

Behind the scenes of one

4. Contingency costs: cell phone payments, travelling expenses, food and accommodation during business trips, other expenses connected with the campaign.

5. Training of teams.

6. Legal service and prompt legal assistance.

7. Sociological service.

8. Organisation of control over the voting.

9. Mobilisation to protect the results of the elections.

Calculation of the total cost of the campaign salaries can be made at 3 USD per voter. If necessary to work with 5 mln. voters, the formula would be as follows:

$3 \text{ USD} \times 5 \text{ mln.} = 15 \text{ mln.}$ + 10% of the budget are allocated for contingency expenses and a change of plans = **16, 5 mln. USD.**

This sum included the cost of mobilisation to the square.

Approximate cost of the "ploshcha" was calculated according to the scheme:

Food — **50,000 people** * **10 USD** = **500,000 USD** per day.

It was assumed that the number of people at the square would be constantly growing; 50,000 people — is the largest number of people who are present at the square at the same time.

The inventory necessary for simultaneous presence of **15,000** people at the square is purchased in advance (4 months prior to the elections, minimum) and is estimated at **30 USD** per person = **450,000 USD.**

The cost of storage and delivery — **100,000 USD.**

From an analytical note

Regarding the source of the money, members of the TT CC Directorate assumed that it was the money of official European institutions ("from Brussels"). In their opinion, no other source is able to provide that much money alone. Neither Poland nor Germany, nor any other country is able to provide this sum of money single-handedly.

Importantly, Germany plays the leading part. Among other "sponsors" there were representatives of a "governmental institution" of the Republic of Poland.

S.Vozniak, a campaign coordinator, used the students of the European Humanities University (Vilnius), with whom he was on friendly terms, as couriers in one of the main money delivery channels.

The couriers crossed the border on foot, which reduced the risk of personal check. It was planned that the money would not be stored in Belarus, but would be distributed among the stakeholders (members of the Directorate).

In some cases the amounts of 150,000 — 200,000 USD were transported at a time. After delivery within the shortest periods the finances were distributed among all TT CC members.

Bank safe deposits were reserved in Lithuania, Poland, Estonia and Latvia where the donor deposited the money for couriers.

INSTRUCTION FOR THE TT CC FUNCTIONARIES ON THE DELIVERY, STORAGE AND LEGALISATION OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN BELARUS

Under the project there are four stages of working with funds:

1. Delivery of money to Belarus

There are several options of money delivery to Belarus, each having its advantages and disadvantages. No variant can be the only one available; the optimal choice is the combination of several variants depending on the situation. The main one is the "Courier" option.

Cashless payment — this method is suitable for a sociological service and, partially, for a media service.

How it works: the money is transferred within the EU (Warsaw, Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn) to the head of a sociological service. The latter transfers the money to a company in that country and that company places an official order with the Belarusian laboratory and pays for it from the account. Media service can also be partially paid up according to this scheme.

Cost: tax revenue 15%, bank fee up to 3%, VAT 18% + the percent for the money — transferring company.

Pluses:

a) legalisation of the Belarusian laboratory and media company activities;

b) legalisation of money.

Minuses:

limited amount of money to transfer (**up to 60, 000 USD per year**).

"Master Card" — certain banks allow opening accounts including those not confirmed by IDs. That gives an opportunity to have different accounts for different people both connected and not connected with the project. An important aspect is that the bank card is not registered when withdrawing money from an ATM, it is only registered in case of payment for services with the bank card.

How it works: the money is brought to a certain city or is taken from the bank cell (see the "Safe" option) and is deposited to bank accounts in order to withdraw it via ATMs afterwards.

The amount one can deposit at a time is 25,000 USD, periodicity is approximately once a month. This method is used by businessmen.

Cost: bank fee 3%, withdrawal fee — up to 2%.

Pluses:

a) no need to cross the border and legalisation of money in the country;

b) opportunity to withdraw money in the country;

c) money management by anybody who withdraws money;

d) this method is not suspicious for anybody including bank officers, as everybody thinks that this is money of the business but not policy, which is common practice for the bank.

