Voice 1: Vadim Zaitsev, chairman of Belarus KGB from 2008 to 2012.

Voice 2: Unidentified member of Alpha Group task force (KGB anti-terror unit) and former member of Almaz (anti-terror unit of the ministry of internal affairs).

Voice 3: Member of Alpha Group task force. From the recording, identified as Jura.

[Figures in square brackets indicate time elapsed on audio file]

Voice 1 [00:01]: Be as discreet as possible, you're a part of the Komitet [KGB].

Voice 2: No-no, I don't [inaudible] this [inaudible].

Voice 1 [00:06]: In no way allow unjustified expenses, don't allow to be used for one-off jobs, such as [inaudible], whatever thoughts you might have. No one set this task and I'd never do that. I gave an oath, to be completely honest, but it's important that in the Komitet, for the known contacts and regulations, that's another question. We reached Borodach and found his team that sits there and is very loud. Borodach is maybe not that important, he talks shit but [inaudible] but we still need to find out where he lives, this is important. Especially considering that we have some propositions [inaudible], in particular they don't add up what we were getting.

Voice 2 [01:00]: So this is what I suggest. I was reached out to by a person, and said, as far as he knows, I'm a big time victim of the regime, not just a criminal, but really a victim of the regime. I say: "So what do you suggest?", and he says that it's not for over the phone and if I could come to Germany to talk. To me, it's easier to come to Berlin, as I was there before and have some friends, so we can meet and talk and then he mentioned that they have some of "your people" but didn't clarify. Maybe it's not Borodach, who else could it be in Germany, from the ones who are the victims of the regime?

Voice 1 [02:07]: Dudkin, someone maybe?

Voice 2: I don't know.

Voice 3: So you were meeting Borodach several times, who else?

Voice 2: I just know Borodach personally and he knows me as well. I was under his command in 5th brigade [a military special operations unit] and then we were meeting when I was doing business between my army and police services, six to eight months I was doing that. Back then, Borodach didn't have any money, so he was involved into transporting sunflower oil from Krasnodar. We were meeting [when] I worked at a factory that was packaging oil, lemonade, and the other stuff, and I was in the security team there, and he was bringing oil to us. So, we talked and I asked: "Why are you doing all this stuff?", and he was like "You know I got involved somehow and I don't like it too, it was back in 1998". This is what he was saying back then and then got lost somewhere. After that, when I was already in Almaz, we detained him once. He and some opposition folks were entering a helicopter, and he was a chief of security for them, so he looked at me and I shrugged and said that: "This is my job, and why are you doing that, because you said you're no longer in the opposition". So we detained them for a day and then let them all go. And then he got lost and I don't know what happened since, but we know each other. So I don't know if it was his initiative but I can come there and check it out. It won't hurt me, and even if they know somehow that I'm back [in Almaz] I can always tell that I was forgiven and got back the job in the bomb squad or something like that.

Voice 1 [04:14]: No, don't!

Voice 2: No? I shouldn't do that?

Voice 1: I'm thinking about it, no, no, don't want to discuss that. I'll think about your offer, but we will practice this task, yes. But this is a risky business, who knows what could happen in Germany [inaudible] with the intelligence in particular, and who could support [us] in case of an emergency? If they start pressing you, all this stuff with the consulate services and the rest will begin.

Voice 2: OK, I got it.

Voice 1: But we have to take this on. The task is to figure out who is there. It can be Dudkin, it can be Alkaev, Borodach, so [inaudible].

Voice 3: All of them, yes...

Voice 2: Yeah, I haven't thought of Alkaev. Totally forgot about him.

Voice 3: Do you know Alkaev too?

Voice 2: No, not personally. I know who he is, but we haven't met.

Voice 1 [05:08]: Maybe somehow lean towards doubts? **Voice 2:** So, if they invite me to come and I will come as a victim, in any case there will not be a random German guy talking to me and that is it. So, in either case they will connect me to the ones who were behind that, so that we could sit together in some quiet place and talk business. Because, it's one thing is to talk to a local intelligence or a counterintelligence officer, and it's another thing to talk to your compatriot. Even though I don't know Alkaev in person, he's a well-known person, and I know who he is, and that's a different thing. It will be easy for me to go there via my friends, I can get a tourist invitation, then get a tourist visa and go there. No problem at all. And for the invitation I can say that I haven't seen them for a long time, so go get me an invitation, and it will last for six months, so no problem at all. I can argue it to the extent that they can get me out in an embassy car, but I would not like to, especially for the first trip, because it sort of means that the trip back is booked. Of course they will probably do it if necessary, but I do not need that, you know what I need.

Voice 1 [06:44]: No, no, just by yourself.

