

Private and confidential

Jeremy Jones director of international affairs AIJAC
And third parties deemed for disclosure

Here I entail a submission or proposal for a definitive research and analysis initiative on the Russian National unity movement (RNE) or Barkashovtsi.

The proposal-outlined covers all possible dimensions of the project that immediately come to mind. In your assessment of the merits and viability of this proposal, including my personal suitability, for recommendation to possible party's of interest I invite you to engage me to answer all queries or requests for information to facilitate any decision.

As I've stated to you previously, this proposal is not something I'm prepared to go knocking on doors with. It either finds a life with your contacts in the international arena or its finished. I say this not only because it demeans the importance of the subject but also because any attempt by myself to "market " the proposal has obvious dangers.

I think you appreciate the uniqueness of the initiatives I've undertaken, in regards to my previous work. To undertake work of a truly discerning nature on this subject, not only must one have an acute and multifaceted understanding of historical and cotemporary Russia, in addition to this I must say I've had to undertake some peculiar education and personal conditioning. For instance understanding the dynamics of overt and hardcore Anti-Semitism (something I was fairly ignorant of 12 months ago) and maintaining your composure when exposed to it. I've had to sit through a Barkashovtsi's explanation to me that I had been ill because my estranged wife had been visiting Moscow synagogues performing black magic. It's not just a matter of this being offensive; it's downright embarrassing.

Pertaining to my previous work with movement, hence my achievement in infiltrating it, you stated they're either clumsy or confident. Having reflected upon that statement I've come to the conclusion that it's brazen confidence. " Russia has a national socialist destiny, of course the Jews will try to obstruct this destiny " or " the Jews have already decided who the next Russian president will be. We'll probably have to take power through a revolution; oh I hate that word! The proper word is coup just like Pinochet did." That's pretty much a verbatim sample of the dogma and confidence they espouse, they constantly talk in terms of "when we come to power". I'll go further, I was even told very reassuringly by a regional president that I'd make a good candidate for Russian ambassador to Australia, when the moment comes. Pigeon hole this rhetoric as delusional if you will and delusional it may be, however it reiterates the confidence and perils emanating from the movement today.

You did propose the question, what can we do to stop or counter the Barkashovtsi? The proposal I've entailed here, which I believe to be a genuine and viable initiative to produce a definitive understanding of this little known and enigmatic enemy hence its emergence in post soviet Russia, is a good start. However I cite Prina levermore a director of the San Francisco based, Bay Area Council of Jewish Rescue and Renewal (BACJRR) and her reported visit to Borovici, to investigate reports of Jewish minorities being threatened and seriously traumatized as something to be expanded on.

2. What Pnina Levermore has done is to actually venture beyond Moscow. The Myopic "Moscow syndrome" is a very real concept inflicting Muscovites from all manner of life, most of them oblivious to this infliction. Getting to the point she left a computer and a modem for a local Jewish man, to use so he could communicate and disseminate developments and distress signals. Remember when we spoke four weeks ago you mentioned the local authorities of Borovici retracting their support for the RHE. At the time I Couldn't place Borovici. At a guess its population wouldn't exceed two hundred thousand located NW of Moscow between Tver and Novgorod.

Without ever having spoken to Pnina Evermore, I'm assuming BACJRR'S initiative was at least a proactive force in the regional administrations reported retraction of support for RNE. As I've conveyed to you before ' and I say this with some qualification, RHE is represented in 3000 cities, towns and villages across Russia, what we need is at least a dozen Borovici's to set the example and spearhead the resistance to RNE across the regions.

An initiative as simple as identifying people, in my reckoning preferably not Jewish whom can be set up with communications equipment ie. Computers and secure satellite telephones to relay all RNE developments in specific regions to create this spearhead. As regional administrations become increasingly conscience of the need to attract foreign investment hence the prerequisite of a civilised face in the international community, embarrassing them into repudiation of the RNE is one option available. Potential candidates for such initiatives could for instance be energetic young students who are genuinely distressed by what they see evolving in their communities.

