^{11.} Christopher Steele is a former British MI6 officer. He ran the Russia desk for MI-6 from 2006 to 2009 and was active in Moscow from 1990 to 1993. He was in charge of MI6's investigation into the 2006 poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko with polonium 210. After leaving MI6 Steele revealed to the FBI bribery of FIFA officials by Igor Sechin to obtain for Russia hosting of the 2018 World Cup. Steele is most famous for compiling 17 memos from his sources about Donald Trump, known as the "Trump Dossier," published by BuzzFeed in 2016. (Jane Mayer, "Christopher Steele, the Man Behind the Trump Dossier," *The New Yorker*, Mar. 12, 2018.) Steele went into hiding for a period after the "Trump Dossier" leak to the press apparently concerned about potential Russian retribution and press hounding. The accuracy of the contents of the dossier remains controversial.

ASSASSINATED Col Oleksandr Zharaberyush Mariupol, Ukraine 31 Mar. 2017 ASSASSINATION??? Vadim Tyulpanov St. Petersburg 4 Apr. 2017	Deputy chief of Donetsk's local counterintelligence unit killed by car bomb. Russian backed separatists were blamed. Russian senator overseeing 2018 FIFA World Cup preparations. Reportedly "slipped in the bathhouse and hit his head" in a fitness center.	Yuri Lapaiev. The Political Dimension of Russia's Spy Games in Ukraine. The Jamestown Foundation, Apr. 30, 2020. https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/31/ukrainian-state-security-officer-killed-in-car-explosion-in-mariupol/. Sarah Hurst, et al., USA Today, 2 May 2017.
ASSASSINATED Nikolai Andrushchenko St. Petersburg 19 Apr. 2017	Editor of opposition newspaper <i>Novy Petersburg</i> that published articles attacking corruption in the city. Attacked leaving newspaper office and died.	Sarah Hurst, et al., <i>USA Today</i> , 2 May 2017. John Sharman, "Russian journalist and Putin critic dies after being beaten up by strangers," <i>Independent</i> , 19 Apr. 2017.
FIRST ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT Alexei Navalny Russia 27 Apr. 2017	Navalny is the Kremlin's most prominent and troublesome critic. Anti-corruption lawyer and Russian opposition leader. Has posted exposés on YouTube of Russian leaders' corruption. Was barred from running against Putin in the March 2018 elections. An assailant threw a caustic green dye in his face, and Navalny lost most of his vision in one eye.	Andrew Kramer, "Kremlin Critic Aleksei Navalny Says Attack Left Him Mostly Blind in an Eye," <i>New York</i> <i>Times</i> , May 2, 2017. Julia Ioffe, "What Putin Really Wants," <i>The Atlantic</i> , January/February 2018 edition.
ASSASSINATED Col Maksym Shapoval Kyiv, Ukraine 27 Jun. 2017	Commander of Ukrainian special forces Chief Intelligence Directorate killed by command detonated car bomb in central Kyiv. He was involved in reconnaissance raids into the rebel's territories, documenting the presence of Russian troops.	Stewart, Stratfor Worldview. Alec Luhn, "Ukrainian military intelligence officer killed by car bomb in Kiev," The Guardian, 27 Jun. 2017. Yuri Lapaiev. The Political Dimension of Russia's Spy Games in Ukraine. The Jamestown Foundation, Apr. 30, 2020.
ASSASSINATED Timor Mahauri Kyiv, Ukraine 8 Sep. 2017	A Chechen who fought with Ukrainian troops. Previously fought in Georgia against 2008 Russian invasion. Opponent of Chechen president Ramzan Kadyrov. Killed by a car bomb. Probably a shaped charge explosive. Survived three previous assassination attempts.	Stewart, Stratfor Worldview.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Yulia Latynina Moscow 8 Sep. 2017	Veteran political analyst for the radio station Ekho Moskvy (Echo of Moscow) and reporter for opposition paper Novaya Gazeta. Fled Russia after receiving threats, having an unknown gas sprayed in her house and having her car set on fire.	Andrew Roth, "Assailant stabs top journalist at leading Moscow radio station," Washington Post, October 23, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Yulia_Latynina#Attacks

ASSASSINATED Caruana Galizia Malta 16 Oct. 2017	Anti-corruption journalist killed by a car bomb. Told British member of Parliament "Russian and Azeri money had bought the whole of [the Maltese government] And that the money was being laundered via London." Her murder is unsolved. Suspect businessman, Yorgen Fenech, tied to Azerbaijan company and accused of bribing government officials, arrested for complicity in her murder. [Note: There is no direct evidence that Russian elements were involved in her car bombing. Russians have been indirectly implicated through extensive money laundering via Malta.]	Catherine Beldon. <i>Putin's People</i> , p. 417. Sharon Braithwaite and Barbie Latza Nadeau, "Why murdered Maltese journalist Daphne Caruana Galizia is back in the news," <i>CNN</i> , Nov. 30, 2019.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Tatyana Felgengauer Moscow 23 Oct. 2017	Well-known Russian radio presenter Tatyana Felgengauer was stabbed in the neck while at work at her radio station, Ekho Mosvky. She had been accused of aiding foreign interests.	BBC News, 18 Apr. 2018. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43781351.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Igor Mosiychuk Kyiv, Ukraine 25 Oct. 2017	Journalist and member of the nationalist opposition Radical Party in the Ukrainian parliament. Wounded by motorbike bomb that killed two others also when leaving a live TV broadcast.	Anna Nemtsova, "Car Bomb Murders Terrify Ukraine's Capital, and Many Suspect the Kremlin's Behind them," The Daily Beast, October 27, 2017.
	2018	
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS Bounties for killing American soldiers Afghanistan 2018-2021	"American intelligence officials have concluded that a Russian military intelligence unit secretly offered bounties to Taliban-linked militants for killing coalition forces in Afghanistan — including targeting American troops" Tied to GRU Unit 29155 that has been active in Afghanistan for many years. Suspected in the deaths of 3 US Marines. Effort began in 2018.	Charlie Savage, Eric Schmitt and Michael Schwirtz. "Russia Secretly Offered Afghan Militants Bounties to Kill U.S. Troops, Intelligence Says," New York Times, June 26, 2020.
DISINFORMATION TARGET Robert S. Mueller III Washington, DC. 2018	Russia's disinformation teams trained their sights on special counsel Robert S. Mueller III. Having worked to help get Trump into the White House, Russia now worked to neutralize the biggest threat to his staying there.	Craig Timberg, Tony Romm, and Elizabeth Dwoskin, "Russian Disinformation teams targeted Robert S. Mueller III, says report prepared for Senate," Washington Post, Dec. 17, 2018.
ASSASSINATED Mikus Alps British island of Guernsey 8 Jan. 2018	Alps, a Latvian, had fought against Russian "volunteers" in eastern Ukraine and, despite threats against him, was supplying anti-Russian Ukrainian militia with vehicles. Skeletal remains found in the driver's seat of a burned-out car.	http://www.washingtonexaminer.com /it-appears-russia-just-assassinated- someone-in-a-british-crown-territory /article/2645958 www.bbc.com/news/world-europe- guernsey-42610497.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION

