

conspiracy

tion is performed only on direct orders from the central authority concerning the people on a special list.

With respect to an ordinary citizen, personal inspection is almost never used because of the complexity of the procedure (you need to detain vehicles, to make a detailed protocol, indicate the reason for inspection). The courier has only one number (Lithuanian, etc.), to which he should send an SMS in case of failure. It is desirable to employ an "observer" along with the Courier, who is not knowledgeable about the existence of the latter.

The "observer" does not know about the project and the details associated with the courier. The task of the "observer" is to be next to the courier, to monitor the possible surveillance, to report in case of emergency to a Lithuanian phone number. So, a ticket is booked for the "observer" in the same compartment or on the same coach next to the courier. The COURIER IS NOT FAMILIAR with the "observer". One carrier can be used four times, not more than once or twice a month. The courier does not know their trip schedule and receives information on each trip separately, having no idea whether he would be contacted again.

Visa support by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is required for couriers when implementing this option: a Directorate member comes to the Embassy of the Republic of Poland with a list of people that "participate in a number of workshops held in the RP at different times, for instance, "RP Democratic Institutions", he submits the list with passports and filled out forms, and then comes and picks up the passports. A 6-month multi-Schengen visa is required. The approximate periodicity of these applications is once in two months, and once a month starting from the 5th month prior to the elections. In certain cases, organised groups can act as couriers.

For instance, from December 10 till December 13, 2009, a workshop organised by the campaign Directorate member will be held in Vilnius. The workshop includes 28 Belarusians, who can be couriers and take the amount of 9,000 USD (for example, up to the allowed amount of 10,000 USD) each from Lithuania to Belarus. Thus, if the money is delivered to Vilnius until December, 12, the group will be able to transport 252,000 USD to Belarus thinking that this is the money for the project they participate in.

Members of the campaign Directorate and members of their families can act as couriers until the end of 2009.

Cost: courier's travel expenses up to 60 USD, meals for one day — 30 USD, payment for the service up to 2 percent of the amount transferred, SIM-card of a Lithuanian operator, a cheap cell phone.

Pluses:

The opportunity to transport large amounts of cash (up to 200,000 USD per trip).



Minuses:

Risk of disclosing the courier and loss of money.

2. Legalisation of money in Belarus

Legalisation of the main amount of money is implemented via distributing the rumors that the "Tell the Truth" campaign is a project sponsored by Brussels via a German partner. This is convincing, as everybody knows that there is money in Brussels but nobody knows how to get it, so there would be little doubt that somebody had managed to do so. The German partner witnesses that the campaign can not be opposed to the authority in Belarus. The rumor is "secretly" spread when employing services and communicating with third parties.

A part of the money will be legalised when implementing the delivery options "Master Card", "Cashless Payment", and "Partner". The money will also be partially legalised via official loans and declaring it with a tax authority and also through fictitious contracts with companies for performance of work.

The legalised sum of money for each member of the Directorate and each candidate should be no less than \$10,000.

3. Keeping the money

When keeping the money, the same system is applied as with the delivery. Horizontal ties between people are stronger and more secure than the institutional ones. So renting safety deposit boxes in Belarusian banks is not an option.

'Safe' — the laws of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia allow foreigners to rent safety deposit boxes in banks. The principle of bank secrecy is applied to this information and it is not subject to disclosure. It is important that several people can have access to one safety deposit box.

How this works:

Stage 1. Renting a safety deposit box

Each of the Directorate members rents safety deposit boxes in Riga, Vilnius, and Tallinn together with a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, giving him a right of exclusive access to the safety deposit box.

IMPORTANT: Thus, each member of the Directorate has two or three boxes in the Baltic States, which are filled in accordance with the general application for financing, and the money is withdrawn when needed by every Directorate member. When a member of the Directorate rents a safety deposit box, it is preferable that someone else from the Directorate should have access to the box in case of emergency.

Stage 2. Filling the safety deposit boxes

A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland brings the necessary amount of money to Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn and fills the safety deposit box of each member of the Directorate with the amount previously specified in the claim for financing.

Stage 3. Withdrawing money from a safety deposit box

A member of the Directorate comes to the city where the money is left and takes the necessary amount from the box. After that one of the plans to deliver the money to Belarus comes into effect (see above).