Minuses:

a) limited amount of money for a single withdrawal;

Асабістая звестка:

Прозьвішча, імя, імя па бацьку: *Гішэа Іванавіч Іванавіч*

Кантактныя тэлефоны: *315 1941300 20292453212 01*

е-мэйл:

Хатняя адрэса: *220017, Мінск, вул. Фрунзенская 9, 124,*

Дата нараджэння: *25.12.1954*

Сямейнае становішча: *замужам*

Нумар пашпарта: *11Р 0977416*

Рэпрэсіі (неабходнае падкрэсліць):

Адміністрацыйная (штраф, арышт), Крымінальная справа, Завальненне, Адлічэнне, Збіццё, іншае

Дата і месца рэпрэсіі: *15.04.2010, г. Мінск, вул. Фрунзенская 9, 124*

Апісанне рэпрэсіі: *15.04.2010, затрыманы ў аддзяленні "С" міліцыі, арыштаваны ў аддзяленні "С" міліцыі.*

Фактычныя доказы рэпрэсіі:

Асоба/арган, што здзейсніў факт рэпрэсіі (судзі, сьведкі, і г.д.):

Сьведкі:

Расписка

Я, *Гішэа Іванавіч Іванавіч*, пашпарт № *11Р 0977416* паўважам, у сакавіку 2010 года перадаць на баланс Беларускага навукова-даследчага цэнтру 500 рублёў за рэпрэсіі, зробленыя супраць *Гішэа Іванавіч Іванавіч*.

1. Штраф за перадачу грошай — *17 500 руб.*

2. Штраф за перадачу грошай — *17 500 руб.*

29.11.2010 г.

Якія афіцыйныя дакументы, што падцьвярджаюць факты рэпрэсіі. Вы можаце прадставіць:

Загад аб звальненні/выключэнні

Загад аб дысцыплінарным пакаранні

Копія пратаколу аб адміністрацыйным правапарушэнні

Рацыйнае/пастанова аб прызначэнні да адміністрацыйнай адказнасці

Іншыя дакументы:

Далаткова

Завяшчана за сям'я Гішэа І.І. — маці Гішэа І.І.

Дата і подпіс: *29.11.2010*

b) limitation for a single withdrawal from an ATM — **1,000 Euro per day.**

"Partner" registration of non-governmental organisations is very simple in the countries adjacent to Belarus. NGOs may operate for donations of their members and third parties and act as sponsors themselves. The money received in Belarus as donations can be taxed up

to 15 percent and then used at the beneficiary's sole discretion.

How it works: an organisation is registered, and some amount of money is deposited to its account. This organisation donates money to the "Tell the Truth" institution, and the institution pays for the office and daily operational expenses with the money, as well as employs its staff. It is important that only

foreign citizens should be founders of this organisation (the acquaintances and friends of the Directorate, except for the citizens of the Republic of Poland). There may be several organisations like that, and they can be incorporated one after another. Each organisation cannot be used for more than three to four months. The amount of money may vary and must be additionally agreed upon with lawyers.

Cost: registration of an organisation, 5 to 7 percent for transfer, the bank fee.

Pluses:

activities and expenses of the central office are legalised.

Minuses:

a) limited nature of resources as this method can only be applied to operations of the central office;

b) during the campaign, it will be required to register and dissolve the organisation;

c) a certain period of time is required to register partner organisations.

The "Courier" will be the major method for the campaign. This variant is the most widespread and the most efficient, in spite of the highest degree of risk. It is based on the knowledge of psychology of frontier authorities and appropriate behavior. One may bring up to 10,000 USD to Belarus without declaring the money.

Courier employment. Each Directorate member selects his own team of couriers who follow the general rules and deliver the money in accordance with the schedule of the Directorate member. It is desirable to employ couriers via a third party. A courier is a person not associated with the campaign, politics, and public life in Belarus. In other words, an "average citizen".

The best options for couriers are: 1) Elderly people 2) A family with a small child 3) A student 4) A handicapped person. Couriers never know each other.

The courier is unaware of the true purpose of the money, he or she only knows the legend. According to the legend, the money is delivered to Belarus as undeclared cash profit of a business entity. The courier is also briefed on the rules of behavior and information is given in accordance with the Instruction.

Money delivery. The courier arrives in the country to get the money and receives an amount for transportation. The money is not given in the city of money storage but in a different city or place. The trip back to Belarus across the border should take place at night, which causes psychological difficulties in conducting additional search by frontier authorities.

The courier should not have many belongings, and they should all be arranged in direct view of the frontier authorities, which creates the impression of "trust and transparency". Everything must be in sight of border guards, ready for inspection. The money is in a special belt on the body of a courier, so you can detect it only through personal inspection. Personal inspection