Sergei Skripal & Yulia Skripal (Daughter)¹² Salisbury, UK 4 Mar. 2018 Former GRU colonel and British double agent. Reportedly spied for MI6 from 1995 to 2003, and unmasked more than 300 Russian agents, according to *Izvestiya*. Arrested in 2004 and sentenced to 13 years, but traded in 2010 for ten "Illegals" arrested in the US. Settled in the UK. Poisoned by GRU agents with Novichok nerve agent¹³ along with visiting daughter. Both survived. Two British citizens also poisoned by discarded Novichok container in June. One died.

http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43291394

https://intelnews.org/2018/03/08/01-2283/

Neil Buckley, David Bond, Henry Foy. "The unanswered questions over the attack on a Russian double agent," *Financial Times*, 10 Mar. 2018.

https://www.thetimes.co.uk /article/ireland-set-to-join-biggestmass-expulsion-of-russian-agentsfk6cr8nkg.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei_Skripal.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Amesbury_poisonings

ASSASSINATED

Nikolai Glushkov London 12 Mar. 2018 A friend of Putin critic Boris Berezovsky found strangled. Reportedly about to testify that the Russian airline, Aeroflot, of which he was a former deputy director, was a "cash cow to support international spying operations" and an instrument of Russian intelligence. Sent to prison on allegations of illicit financial activities in 1999, he was released in 2004. Given asylum in the UK in 2010. Tried in absentia in Russia in 2017 for allegedly stealing \$123m from Aeroflot. Was defending himself in London court at time of his death. Believed to have survived a 2013 poisoning attempt.

Luke Harding & Owen
Bowcott. https://www
.theguardian.com/uk-news
/2018/mar/13/russian-exile-nikolaiglushkov-found-dead-at-his-london-

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Nikolai_Glushkov

Luke Harding. "Murdered Russian exile survived earlier poisoning attempt, police believe" *The Guardian*. 8 Sep 2018. Allen Cullison, "A trio of wealthy Russians Made an Enemy of Putin. Now they're all dead," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 10, 2018

ASSASSINATION???

Maxim Borodin Yekaterinburg, Siberia Apr. 2018 Russian journalist of *Novy Den* (New Day), an investigative online magazine, wrote a series of articles about Russian soldiers-for-hire in Syria. Reported on claims that more than 200 Russian mercenaries were killed in Syria on Feb. 7 when they attacked US special forces. Allegedly "fell" from his fifth-floor apartment and died 3 days later. Borodin called friends prior to his fall concerned about masked men around his apartment.

https://intelnews.org/2018/04/17/01-2308

Matthew Luxmore, *New York Times*, Apr. 16, 2018

"Russian reporter Borodin dead after mystery fall," *BBC*, 18 Apr 2018.

^{12.} The attack on Skripal and his daughter has raised questions about the previous deaths of his older brother and his 43-year-old son, who supposedly died of "liver failure" in St. Petersburg in 2017 (http://time.com/5187104/russian-spy-sergei-skripal-unknown-substance/, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43291394, https://intelnews.org/2018/03/08/01-2283/).

^{13.} Novichok is an organophosphorous compound with nerve paralyzing effects developed by GOSNIIOKHT (Russia's State Scientific-Research Institute for Organic Chemistry and Technology). It was developed as an alternative to VX. Novichok was used in the assassination of Ivan Kivelidi and his secretary in 1995 by contaminating his telephone. "The doctor who dissected his highly toxic liver during an autopsy died seven weeks afterwards, it was reported." (https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/banker-secretary-murdered-same-nerve-12176829; https://thebell.io/en/the-scientist-who-developed-novichok-doses-range-from-20-grams-to-several-kilos/20.03.2018).

