

# Behind the scenes of one

— The country is being sold out on the cheap, clandestine privatization of enterprises is going on at full speed. Officials sell state property to the Arabs and the Chinese for bribes.

— The government has not fulfilled the IMF requirements, and credits should be repaid ahead of schedule.

The safety of large public projects is questioned.

— The nuclear power plant to be constructed will use a Chinese reactor that can be prone to explosion.

— The nuclear reactor at the nuclear power plant is, in fact, future missiles, and a platform for nuclear blackmail ...”

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## From the TT CC “Strategic Action Plan”

What is necessary to create a political crisis in the country:

“**Stage 1.** Creating conditions to have the voting results delegitimised through use of “independent” observing, as well as by bribing members of electoral commissions.

The directorate of the “Tell the Truth” campaign has begun to study the executives and members of territorial electoral commissions and potential candidates for local election commissions. Particular emphasis was placed on the so-called promising polling stations where V.Nekliaev was rather popular among voters.

The plan is to personally approach members and executives of the commissions at the selected stations and offer them incentives in an attempt to induce them to make public statements that the voting results announced by the CEC have been falsified, and voice the “real” data on the votes V.Nekliaev has received in the given district”.

**Reference note.** They were promised a “compensation” of up to 100 thousand dollars for inducing officials to cooperate with the “campaign”.

The TT CC believed that with 3 to 5 executives of election commissions (“and if things turn out well, even more”) making such statements opponents of the government would be able to “meaningfully” challenge the official outcome of the election, appeal to foreign structures and launch a “justified” campaign of civil disobedience.

“**Stage 2.** Hold mass protests. As the electoral process went through its main stages, the opponents of the government planned to foment social tensions in the country, increasing the number of participants in the planned protests as the election date got closer”.

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## From operative materials

“A. Mikhalevich noted that he had studied in England, travelled to Poland and Germany. In one of his trips to Germany, he got a phone call from a woman who introduced herself as a German journalist A.M., and suggested a meeting. During that meeting, the “journalist” started asking questions beyond the previously agreed subject of the

conversation. In particular, she was interested in the political and economic processes taking place in Belarus. After that, A. Mikhalevich had another two meetings with her. In A. Mikhalevich’s view, that was not a journalist but a representative of the German special services.

A. Mikhalevich said that the BPF (Belarusian Popular Front) party is mainly funded by the U.S., Germany and Poland. According to A. Mikhalevich, the bulk of the grants was appropriated by the top leaders of the BPF, never reaching the rank-and-file members of the party”.

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## From an analytical note

“The financial standing of the opposition candidates.

It was noted that because donors refused to finance A.Milinkevich (the 2006 presidential candidate, the “For Freedom” movement leader) and he had no money to support the collection of signatures with, he is depressed. He does not answer mobile phone calls.

Y. Romanchuk received about 150 — 200 thousand U.S. dollars from IRI to stage local events, after which he went to Germany and the United States to obtain additional financing.

A. Kozulin does not intend to run for President, but is ready to provide paid assistance to the Tell the Truth campaign in nominating V.Nekliaev. A.Kozulin views participation in the elections as a possibility to earn money”.

## From a summary

During preliminary talks with V.Nekliaev, A. Sannikov stated that “cooperation with the “Tell the Truth” leader would inflict damage on his reputation, costing him at least 500 thousand US dollars.

“... A. Feduta (ideologist of the TT CC) and A. Vardomatsky (director of the research laboratory “Novak”) discussed the TT CC financing during the election campaign. The plan is to get about 400 thousand US dollars in donor money to support signature collection, and 600 thousand US dollars to run the propaganda campaign. As the funds to collect signatures were allocated, Y.Slutskaia (a former editor-in-chief of the “Komsomolskaya Pravda v Belarusi” newspaper) stated that she needed 100 thousand for media support, and S.Vozniak requested 250 thousand to produce printed materials. The executives of the entity decided to discuss this issue at the following Directorate session. It was noted that in September A. Dmitriev (the head of Nekliaev’s Office) would receive 150,000 US dollars (A. Feduta — 70,000, and A. Vardomatsky - 80,000).

To finance the preparation of analytical documents on the social, political and economic situation in the republic for the TT CC, A.Feduta proposed that 50,000 — 100,000 US dollars should be allocated from his off-budget fund to organise the activities of the TT CC external consultants (V.Silitski, etc.). At the following Directorate

session, they would be presented with a list of consultants and their salaries.

A. Feduta reported that S.Gaidukevich, the Chairman of the LDP (the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party), contacted him and suggested that he should, for 1,000,000 US dollars, assist the “Tell the Truth” campaign in promoting its candidate in the forthcoming election period and withdraw his candidacy in TT CC support. The members of the Directorate assumed that this was a provocation by law enforcement agencies. A. Feduta noted that, perhaps, S. Gaidukevich is a channel for dialogue with the authorities.

S. Vozniak said that A.Feduta himself invited him to the “Tell the Truth” campaign.

According to S.Vozniak, the TT CC was sponsored by representa-

(square) event, he was contacted by D.Dashkevich, the Young Front (YF) leader who suggested they should discuss the plan of action for the structure being created. D.Dashkevich proposed to call a youth group “Belarus for freedom” or “Free Square”. He noted that the group would include representatives of the “Young Front”, “Right Alliance”, the Belarusian Popular Front and the movement “For Freedom” or “Free Square”. The coordinators are D.Dashkevich and a representative of “For Freedom”.