Voice 2: I don't want to play these games, I'll just come as a tourist, we'll talk and that's it. Another thing is that with Jura we often talk about work and work organisation, learning and stuff. Maybe you could allow me to teach my most basic classes, but not for Alpha with their instructors, but for [this new] department where these people ...

Voice 1: This is indeed the task that we have now. So, you'll go to Germany and locate the addresses [inaudible] but we don't need the addresses per se. You know what operations we need to perform there. Alkaev for you is like a young guy, someone else should be doing that. But who will teach this other guy?

How do we make it so that [inaudible]? So that's why I tell you that you should be teaching the agents all the sabotage techniques, well, maybe not all of the agents.

Voice 2: Jura knows them best, but we'll figure it all out.

Voice 1: Where he is, in what department who the fuck knows [inaudible] and when you were sitting here, I was told you're a bomber, a member of the organisation. Now you have an opportunity, you're one of us. I know you don't have motivation and the necessary funding. But it should be clear and I'll repeat that not too many people should know about that. And the president is waiting for these operations, and the task of the Komitet is to be in charge of that. So, it's clear how we could drown or shoot someone. It's clear. But how to initiate a chance explosion, how to start arson and not leave traces, murder, and stuff like that - this is unclear to us.

Voice 2: So Vadim Jurjevich [Zaitsev] let us ...

Voice 1: We should be working Sheremet, who is a massive pain in the arse [inaudible]. We'll plant [a bomb] and so on and this fucking rat will be taken down in fucking pieces, legs in one direction, arms in the other direction. If everything [looks like] natural causes, it won't get into people's minds the same way.

Voice 3: Especially considering that planting [a bomb] is not a problem at all.

Voice 2 [09:13]: Here's another interesting suggestion. It's not secured before I talk to the people there, but here's the thing. There's a professor in Vitebsk [a town in north-east Belarus], who is a toxicology expert, knows both natural and artificial poisons very well. So, it's not even about him, but there's a company that wanted to open a lab but was not allowed to back then, to do fitotherapy. And where there's healing, there could be poisons as well. So, if I could come from our structure and make their problems go away, we could allow them to do their business and also help us with our inquiries. So, they would arrange all by themselves, including money and all that. So, we would support them so that they won't see resistance from the local authorities - you know how it goes when someone wants to make some money, they want this and that and it is never

done.

Voice 1: Write down who they are then and what this company is.

Voice 2: So, shall I maybe talk to them?

Voice 1: Go ahead.

Voice 2: Because maybe they are not interested in that.

Voice 1 [10:39]: It's important to me that no one even thinks about the KGB. Different opinions, everyone thinks different [inaudible] no criminal case opened and that's it.

Voice 2: Yeah, clear.

Voice 3: Even if we need to enter some premises, it's better to do that pretending we're police.

Voice 1: Totally! Take their IDs and so on.

Voice 2: We'll see, we need to better understand who [these Vitebsk people] are.

Voice 1: Don't you fucking deep dive all the time. You're coming as if you're from the police, we're trying to solve this difficult [criminal] case and all you do is a part of this fucking investigation [inaudible].

Voice 3: This is what I am talking about.

Voice 2 [11:09]: Yes, yes.

Voice 3: We'll need some fake documents from the criminal-investigation police unit, like we're investigating something and need their help [inaudible].

Voice 1: We need to think it through so well, that [inaudible].

Voice 2: Sure, we'll think it through.

Voice 3: I was reached out to by a guy from these four guys in Vitebsk. There's one amateur chemist who claims he can make any chemicals. You can even tell him the height and weight of the person and he can prepare [them] for anyone [inaudible].

Voice 1: So look for him. This department works, right?

Voice 3 [11:46]: There is this department, there is! He is in Vitebsk, I just need to find this person.

Voice 1: Then go ahead and find this person, and then go get everything prepared and so on. My task here is to find funding for all these crazy ideas.

Voice 2 [12:01]: [laughing] Funding is another thing. I'm telling

you everything I have, no matter crazy or not. Look ...

Voice 1: I'm joking about the craziness [inaudible].

Voice 2: It's up to you of course to decide how crazy that is. So while folks still remember that I was in prison, there are some rich people who are about to get on parole or switch to less harsh containment conditions. And they can pay for getting it done. So you know, there are these cases, not public, so why would we postpone them for several months? Here's the idea. If we find such a guy who could pay, and then let him go on parole or so, we'll have the money.

Voice 1: We'll have the money [from a different source].

Voice 2: Will we?

Voice 1: Yes.

Voice 2: It's fine then.