FAILED ASSASSINATION Arkady Babchencko Kyiv, Ukraine 2 May 2018	"On May 2, 2018, Russian journalist Babchenko got a visit from Ukraine's security services, the SBU. He said they informed him, 'I was under threat of assassination by the secret services of the Russian Federation.' Twenty-seven days later, he lay on the floor of his kitchen, coughing up blood, having been shot through by an assassin's bullet He died enroute to the hospital Or so everyone thought. He had been targeted by several teams of killers sent by the Kremlin." [Babchencko], along with Ukraine's Security Services, faked his death to find out how this murder for hire system worked.	WTOP, "Inside the SCIF," J.J. Green, July 2, 2020.
PLANNED ASSASSINATION Akhmed Zakayev United Kingdom	British authorities prevented Umar Sugaipov from entering the UK as he was suspected of planning the assassination of Zakayev, a former Chechen rebel leader, granted asylum in UK in 2004.	Jack Elsom. "British spies block suspected Russian assassin from entering the UK five months after Sergei Skripal novichok attack," DailyMail.com. 10 Mar 2019.
Summer 2018		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/ article-6791645/British-spies- block-suspected-Russian-assassin- entering-UK.html.
ASSASSINATIONS Three Russian Journalists Central African Republic Jul. 2018	The journalists – Orkhan Dzhemal, Aleksandr Rastorguyev, and Kirill Radchenko – were shot dead on 30 July 2018, under murky circumstances while in the C.A.R. to make a documentary film about the activities of the Wagner Group, the Russian mercenary firm. Witnesses tied unidentified Russians and C.A.R police officer to surveillance of 3 at time of killings.	"Khodorkovsky Investigators Say Evidence Links Vagner Group To Russian Journalists' Killings" By RFE/ RL's Russian Service, RFE/RL, Jan. 10, 2019.
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION Petr Verzilov Russia 12 Sep. 2018	Petr Verzilov, a well-known activist from the protest group, Pussy Riot, was flown to Germany in critical condition for treatment after suffering what doctors said was almost certainly poisoning.	Neil MacFarquhar. "Fears of Navalny Poisoning Are Rooted in Previous Attacks on Kremlin Foes" <i>New York</i> <i>Times</i> , July 29, 2019.
	2019	
ASSASSINATION OR SUICIDE??? Igor Malashenko Spain Feb. 2019	A Russian media executive under Yeltsin's regime. Left Russia in 2001. He was known for criticizing Putin. In Russia's 2018 presidential election, he was a campaign director for the controversial opposition candidate Ksenia Sobchak. Reported as likely suicide. ¹⁴	The Moscow Times, Feb. 25, 2019. https://meduza.io/en/feature /2019/02/26/his-fate-is-the-fate-of- russian-history.
HARASSED Mikhail Kasyanov Nizhny Novgorod, Russia Feb. 2019	Former Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov, a Putin critic, in Nizhny Novgorod to meet with local constituents, members of a nationalist organization brutally harassed and insulted him, apparently with the Kremlin's blessing.	Maria Lipman. "How Putin Silences Dissent," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , May/June 2016.

^{14. &}quot;Suicides" of Russians always have to be questioned. Russia has developed poisons that can drive the victim to suicide. See Oleson, "'Wet Affairs' Part II," p. 15.

ARRESTED Ivan Golunov Moscow Jun. 2019	A prominent investigative reporter for Latvia's Meduza arrested on "drug charges." His investigations uncovered apparent corruption in the Moscow mayor's office, in the funeral business and elsewhere. Beaten while in custody.	Anton Troianovski. "Judge releases detained Russian journalist to house arrest, a small victory for his supporters," Washington Post, June 8, 2019.
SECOND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT Alexei Navalny Moscow Late Jul. 2019	While under arrest Navalny fell ill in a prison cell with a "severe allergic reaction."	Patrick Reevell, "Vladimir Putin critic Alexey Navalny hospitalized with suspected poisoning, doctor says," Jul 28, 2019. ABCNews.com Neil MacFarquhar. "Fears of Navalny Poisoning Are Rooted in Previous Attacks on Kremlin Foes" New York Times, July 29, 2019.
ASSASSINATED Zelimkhan Khangoshvili Berlin, Germany 23 Aug. 2019	A former Chechen rebel field commander (1999-2004) shot and killed in a Berlin park by Vadim Krasikov. Worked against FSB-recruited Chechens and in Georgia. Shot 8 times, Khangoshvili survived a 2015 assassination attempt in Tbilisi, Georgia and a previous 2009 poisoning attempt. Had sought asylum in Germany. Accused by Putin as being a "murderous fighter" and behind a Moscow subway bombing. His killer, Vadim Krasikov, is a member of the Vympel Association of Former FSB Spetsnaz Officers. The special operation group "Vympel" was formed as an elite KGB unit in 1981 with a mandate for overseas subversive operations. Its operational scope included illegal reconnaissance, subversion, kidnappings, freeing hostages, coups d'état and assassinations of enemies to the state.	Editorial Board, "New revelations depict a Russian-sponsored assassination on German soil," Washington Post, Feb. 23, 2020. RFE/RL, Dec. 10, 2019. RFE/RL, Dec. 19, 2019. Michael Weiss, "A Murder in Berlin," The Daily Beast, Sep. 27, 2019. Philip Olterman and Shaun Walker, "Russia denies ordering assassination of Chechen exile in Berlin," The Guardian, Aug. 28, 2019. https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2020/02/17/v-like-vymretive-department-v-behind-assassination-of-zelimkhan-khangoshvili/
ASSASSINATED James LeMesurier Istanbul, Turkey 11 Nov. 2019	Founder of the Syrian relief organization, White Hats, found dead from blunt trauma to head and legs in street below his apartment. Death occurred three days after being attacked by Russian Foreign Ministry spokesperson. "He and the White Helmets had been the subject of a disinformation campaign spearheaded by Moscow and Damascus for years."	"James LeMesurier, White Helmets co-founder, discovered dead in Turkey." Nov 11, 2019. BBC News. Michael Safi in Amman. The Guardian. Nov. 11, 2019. Bel Trew, The Independent, Nov. 11, 2019.
POISONED Nikita Isaev Tambov, Russia 16 Nov. 2019	Head of the "New Russia" movement, he criticized local politicians for their corruption, but not Putin. Seen as a spoiler in order to divide support for Navalny, he was injected forcefully on a train ride to Moscow. His last words were "I got poisoned, I think." A Bellingcat investigation revealed at least five FSB operatives linked to the Criminalistic Institute's poison squad, were tailing Isaev for nearly a year before he died. None of the people close to Isaev have a plausible explanation of why a pro-Kremlin, patriotic-minded activist may have crossed the FSB. It	https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2021 /01/27/navalny-poison-squad -implicated-in-murders-of-three- russian-activists/

ic-minded activist may have crossed the FSB. It is conceivable that the FSB may have suspected

him of planning to defect.