Objective of the mission

Whilst not wanting to speculate on the potential results of such a mission, at the very least I envisage being able to construct one of the most discerning and definitive profiles and accounts of the movement known to date. I can't speak for how western intelligence agencies are fairing with their work on this subject, however all published output to date from the academic world, despite best intentions has been perfunctory highly historical and of marginal value. As for the media any coverage simply tends focus on a few sensational aspects

Any plan or itinerary of the mission, proposed by myself or sponsoring party, should be considered ostensibly only as a general guideline. Some of the most valuable insights will be unforeseen and spontaneous, through broad ranging social interaction within the movement. This point is to be emphasised the success of such a mission will stem from the anthropological aspect of my work and the ability to totally immerse myself in the movement for the duration of the research work. In simple terms I will be part of the movement literally eating and sleeping with them. The only time I have yet declined a Barkashovtsi invitation was to new years celebration at one of their regional offices.

The plan and how

I'm proposing to construct the work around the concept of taking a Far Eastern delegation of two Barkashovtsi in addition to myself around Russia, under the guise of a genuine fact finding mission. The Far East being separated by the best part of ten thousand kilometres from the European heartland's suffers from "The Tyranny of Distance". It not only hinders

3. extremist political movements but all manner of social and economic life. To cite example national daily newspapers are usually a week old when they hit the Far Eastern vendors it's almost a totally forgotten part of Russia. The young Far Eastern branches (only two or less years old) despite doing well numerically in an area the size of western Europe which constitutes only four percent of Russia's population, they tend to be less mature chapters or organisations comparative to the well established chapters in European Russia, the Urals and western Siberia, many now five to seven years old. I cite the absence of a developed financial base and commercial operations (the first inklings of this are emerging) along with only recent initiatives to establish the various RNE front and sister organizations in the Far East, of their comparative level of maturity and development to their older brothers.

This relative level backwardness in the Far East is also attributed to the fact that to date the movement has been largely preoccupied with obtaining official registration for its Far East chapters (Khabarovsk region chapter only received official status in April 98)

So in essence the guts of the plan is for us poor isolated Nazi's, to pay an extended visit too all our older more mature brothers throughout Russia, to get right up to date with what's happening in the movement.

It's hard to predict the precise path of the work, where we'll go to, whom we'll encounter and for how long at each location. As I said previously I expect the work to develop spontaneously. A typical investigation in the field may involve spending five days on one of the collective farms that have joined the RNE or spend time in a Cossack settlement that is associated with RNE

I've put a lot of thought into devising and evaluating this simple concept. Personally I think it to be viable and reject it as being anyway delusional, as I've already seriously asked myself that question. The networking I've done in the movement over a three month period is essentially the launching pad for what I hope to be very intensive future work. Having spent an extraordinary amount of time establishing individual rapport in the movement I'm well equipped for future work. To undertake this work, which I define as quasi intelligence, well it's definitely not the realm of academics, I believe a set of almost naturally occurring traits in ones personality are essential. Chief among these is the ability to separate any rapport I have and personal relations I may have forged from my outlook and work on the movement hence the ideology and dogma that underwrites it.

All responsibility for the project would rest on my shoulders from beginning to end. Whether it be my documentation requirements, or any precarious predicament I may find myself in there would be no recourse of action on my behalf as far as a sponsoring party is concerned. This attitude not only precludes a sponsoring party from any repercussions, it fortifies my safety. Once I'm out there I would be all on my own. The only requirement would be sufficient remuneration to assist in any undesirable or precarious circumstances.

The necessity of the work

Since taking an interest in the emergence of intense Russian Nationalist fervor, I have to confess my personal outlook has swung between dismissive and alarmist, my intermittent dismissive outlook was mainly a result of being infected by others dismissive opinion. This confusion and ambiguity led me to my first work in trying to fathom the RNE movement. There was definitely an element of luck involved. My first introduction to an RNE organizer

4. or "Comrade in Arms" happened socially, which in my mind sort of confirmed their ubiquity in regional social life. Now I'm firmly entrenched in the alarmist camp. My unfaltering alarmist attitude is based on a multitude of factors. However the two headline issues are definitely the movements relentless rate of manifestation in the military and law enforcement / security organs and the movements ability to organize throughout the entire federation exceeding that of most mainstream political disciplines. If there was a candidate in the fragmented fringes of Russian politics with the capacity to make a transition into the mainstream, RNE is it like none other. This is the great danger today!

This proposal for an intensive grass roots analysis project stems from my belief there's almost historical and inherent ineptitude in regards to western Russian analysis. I cite 98's collapse of the Russian financial system as a perfect contemporary example. Basically right up until Aug 17 western financial institutions found little or no cause to question their Russian exposure both sovereign and commercial. Still today many don't understand why they lost out so badly.