Voice 1 [13:04]: Don't do anything like that with prisons and businessmen [inaudible]. They will use their connections to talk to the police, and the police will start [spreading rumours] that KGB is going nuts. Can't we earn the money in a better way? If we start spreading chaos [inaudible] we could get to one who [inaudible].

Voice 2: No problem, just saying.

Voice 1: Let's put it this way. We have the money, but it doesn't matter for now. What we need is to build a case so as to say so that the president could see some results, and then we'll get the money. You're saying now to give you money so you could go places and spend a shit ton of money without any results. The president will say: "What the fuck, you're overpromising, you stole the money, and not get anything in return?. You should give us the results first, and then". This is what I'm telling you. Via different means, there's over \$1.5m at a dedicated account that was told to the president "let us put them there at your order" and use it then. We can write to the president now [to use it] but I don't want us to get in this situation.

Voice 2: OK, so let's do something big, and this internal thing for now to not get distracted.

Voice 1: What we we're talking before lunch today, this is what

we're gonna do.

Voice 2: Yeah, clear, this is what we ...

Voice 1: So, the president knows that you worked that road, he doesn't hide that so that you screwed up with the numbers, put him down, detained him ... Robbery is not my thing really, but if you got caught. But you should never get caught, under no circumstances.

Voice 2 [14:54]: OK, so that's clear. So, we're starting to work on that house. Two of us will have a look, because I haven't been involved in that just yet.

Voice 1: You know, you should be [working] as if you weren't here. Of course, this department should have you as a specialist, but there should also be people to do the job. How long will it take you to prepare him as an agent, how long will it take to prepare another agent? They should be all people not publicly known yet. Maybe pair up with an Alpha bomb-squad agent, so that the first one comes for reconnaissance, and another one comes to do the job later on.

Voice 2: Yeah, got it.

Voice 1: So that both guys could talk and come up with some shit, so that no expert would find anything shady. So the documents are not a problem.

Voice 2: As a cover, at least.

Voice 1 [15:49]: No problem at all, whatever cover documents you need.

Voice 2: At least to get us some cover.

Voice 1: Why do you need it [document]? For your pride and honour? And what do you do with it, put it into a safe? As soon as we show it to someone, rumours will start, about you, that you're among the top men of KGB.

Voice 2: No, no, that's not why I'm here.

Voice 1: Your task is to not uncover yourself. We have enough people in Alpha and Almaz who work for the police's internal security, OAZ [president Lukashenko's intelligence unit] and fuck knows who else.

Voice 2: No, with my department.

Voice 1: With your department.

Voice 2: I'll tell Jura what to receive but only after you give a green light, boss, because we might need TNT, plastic explosives, detonators.

Voice 1 [16:21]: In this department I need a professional or a car mechanic who will do it in such a way that no fucking expert will figure out that the car was intentionally broken in advance and why it went off the fucking road.

Voice 2: Yeah, I know guys for that as well.

Voice 1: For surveillance, one can put two young people in the apartment block hallway who would kiss each other and not make any noise, drink beer and so on, and no one cares. No one is gonna call the police 10 times if someone's walking around there. If someone is just hiding in the hallway from cold and kissing - it's considered normal now and no one cares. But where will you find these two guys who would really kiss each other and at the same time do surveillance on the person of interest or an apartment?

Voice 2: It's not a problem to find them.

Voice 1: Now, Belokonev [a military officer] is reaching out, to create a unit of the fucking girls. And everyone's fucking looking at him... And what I say is that: "It's great, at least he's able to think in a creative way, because ...".

Voice 3: This is what we have ...

Voice 2: You know, we had such thoughts as well, so that we won't create a [dedicated] unit, but just pay cash to third parties who will not have the full picture.

Voice 1: How will you do it with third parties, you can find a prostitute to not look for ...

Voice 2: Yes.

Voice 1: And [don't]? compromise [her] ...

Voice 2: Not necessarily compromised.

Voice 1: But trust her in working with some third-party object, can't trust them ...

Voice 2: I see it differently. We can find a prostitute who will herself be interested in helping us and not make her an official job contract, but just let her know some small bits that she needs.

Voice 1 [17:58]: Then come out with such a department of five to 10 people. We'll need them everywhere.

Voice 3: A prostitute we can use as an agent and half of the time, once again, she could be kissing in a systematic kind of way, even in terms of a narrative.

Voice 1: Yeah, we can make it like it's real. But she'll remember where she was kissing, in which hallway ...

Voice 3: Well, this is ...

Voice 1: Only if you're pretending to be a pervert of a kind, who only gets horny in the hallway and not in the other places, and convince her to work there. Maybe then.

Voice 3: Because to select only women, we don't have that many people to ...