ASSASSINATION??? Dmitry Obretetskiy Surrey, UK 30 Nov. 2019	Obretetskiy was owner of Magnat Trade Enterprise, distributor of Western products in Russia. His company in Volgograd had gone bankrupt. Moved to UK. Struck by a car while walking his dogs. Most likely an accident, but investigation continuing.	Kahra Ullah and Aimee Lewis, "Russian billionaire killed by vehicle while walking his dog in England," CNN World, Dec. 6, 2019.
	2020	
ASSASSINATION PLANNING??? William Browder Davos, Switzerland Jan. 2020	Two Russian "diplomats" apprehended when scouting locations prior to the World Economic Forum. Believed tied to Russian intelligence. Incident prompted the UK government to caution its citizens that they could be in physical danger. Browder, a vocal Putin critic, is a potential target.	"Swiss uncovered suspected Davos spy plot by Russian 'plumbers'." Reuters, Jan. 21, 2020. IntelNews.org, Jan. 22, 2020.
ASSASSINATED Imran Aliev Lille, France 30 Jan. 2020	Found stabbed repeatedly in a hotel room. A blogger and outspoken opponent of Chechen strongman and Putin ally, Kadyrov. Aliev had gone to Lille to help a friend, who subsequently disappeared. French police believe killer fled to Russia.	Andrew Roth, "Outspoken Chechen blogger found murdered in Lille," <i>The Guardian</i> , Feb. 3, 2020. https://www.theguardian .com/world/2020/feb/03/outspoken- chechen-blogger-found-murdered- in-lille
ASSASSINATION TARGET Alexandr Poteyev Miami, Florida Feb 2020	Russian SVR Directorate S ¹⁵ deputy director who defected and identified 10 Russian Illegals arrested in 2010 by the FBI. Probably was target of suspicious surveillance by Hector Fuentes, a Mexican recruited by Russia. Poteyev seen as likely target of Putin's assassins, according to former director of CIA's defector operations center. "I'm convinced that Poteyev was on a hit list," stated Joseph Augustyn, chief of CIA's Defector Operations Center. In 2020 Russia tried to assassinate Poteyev in Florida, hiring Fuentas to find Poteyev's location in Miami. Fuentas was arrested by Customs and Border Patrol trying to leave the US.	Bill Harlow interview of Gordon Corera, BBC News. Apr. 17, 2020. Cited in The Cipher Brief. https:// www.thecipherbrief.com/column /author-interview. Scott Stewart, "Signs of a thwarted Russian hit man in Miami," Stratfor, Feb. 25, 2020. Conversation with Joseph Augustyn, The Cipher Brief, Sep. 18, 2019. "Russians Sought to Kill Defector in Florida," New York Times, June 19, 2023.
ASSASSINATION HOAX Hoax about Prague mayor Prague, Czech Republic Jun. 2020	Two Russian diplomats expelled from Czech Republic for hoax about poisoning Prague's mayor with Ricin for wanting to remove statue of Soviet Marshall Ivan Konev. Linked to feud within the Russian embassy.	Andrew Higgins. "Prague Says Ricin Plot was a Hoax, and Moves to Expel 2 Russians," New York Times, Jun 5, 2020. Joseph Fitsanakis. "Russia responds angrily to Czech expulsion of Russian diplomats in poison probe." IntelNews.org, Jun 8, 2020.

^{15.} Directorate S of the SVR handles Russian "illegal" agents around the world. "Illegals" do not have official cover, such as diplomatic status, and are ostensibly not associated with Moscow.

ARRESTED

Ivan Safronov (son) Russia Jul. 2020 Like his father, a reporter on military affairs, and later advisor to the head of Russia's space agency, arrested and charged with treason. Allegedly, an article included state secrets. Russian journalist Ivan Safronov, tried last year on secret evidence, was sentenced in September to 22 years for treason. A former reporter for the Russian newspapers *Kommersant* and *Vedomosti*, he is believed to have been targeted for revealing details of Russia's sale of fighter jets to Egypt. His was the first conviction of a journalist for treason in Russia since 2001.

Zahra Ullah and Darya Tarasova, "Russian space official arrested on suspicion of treason," *CNN*, Jul. 8, 2020.

Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," *The Washington Post*, May 13, 2024.

THIRD <u>ASSASSINATI</u>ON ATTEMPT

Alexei Navalny Tomsk, Russia 20 Aug. 2020 Navalny was poisoned before boarding a flight in Tomsk. After two days medically evacuated to Germany in serious condition and a coma, the substance that poisoned him is an unidentified cholinesterase inhibitor, which interferes with the nervous system. German reports link the substance to Novichok, a Russian chemical weapon also used against Skripal in the UK. In a telephone conversation an FSB agent revealed that the FSB has poisoned Navalny. A joint investigation by *The Insider* and Bellingcat in cooperation with CNN and *Der Spiegel*

implicated agents from Russia's FSB.

"Alexei Navalny: Putin critic 'probably poisoned' – doctors," *BBC News. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-*53892900.

Melissa Eddy and Andrew Kramer, "Aleksei Navalny, Putin Critic in Coma, was Poisoned, German Doctors Say," *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 2020.

Anton Troianovski. "Navalny says Russian agent confessed to plot to poison him," *The New York Times*, 21 Dec. 2020.

https://www.bellingcat.com /news/uk-and-europe/2020 /12/21/if-it-hadnt-...e-medics -fsb-officer-inadvertently-confessesmurder-plot-to-navalny/

2021

IMPRISONED

Oleg Navalny Moscow Feb. 2021 Alexander Navalny's brother accused of crimes, seen as an attempt to pressure his brother. Placed on wanted list. Charged with violating Covid-29 regulations, a court in Moscow has previously converted a one-year suspended sentence to three years of prison time.