Cost: a) renting safety deposit boxes in a bank for a year, b) travel expenses and accommodation for the members of the Directorate, c) travel expenses and accommodation for the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland.

'Friend' — As previously stated, the most effective method in Belarus (taking into account the specific nature of the country) is to give the money to trusted people for keeping.

How this works: when the money arrives in Belarus, it is divided into five or more parts and is given for safekeeping to friends or, even better, to their close relatives. It is allowed to call the 'Friend' about the money only one time and to take the whole sum of money at once. Before that a special language used when saying that the money is needed, is discussed. It should not cause suspicions if the communication equipment is bugged. For example, "Let's have a nice hearty dinner today somewhere away from the city centre". When we use a 'Friend' on several occasions, the phrase is

changed each time.

Expenses: a bottle of cognac and a chocolate bar, a Schengen visa issued for a year.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR EMPLOYERS ON BRIEFING A COURIER AND HANDLING THE MONEY IN BELARUS

(should be given orally or, even better, in writing and the document should be later destroyed).

The money that the courier is carrying belongs to a business and is its undeclarable cash profit;

the information about the exact amount of money is not given to the courier;

the courier is told when and where he is to meet the employer (THE COURIER DOES NOT KNOW HOW AND WHEN THE EMPLOYER IS GOING TO GET TO THE MEETING POINT);

the courier must cross the border without a mobile phone;

it is forbidden to inform third parties about the trip;

when the courier is in the country where he receives the money, he is forbidden from using the Internet and other means of communication and from informing third parties of his whereabouts;

below is a list of things a courier can take:

a small bag, a book, a pen, a notebook, personal belongings.

When the courier and the employer meet in a specified location:

Option No. 1

The money, which is preferably packed in a 'belt', is given to the courier. The way the courier placed it is checked (THE COURIER MUST NOT KNOW WHERE AND HOW THE MONEY WILL BE TAKEN FROM HIM);

The courier is given a mobile phone with one number stored in its memory. The number is provided by a foreign phone service. He is warned that he is not allowed to make any calls or send any text messages except for those indicated below. He is warned that his phone is traced and that by breaking this rule he loses his pay;

he is given a ticket for his trip back (BEFORE THAT THE COU-

RIER DOES NOT KNOW HOW HE IS GOING TO TRAVEL BACK);

a meals pay;

the courier is briefed on what he has to do after crossing the border.

Option No. 2

The courier is given a mobile phone with one number stored in its memory. The number is provided by a foreign phone service. He is warned that he is not allowed to make any calls or send any text messages except for those indicated below. He is warned that his phone is traced and that by breaking this rule he loses his pay. In the phone's memory there is also the number of the luggage locker at a railway station where the money is kept, preferably packed in a 'belt', and the code. In the locker there is also a ticket for his trip back (BEFORE THAT THE COURIER DOES NOT KNOW HOW HE IS GOING TO TRAVEL BACK);

a meals pay;

the courier is briefed on what he has to do after crossing the border.

If the courier crosses the border successfully:

he sends a text message to the number stored in the phone's memory, saying that everything is fine; he gets further instructions in reply. In any case he checks his luggage for foreign objects (a GPS navigation device): if he locates an accidental object, he should take it out of his bag and put it in any other inconspicuous place in the vehicle, with no people noticing it.

If the operation fails:

the courier should switch off his phone;

when asked whose money this is, he should say that a Lithuanian man he met in a restaurant (the Lithuanian sat down at his table) asked him to carry the money and that he had to leave it in an automatic luggage locker at a station. He was paid to carry the money.

Instructions given if the courier has crossed the border successfully: the courier is told where he has to get off, he is met and given a password (which is chosen at the discretion of the employer); the courier hands over the money and the mobile phone; after the meeting the courier returns to the vehicle and resumes his trip; the courier does not know when he will be contacted next; the mobile phone is switched off, the battery is taken out, the SIM card is thrown away.

From an analytical note

The work of the "Tell the Truth" Directorate is coordinated from abroad by the so-called 'minor office'. Its decisions are communicated to the Directorate through A. Feduta, who knows all the members of the office personally. One of the members of the 'minor office', a German, who calls himself Rafael M., regularly meets the members of the Directorate in the countries bordering Belarus. Meetings are called by A. Feduta and Skype is used for emergency contacts between the members of the Directorate and Rafael M.

Below there is a fragment of se-