Voice 2: That's one thing. Another thing is that we don't need them that frequently.

Voice 1 [18:35]: And the work will begin. I tell you once again that everything depends on the results. When we have results, I'll let the president know and we'll have not 10 but 15 [people], because it's our right to support [inaudible], it's our funding, not presidential funding. Luckily, we got [inaudible] support using the president's ruling. But the result is what I need first. This is what the president always wants and what he does, in the economy and everywhere else. If you deliver the results, you'll get everything. Otherwise no.

Voice 2: Got it.

Voice 3: And also the folks, to be completely honest, they don't always understand what we ...

Voice 1 [19:21]: We talked about that, understanding and so on. The fact that we sit on our asses is understandable. That's why I say that the unit should every day at seven, as I got it, the leader [inaudible] fuck everyone off.

Voice 2: OK then. And to this German guy I'll tell that he has to prepare a tourist invitation for me within a month. I think it will all be settled here in a month. If they reach out in the meantime - we only spoke once so far - I'll tell them that: "I can't come right away due to financial trouble yada-yada. But I'll come for sure and I'm interested". During this month we'll work it out

here, whom I shall reach out to, and I'll go.

Voice 1: "And so many things in Moscow that I need to take care of, and financial troubles ...".

Voice 2 [20:13]: Exactly. And if they really start to ask [about my current job] I'll tell them that I was just consulting, because this is what people in Almaz are also asking me, there are some rumours circulating. And I tell them that these rumours come from my past bomb squad experience. And I worked as a consultant and showed what to do and how to do it. Also about these explosions in Vitebsk, I was there, and they were trying to match the timeline. And here they say: "So you work for KGB", and I'm like: "No, of course not".

Voice 1: They are sitting there, studying shit so to say, walking there ...

Voice 2: Yeah, they're asking too, but just out of curiosity, I can see that. Those who are more than just curious, they are not reaching out yet.

Voice 1: You think about that, you! I can tell you that that any liquidation [killing] should be so natural that not a single expert will find a trace. A precise shot. And do not turn your fucking backs ...[inaudible] because it will be very difficult then [inaudible] to explain in a political sense.

Voice 2: Of course.

Voice 1: Like they wrote back then that "some unknown attackers have approached and beat him up" - whatever, as long as [we] always stay unknown.

Voice 2: Yeah, for sure.

Voice 3: For them it's important to always collect all the facts.

Voice 1 [21:40]: So get ready. Maybe to not compromise your authority as a head of this department, take Jura and go together. I'm not sure about him however, I don't see his cleverness, but because you need to do it for this department.

Voice 2: You know ...

Voice 1: You go together ...

Voice 2: Yeah, I don't know ...

Voice 1: So that it doesn't happen like it's unfortunate and "I'm the head of the department and so what now".

Voice 2 [22:04]: Vadim Jurjevich [Zaitsev], as Jura says, many folks there, it's not that they don't understand, but they are maybe even in a way against this, the way it is.

Voice 1: Honestly, how fucked up is that? [inaudible] I know this Holub [unidentified] for example [inaudible] this fuckhead will go and disagree ...

Voice 3: That's why we need to work with Holub because I think he's ready from the psychological standpoint.

Voice 1: Of course. A person who in Kazakhstan has almost chopped [inaudible] he'll go with a criminal case over his head [inaudible] he is clever [inaudible].

Voice 3: I don't know if this [inaudible].

Voice 1 [22:42]: It's complicated, yes [inaudible]. I don't know whom to recommend, who shown his commitment 100 percent [inaudible] it turned out not everyone thought that.

Voice 3: We'll have to [start working with him]? In a smart way. It looks like he was already taking part in the operations.

Voice 1: He's very eager to learn.

Voice 3: Myself, I talk to him in a very cautious manner, he's all ready and starts generating some solid ideas. We're talking just about unrelated business to not disclose anything, I'm mostly listening to him.

Voice 1 [23:23]: You should understand that we need to get through this period and it will all get easier with all the other matters. Funding, rewards and things like that. I'll always be able to reward, just as myself. I'll always be able to reward and whatever, as I'm a special representative.

Voice 2: We're starting tomorrow.

Voice 3: We'll do it tomorrow, we'll hit the road tomorrow. About the transport though, as I said, boss, I think the drivers are unnecessary extra pairs of eyes to us, and they are always present.

Voice 1: For sure.

Voice 3 [23:56]: If you could issue an order as there were three of us [inaudible] for me to get a car and keep it ...

Voice 1: Stop telling me that shit, at seven o'clock just come and write it down. It wasn't me who gave an order, that and

that. Otherwise you would be walking around and offer stuff, and what would that be? The fuck do I need that?