James Farrell. "Navalny's brother added to Wanted List after Putin critic's death..." Forbes, 20 Feb. 2024. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 18 Feb. 2022. https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-oleg-navalny-cyprus/31710160.html#

ARRESTED

Dmitry Gudkov Russia Jun. 2021 One of the founders of the opposition (but supportive of Putin) party "A Just Russia" in 2006. Expelled for activities that were critical of the Kremlin.

Arrested in June for "causing property damage by deception or breach of trust" of the city of Moscow. Released after two days but threatened with more prosecution he left Russia for Ukraine. In February 2023, the Russian government placed Gudkov in its list of foreign agents. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Dmitry_Gudkov

2022		
SUICIDE??? Leonid Shulman St. Petersburg, Russia 30 Jan. 2022	Head of the transport service at Gazprom Invest, which handles investment projects for gas giant Gazprom. His body was found on Jan. 30 in the bathroom of a cottage in Vyborgsky district, north of Saint Petersburg. A "suicide" note complained of unbearable pain in leg.	https://www.reuters.com /world/europe/russian-businessmen- who-have-died-unexplained- circumstances-2022-09-01/.
SUICIDE??? Alexander Tyulakov St. Petersburg 25 Feb. 2022	A 61-year old executive at Gazprom was found dead in the garage of his St Petersburg home on Feb. 25, the morning after Russia invaded Ukraine. Neither Gazprom nor the region's investigative committee issued any public statements about the death, which newspaper Novaya Gazeta described as an apparent suicide.	https://www.reuters.com /world/europe/russian-businessmen- who-have-died-unexplained- circumstances-2022-09-01/ https://edition.cnn.com/2022 /09/02/business/russian-oligarchs- deaths-intl/index.html
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Mikhail Watford Surrey, UK 28 Feb. 2022	A Ukraine-born oligarch been found dead at his home in unexplained circumstances. Watford made his fortune in oil and gas after the demise of the Soviet Union.	https://www.theguardian .com/uk-news/2022/mar/03/ukraine- born-oligarch-mikhail-watford-found- dead-at-home-in-surrey
MURDERED??? Sergey Protosenya, wife, and daughter Barcelona, Spain 19 Apr. 2022	Oligarch and former deputy chairman at gas producer Novatek JSC found hanged in his garden. The butchered remains of his wife and daughter were inside his mansion. No suicide note and lack of fingerprints on the murder weapons suggest assassination rather than murder/suicide. Telegram channel Mozhem Obyasnit said that the macabre incidents of Protosenya and Avayev 'are united by the former places of work of the victims - both are connected with Putin's inner circle.'	Drew Hinshaw, Joe Parkinson & Matthew Luxmoore. "Russians Keep Turning Up Dead All Over the World," Wall Street Journal, Mar. 3, 2024. https://www.dailymail.co .uk/news/article-10758177/Gazprombank-chief-dead-family-murder-suicide -ASSASSINATED-colleague -claims.html
STAGED SUICIDE??? Vladimir Avayev, wife & pregnant daughter Moscow Apr. 2022	Gaprombank vice president who had access to sensitive accounts of Kremlin insiders. Russian media claimed it was a murder-suicide over infidelity. An associate said it was staged. According to an investigative report by Novaya Gazeta, some of the deaths may be connected to large scale accounting fraud by Gazprom executives, who may have funneled money to a network of businesses owned by friends and family members with ties to the FSB and Russian military.	https://www.dailymail.co .uk/news/article-10758177/Gazprombank- chief-dead-family-murder-suicide -ASSASSINATED-colleague -claims.html. Alisa Kashperskaya, Ilya Shumanov. "Gazprom: Russia's state corruption giant," Novaya Gazeta, 9 Mar. 2023.
DEATH BY POISON Alexander Subbotin Moscow 8 May 2022	Reportedly died from a drug-induced heart attack during a shamanic ritual. Critics allege toad poisoning.	https:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suspicious_ deaths_of_notable_Russians_(2022– 2024)#cite_ref-de_Graaf_4-0

IMPRISONED Alexei Gorinov Moscow 8 Jul. 2022	Moscow city councilman Alexei Gorinov was convicted last year of discrediting the army. He had spoken against the war during a council meeting. Gorinov refused to plead guilty. He kept up the criticism during his trial. At his sentencing, he held a sign that read "Do you still need this war?"	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024.
MURDERED Yury Voronov Leningrad Region, Russia Jul. 2022	CEO and founder of Astra-Shipping, a company which worked on Arctic contracts for Gazprom, was found dead in a swimming pool. Found with a gunshot wound to his head.	https://www.reuters.com /world/europe/russian-businessmen- who-have-died-unexplained- circumstances-2022-09-01/
SUICIDE OR MURDER Dan Rapoport Washington, DC 14 Aug. 2022	Latvian-born US critic of Putin's invasion of Ukraine and Navalny supporter found in the street after an apparent fall from his high-rise apartment building. Former businessman in Russia who fell out of favor with the regime.	https:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suspicious_ deaths_of_notable_Russians_(2022 _2024)#cite_ref-de_Graaf_4-0. https://www.politico.com /news/magazine/2022/08/26 /dan-rapoport-putin-critic-was-it- suicide-00053836
ASSASSINATED? Darya Dugina Russia 20 Aug.2022	Daughter of Alexsandr Dugin, a far-right philosopher and supporter of Putin and his invasion of Ukraine, her car exploded near Bolshiye Vyazyomy outside Moscow. Speculation is that the car bomb was intended for her father. Speculations are that the National Republican Army (NRA), an anti-government underground group, or the FSB or others were involved.	https://www.bbc.com/news/world- europe-62621509 https://www.cnn.com/2022 /08/27/europe/darya-dugina -russia-disinformation-women-intl- cmd/index.html
Ravil Maganov Moscow 1 Sep. 2022	Reportedly fell from a sixth-floor window of the Moscow Central Clinical Hospital. He was an oligarch, the chairman of the Russian oil giant Lukoil, a firm that openly criticized Putin's invasion of Ukraine. The hospital falls under the Kremlin presidential administration and is a heavily guarded, exclusive hospital reserved for the country's most senior officials.	https://www.the-sun.com /news/6123265/putin-crony-oil-chief- dies-falling-window-mysterious- death/. https://www.aljazeera.com /news/2022/9/1/lukoil-russian-oil- firm-chief-dies-after-serious-illness
ARRESTED Evgeny Bestuzhev St. Petersburg, Russia 10 Nov. 2022	Arrested for anti-war posts on the VK social network. The VK network, based in St. Petersburg, a Facebook-like social media platform, had at least 500 million accounts by 2018	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024. https://www.rightsinrussia .org/category/evgeny-bestuzhev/
2023		
SENT TO PENAL COLONY Maria Ponomarenko Western Siberia Feb. 2023	Journalist Maria Ponomarenko was convicted by a court in western Siberia of spreading "fakes" after she posted about Russia's bombing of the Mariupol drama theater last year, which killed hundreds of civilians. The mother of two was sentenced to six years in a penal colony.	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024.