In early August, in the EU territory, D.Dashkevich would hold an initial meeting of the youth group representatives to draft proposals to organise the “ploshcha” and the entity’s budget (up to 2,000,000 US dollars — part of it would be used by the YF). Money is scheduled to arrive in September. From Septem-

— Hello, speaking.

— I’ve got a request: can you confirm, if anyone from Poland asks you, that our fund took part in creating your large database on repressions as part of the project on victims of repressions? It’s unlikely that anyone will ask, but just in case... The thing is that our Foreign Ministry wants to know what the information effect of our project is. We need to give them an answer. So we said that we helped for free. You know what this is about.

— OK, good. If they ask, we’ll confirm.

— Thank you! As for this year, the payout to the victims of repressions is 200,000 zloty. Plus a fee for your coordinator. 200,000 zloty is about 7,000 dollars.

— Has it been confirmed?

— Yes.

— Great!

— Now we are waiting for the money to be transferred to our account. And could we maybe preliminarily agree with you later in Warsaw about who is to get it?

— I think we’ll be able to decide on that.

— The Foreign Ministry has cut the sum by half. We asked for 500,000 zloty.

— We can start today then. This is fine, too, because we have about 40,000 from the NED, though we’ve already spent half of that money...

— They’ve got utter theft there.

They’ve sponsored two partnership projects in Belarus in the field of ... veterinary medicine. One agro-enterprise from northern Poland got ten percent of the Foreign Ministry’s money for foreign assistance! They were given two and a half million zloty! Utter corruption.

— It’s far from us... You’re in a better position to judge.

— And yesterday Sikorsky boasted to your oppositionists that he helps the victims of repressions a lot, and our project was given as an example. An outright lie.

— Ha-ha-ha!!! Those POLITICIANS, I’m afraid they’re all like that.

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## From an operative note

“In a number of cases S. Vozniak called regional coordinators of the “Tell the Truth” civil campaign to Vilnius where he gave each of them a specified sum of money in cash in a prearranged location (a hotel or a café).

In other cases S. Vozniak devised another scheme. Having received money from A. Dmitriev, he divided the sum and put the money in luggage lockers at a railway station in Vilnius (or in bank safe deposit boxes). Then, contacting the regional coordinators via Skype, he gave them the number of the box, the code, the date and the time when the said functionary or representative had to come to Lithuania and take the money.

Thus, S. Vozniak distanced himself from distributing the money personally and the indication of a specific date allowed him to make

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**GRANT CONTRACT**

Civil Rights Defenders, on the one side, and Human Rights Center Viasna (“the Beneficiary”) with its office at Nezalezhnastsi Avenue, 78a-48, Minsk, Belarus, on the other side, have agreed as follows:

**Article 1 - Preferences**

1(1) The subject of this Contract is a grant from Civil Rights Defenders, which shall be used according to the approved budget for the project entitled: *Work of public reception rooms at the branches of HRC Viasna, project no. 1031106* (“the Project”). The approved application and budget attached, forms an integral part of the Contract. The Beneficiary will be awarded the grant on the terms and conditions set out in this Contract, which the Beneficiary hereby declares he has taken notice of and accepts.

1(2) This Contract shall enter into force after being signed by both Contracting parties. The Project shall be finished not later than **April 30 2011**.

1(3) The total grant is estimated at **EUR 111 700**.

1(4) Payment will be made in accordance with the following:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Advance (50% of the grant):	EUR 55 850
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Second payment (subject to the provisions laid down in Article 3):	EUR 27 925
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Final payment (subject to the provisions laid down in Article 3)	EUR 27 925

Payments will be made into the following bank account:

Number:	LT 66 4010 0424 0235 8715
Swift code:	AGBLT2X
Holder:	Biallatski Allaksandr
Name and address of bank:	AB DnB NORD Pilies g. 36 LT-01123 Vilnius Lithuania

For the Beneficiary:  
*Aleksandr Biallatski*  
Date and Signature (of Person Authorised to Sign)  
Full Name and Title  
*Aleksandr Biallatski*  
*Chairman*

For Civil Rights Defenders:  
*Erik Esbjörnson*  
Date and Signature  
Erik Esbjörnson, Programme Director  
CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENDERS

tives of a “governmental structure” of the Republic of Poland (the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

The foreigners only stayed in touch with the “campaign” leaders they selected: first that was A.Feduta, and then (from May 2010 and on), with A.Dmitriev and V.Nekliaev.

S.Vozniak’s tasks included the transfer of the money he received from A.Feduta and A.Dmitriev abroad to Belarus. After receiving the money from those people, he was to deliver it to Belarus (he did not have any personal contacts with the sponsors). ✕✕✕

## From an operative summary of the state security agencies

On July 19, after A.Dmitriev agreed in a conversation with the NED head R.Pototski that he would participate in the youth group to organise the “ploshcha”

ber till October, the entity activists would buy tents (about 500) and other items at shops and markets and would keep them at secret addresses. D.Dashkevich plans to gather about 3,000 people at the “ploshcha”. If Oktyabrskaya Square is sealed off by the law enforcement agencies, a different venue for a tent camp is considered”.

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*A fragment of Skype correspondence between A.Beliatski (Vice President of the International Federation for Human Rights, Minsk) and the coordinator for the Freedom and Democracy Fund (Warsaw).*

— Hello, this is Marek. Can you do me a favour? Will you send some data, please? In English, if possible.