WANTED Abbas Gallyamov Israel Mar. 2023	Self-exiled former speechwriter for Putin, added to Russia's wanted list after giving an interview to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on a charge of discrediting Russia's armed forces. Gallyamov said the charge is being used "against anyone who refuses to amplify the Kremlin's playbook and tries to conduct an objective, impartial analysis of what's going on."	https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-putin- speechwriter-wanted-list-gallyamov /32333223.html
ASSASSINATED? Vladlen Tatarsky (Maxim Fomin) Russia 2 Apr. 2023	Vladlen was killed in a café in St. Petersburg. Darya Trepova came into the café carrying a brown box and blew up the place. Vladlen was a popular social media profile with 560.000 followers on Telegram, regularly reporting from Ukraine	https://www.independent.co .uk/news/world/europe/st -petersburg-female-assassin-vladlen- tatarsky-b2312967.html#comments- area https://www.reuters.com /world/europe/what-do-we-know- about-russian-blogger-tatarsky- bomb-that-killed-him-2023-04-03/ Telegram
KILLED Dmitry Petrov Place??? 19 Apr. 2023	Russian, and was killed in battle with two others. Russian sources (not shared here) speculate and aggressively tell that he was assassinated because of his 'stupid treason' against Putin. He has been an active saboteur and been participating in 'Black Block' operations, known to be anti-Russian sabotage missions.	https://crimethinc.com/2023 /05/03/in-memory-of-dmitry-petrov- an-incomplete-biography-and- translation-of-his-work
ARRESTED Yevgenia Berkovich Russia 4 May 2023	Jewish theater director Yevgenia Berkovich was arrested May 4 and put in pre-trial detention with her colleague Svetlana Petriichuk, a playwright, for allegedly "justifying terrorism." The charge related to their play "Finist: The Brave Falcon," about Russian women who joined the Islamic State, which was first performed two years ago and won a national theater award last year. An "expert opinion" reportedly found the play contained elements of ISIS thought and "the ideology of radical feminism." She also wrote a poem about the Russian airstrike in Mariupol that killed hundreds. Hers is the first high-profile criminal case relating to a play since the Soviet era. The charge carries up to seven years in prison.	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," The Washington Post, May 13, 2024. Paramonova, Zinaïda, Novaya Gazeta,10 May 2023.
Vasily Melnikov Volgograd region, Russia Jul. 2023	Detained on suspicion of spreading 'fake news' about the Russian army on the Internet. He made negative statements about the Russian leadership and its political direction.	https://www.rightsinrussia .org/support-for-political-prisoners- memorial-103/

ASSASSI	NATE
Maksim Kuzm	inov
La Cala, Spain	

Aug, 2023

A Russian pilot, he defected with a MI-8 helicopter to Ukraine. Resettled in Spain he was shot six times with a Mazarov pistol and run over by a vehicle. Video surveillance suggests two professional hitmen were involved. The head of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service, Sergei Naryshkin, said Kuzminov became a "moral corpse." (A Mazarov pistol is a trademark of the FSB.)

Emma Burrows. "For decades, Moscow has sought to silence its critics abroad," The Independent, 3 May 2024. https://www .independent.co.uk/news/moscowap-alexander-litvinenko-vladimir-putin-soviet-union-b2538946.html Michael Schwirtz and José Bautista. "A Russian Defector's Killing Raises Specter of Hit Squads," The New York Times, March 31, 2024.

ASSASSINATION, PLANE CRASH

Yevgeny Prigozhin Kuzhenkino (Tver Oblast), Russia

23 Aug. 2023

Former gangster, restaurateur, oligarch, founder of the Internet Research Agency "troll farm" and the Wagner Group private army, rebelled in 23 June 2023 against Russia' military leaders claiming their incompetence and corruption in the war in Ukraine. His forces marching on Moscow shot down a Russian IL-22M command and control aircraft and several helicopters. Progozhin called off his rebellion after a day. His Embraer 600 business jet "crashed" a month later killing him, Dmitry Utkin, the Wagner commander, and eight others of his Wagner staff, allegedly orchestrated by Putin's right-hand man and national security advisor, Nikolai Patrushev. Intelligence sources believe there was a bomb on the plane. Eyewitnesses said the plane was missing a wing when it spiraled down.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /Yevgeny_Prigozhin

"Prigozhin Killing Ordered by Putin's Security Council Chief," *The Moscow Times*, Dec. 22, 2023.

Riley Mellon, Muyi Xiao, Robin Stein. "Flight data and video analysis point to a catastrophic midair event in the Russian plane crash," *The New York Times*, 24 Aug. 2023.

Ukrainska Pravda, 21 Dec. 2023

ARRESTED

Viktor Trukhin Belarus Sep. 2023 Putin's leading physician arrested trying to flee Russia. Had been accused of fraud at a state facility. Believed to be privy to Putin's medical secrets and have full knowledge of Russia's latest medical research on vaccines, serums, and "bacterial preparations," having led the St. Petersburg Research Institute of Vaccines and Serums.

Lucy Williamson, "Putin's top doctor arrested by FSB after being 'caught trying to flee Russia," *The Mirror US*, 9 Sep. 2023.

ASSASSINATED

Mikhail Filiponenko Luhansk, Ukraine 8 Nov. 2023 Car bomb in Ukraine. Ukraine claims they are responsible for the killing of the lawyer Mikhail Filiponenko.

Russia states that something criminal has happened and that they will open investigation.

https://edition.cnn.com/2023 /11/08/europe/ukraine-car-bombluhansk-russia-intl/index.html Telegram

IMPRISONED

Aleksandra Skochileno St. Petersburg, Russia 16 Nov. 2023 Accused of disseminating false information about the Russian armed forces by replacing price tags in a supermarket with anti-war messages. Sentenced to seven years.

Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," *The Washington Post*, May 13, 2024.

https://www.amnesty.org/en /latest/news/2023/11/russia-antiwar-activist-aleksandra-skochilenkosentenced-to-seven-years-in-prison -following-sham-trial/

POISONING Marianna Budanova Kyiv Nov. 2023	Wife of Ukraine's intelligence chief spy chief, Kyrylo Budanov, treated for poisoning with the heavy metals mercury and arsenic, both highly toxic substances. "Their presence may indicate a deliberate poisoning attempt," according to officials. Traces of heavy metals had been found in other employees. Budanov has been the target of no less than 10 Russian assassination attempts.	Jeff Stein, SpyTalk, 28 Nov. 2023.
MYSTERIOUS DEATHS Lieutenant-General Vladimir Sviridov & wife Stavropol Krai, Russia Nov. 2023	Russian Air Force general known for making scathing remarks about Putin. He complained that pilots were not given appropriate training to be combat ready and that officers and men had poor living conditions. The bodies of the pair were discovered about a week after their deaths. Cause of deaths unknown.	Alice Scarsi. "Mystery after Russian general found dead at home with wife after slamming Putin," <i>Express</i> , 16 Nov. 2023.
ASSASSINATED? Illia Kyva Russia 6 Dec. 2023	Pro-Russian Ukrainian MP Illia Kyva shot dead in a park in Moscow	https://www.theguardian .com/world/2023/dec/06/pro-russia- ukrainian-mp-illia-kyva-shot-dead-in- moscow-suburb https://www.newsweek.com/two- putin-allies-killed-within-hours-each- other-1850247
ASSASSINATED? Oleg Popov Russia 6 Dec. 2023	Alleged 'car explosion' in Avangard Stadium near Lugansk. Yuri Yurov, spokesperson on <i>Telegram</i> confirms his death	Telegram
IMPRISONED Ilya Yashin Moscow 9 Dec. 2023	Opposition politician Ilya Yashin was sentenced in December 2023 to 8 1/2 years for social media posts denouncing atrocities committed by Russian troops in Bucha, Ukraine.	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024.
UNEXPLAINED DEATH Anna Tsareva Russia Dec. 2023	She was 35 and deputy editor of Komsomolskaya Pravda, reportedly Putin's favorite newspaper. Cause of death is repored as "acute heart failure." Her death occurred a year after the mysterious death of her former boss Vladimir Sungorkin, 68, who died suddenly during a business trip in September 2022, possibly from a stroke.	https://www.independent.co .uk/news/world/europe/anna -tsareva-putin-newspaper-editor- dead-moscow-b2463331.html https://metro.co.uk/2023/12 /13/mystery-deputy-editor-putins- favourite-newspaper-found- dead-19966927/
SUICIDE??? Vladimir Egorov Tobolsk, Russia Dec. 2023	His body was found after he fell from a third story window. Egorov, a trained lawyer with business interests, was forced to leave the government in 2016 over a corruption scandal but returned to politics and became the wealthiest local deputy in Tobolsk.	Jessica Baker & Will Stewart. "DEATH PLUNGE Putin crony, 46, dies in ANOTHER mystery plunge from window as Russian officials claim he suffered 'heart problems'," <i>The Sun</i> , 28 Dec. 2023.

2024		
POISONED Zoya Konovalova and ex-husband Russia 7 Jan. 2024	Konovalova ran Kuban, a Russian propaganda channel. "No visible injuries were found during the examination of the bodies The preliminary cause of death is poisoning by an unknown substance," said a report by her own channel. "The preliminary cause of death is poisoning by an unknown substance," said a report by her own channel.	Elle Doughty, "DEATH RIDDLE Head of Putin's state-run TV empire Zoya Konovalova, 48, found dead with ex-husband after being 'poisoned'," The Sun, Jan. 8, 2024 East2West Digital News
ASSASSINATED? Lev Rubinstein Russia 8 Jan. 2024	Hit by car in Moscow. Known for his criticism against the Ukraine war and for his poetry. Allegedly Rubinstein's killer did not slow down, which indicates that the car hit with purpose (can of course be other reasons)	https://www.theguardian .com/world/2024/jan/14/russian- poet-and-kremlin-critic-lev- rubinstein-dies-aged-76
ASSASSINATED??? Alexander Rybin Shakhty (Rostove) Russia 9 Jan. 2014	The body of Alexander Rybin, 39, was discovered by a roadside. A top Russian journalist, he had visited occupied Mariupol and reported on the giant opportunities for corruption. His cause of death was given as "cardiomyopathy" after an autopsy, according to Russian state media.	Imogen Braddock. "LEFT TO DIE - Top Russian journalist Alexander Rybin, 39, found lying dead on roadside after blasting Putin for 'gigantic corruption," The Sun, Jan. 9, 2024. https://www.thedailybeast .com/russian-journalist-alexander- rybin-found-dead-on-roadside-after- blasting-kremlin
ASSASSINATED? Oleg Stegachev Russia 3 Feb. 2024	Crew commander of Russian Tu-Strategic bomber. Shot in the Russian city of Engels. Questions arose whether he was shot by Ukrainian forces or by its own forces? Russia not having tendencies for admitting faults.	Also discussions on Telegram regarding the same. Does not have to mean assassinated by Kremlin, just a normal 'war killing,' but can be. Telegram https://www.yahoo.com /news/military-intelligence-reports-assassination-attempt-164855614.html?guce_referrer=aHRocHM6 Ly9kdWNrZHVja2dvLmNvbS8&g uce_referrer_sig=AQAAAMHYxW d2v3AoBjsghQiMduNpFNLThD-cwtriSrJJaFTp4zUakMeB—MxvA894iS SLZoXxOaMC5EXKiePpMjzwlkIZWob xmuoencYWjde7N-8YcxflaldD6oKgn Nmh7pDKbTBBHH1nqRjvoXEiXd6FV Z9p9GUxQp5XCpFomvPnRhH https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/25698911/russia-commander-shot-ukraine-assassination/

MYSTERIOUS DEATH Ivan Sechin Krasnogorsk, (Moscow) Russia 5 Feb. 2024	The 35-year old son of Putin's close oligarch ally, Igor Sechin, died supposedly from a "detached blood clot." Telegram Channel claimed that Igor Sechin prevented the Russian Investigative Committee, FSB and other security forces from examining the circumstances of his son's death. Instead he deployed the Rosneft Security Service, comprising "former FSB and Investigative Committee employees personally loyal to Sechin."	Iona Cleave. "DEATH LIST Son of Russian oligarch known as 'only man Putin trusts' mysteriously dies at 35 after complaining he was 'suffocating,'" <i>The Sun</i> , Feb. 20, 2024
IMPRISONED & KILLED Alexei Navalny IK-6 Prison Colony 16 Feb. 2024	Alexei Navalny, the opposition leader who survived a Novichok poisoning attempt in 2020 and returned to Russia from Berlin, was sentenced initially the following year to over two years in prison. Repeated new charges added 19 years in prison. The Russian prison service said Navalny died after feeling unwell. "Prior to his death, Navalny had been treated in a hospital after complaining of malnurishment and other ailments due to mistreatment in the prison."	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024. Andrew Roth. "Russian activist and Putin critic Alexei Navalny dies in prison," <i>The Guardian</i> , 17 Feb. 2024.
FORCED SUICIDE Andrey Morozov Russia 21 Feb. 2024	Andrey Morozov, a prominent pro-war Russian blogger, has reportedly died by suicide following outrage over his Telegram posts in which he claimed that the Russian army lost 16,000 soldiers and 300 armored vehicles during the capture of the eastern Ukrainian city of Avdiivka. He announced his suicide in a blog post stating he was pressured by his superiors. "I don't see the point in fighting further," he wrote. People close to Morozov on Tuesday confirmed his death, with some saying that he had shot himself.	Pjotr Sauer. "Pro-war Russian blogger who revealed hugh Avdiivka losses dies by suicide," <i>The Guardian</i> , 21 Feb. 2024. Benoit Vikina. "Death of Andrey Morozov, a Russian blogger who announced soldier deaths in Ukraine," <i>Le Monde</i> , 22 Feb. 2024
ATTACKED WITH HAMMER Leonid Volkov Vilnius, Lithuania 12 Mar. 2024	Kira Yarmysh, who had been Navalny's spokes- person, said the assailant smashed a window of Leonid Volkov's car, sprayed tear gas into his eyes and started hitting him with a hammer.	https://apnews.com/article/russia- lithuania-navalny-leonid-volkov- attack-b951ca8c07e0c441563b91b64 68d55f8
PURGED & ARRESTED Timur Ivanov & four others top Defense Ministry officials Moscow April 2024	Accused of "receiving a bribe on an especially large scale," and corruption. This is part of Putin's "house cleaning" since removing Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu. Others sacked include deputy defense ministers Nikolai Pankov, Ruslan Tsalikov, Tatiana Shevileva, and Pavel Popov.	https://www.reuters.com /world/europe/putin-clears-out- deputy-defence-ministers-appoints- his-relative-2024-06-17/ Official Telegram channel of Moscow City Courts; Yuliya Talmazan, NBC News, May 1, 2024.
IMPRISONED Vladimir Kara-Murza Moscow Apr. 2024	Human rights defender sentenced to 25 years for treason and other charges. The charges were based on speeches he made abroad and public criticism of the Ukraine war.	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024.

IMPRISONED Sergei Vedel Moscow Late Apr. 2024	Sergei Vedel, a police officer of Ukrainian-Russian heritage, was sentenced to seven years for spreading "fakes" about the army. The charge was based on his criticism of the war in private conversations with friends on his tapped phone. A former driver who worked at Moscow's police headquarters for nearly 20 years, Vedel expressed his concerns to friends in the days after the invasion. "We think we are fighting fascism," he told one, "but there isn't fascism there."	Francesca Ebel. "Meet the People Caught Up in Russia's crackdown on Dissent," <i>The Washington Post</i> , May 13, 2024.
POISONING? Natalia Arno and U/I journalist Berlin, Germany 29-30 Apr. 2024	Two Russian exiles fell ill around the time they attended a conference linked to Russian opposition figure Mikhail Khodorkovsky. Natalia Arno, head of the U.Sbased Free Russia Foundation, said she woke up with acute pain and strange symptoms during a trip to two European cities before she returned to the United States. There is some suspicion that she was poisoned, possibly by a nerve agent.	https://apnews.com/article /germany-russia-exiles-berlin-health- investigation-4b91cboadab1eaa8024 beaa7c3cbe009
THREATENED EXECUTIONS Members of Russian Volunteer Corps. Freedom of Russia Legion, and others Ukraine 2024	Putin has threatened any Russian citizen who has taken up arms in Ukraine in opposition to Russia's invasion.	Andrei Soldatov & Irina Borogan. "Putin's Defector Obsession," Foreign Affairs, 1 May 2024. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russian-federation/putins-defector-obsession

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