If they had focussed on specifically Russian faultlines, such as the states hopeless inability to establish a viable taxation base and the forces of crime – institutionalized corruption plaguing society, rather than headline global factors i.e. oil prices, then much greater levels of prudence and aversion would have been evident.

I could go on and on, but the same applies to the analysis of extremist politics. Latitude and complacency in underestimating the ascendancy and potential of these organizations along with the accompanying dogma and ideology is a luxury we can't afford. Griegory Yavlinsky stated not to long ago "always expect the unexpected in Russia". The element for surprise in Russian politics couldn't be better illustrated than by the LDPR'S performance in the 93 elections.

I would love to be able to inform you of the RNE'S potential weaknesses, however so far I cant detect any. No factionalism or no defectors doing a damaging tell all, or no signs the movement doing a self-destruct. Possibly its greatest strength today is the lack of resolve in Russian society to do something about it and the international community's almost virtual ignorance of it. I pose one of the reasons for this is complete lack of grass roots analysis.

The coarse of research

1) The Lushkov initiatives being waged against the RHE'S right and ability to operate in the capital, has been a high profile issue. It will be important to ascertain what effect this is having on the movements heartland its regional organisation. For instance is this attack on its Moscow organisation impeding Co-ordination and communication between regional chapters and is it retarding the movements to date unchallenged rate of growth?

2) Ascertain in a region by region break down the level of respective complicity on behalf of security organs particularly the MVD. Investigate the level of involvement in a number of military districts particularly focusing on complicity within the middle officer ranks and attitudes amongst conscripts

3) Regional breakdown of local authorities attitude towards the movement i.e. regional administrations resistance to the movement and instances where the local office of the

5. Justice Ministry is theoretically or proactively opposed to the movements official status and registration.

4) Make an assessment of all political, social and cultural organisations that support and endorse the movement either tacitly or overtly. Including the orthodox church, the confederation of free trade unions, resurgent Cossak organisations and collective farms. In My work to date I can say with qualification that support for the RNE emanates from all of the above mentioned groups, what I haven't ascertained at this stage is the substance and magnitude of this support and endorsement

5) Undertake an intensive assessment of the RNE sister or front organisations (presumably underwritten by RNE), these include the league of orthodox youth controlled by RNE and appears to have the strong endorsement of the churches hierarchy in the provinces. The Kolovrat front which is an umbrella grouping for local and provincial military patriotic clubs (Kolovrat refers to the RNE'S kolovrat swastika symbolism). In addition to this I would plan to visit RNE sponsored youth clubs/ paramilitary training camps and arms training exercises.

6) An investigation and evaluation of the commercial activities underwriting the movement. This would be a very important aspect of my work. Whilst by strict definition the movement is still considered to be at the fringes of Russian politics, this only makes their financing more of an enigma, well at least at first glance. I expect their commercial operations to expand rapidly especially in the area of wholesale trade ie. Alcohol, tobacco and food. This is made all the more possible by organised crime clan's reluctance to "tax" and confront the Barkashovtsi. In fact people I know in regional trade have said organized crime views the Barkashovtsi as a formidable force, "You don't mess with the Barkashovtsi". Whilst its not Gazproms or oil money, if their commercial activities become as well organised as they are politically it's almost better than Gazproms money. All cash, untaxed and of a high turnover nature which they don't have to lobby for.

7) Identify where I can without taking unnecessary risk, people and identities of "Interest" who are in or around the RNE'S path of orbit. Already with minimal effort I have produced results in this area. I personally associate with an RNE leader who is part of RNE'S formidable legal team who claims to be personal friends with a particular high profile regional governor who possibly provides covert support to the movement. To cite another person of "Interest" I personally know an expatriate of Russian émigré parentage currently seeking Russian citizenship employed in a capacity of responsibility at a NATO embassy in Moscow. Who is a strong sympathizer of the RNE to the extent, that in the event of RNE achieving electoral success aspires to an RNE based career.

8) Identify local RNE opposition (a loose collective of students for example could be considered opposition) where I can. This may be beyond my capabilities as it could be cumbersome and even perilous trying to wear two hats whilst undertaking this work

9) Assess the movement's preparedness for elections, and profile some RNE nominated candidates

10) Collect and professionally translate a wide range of RNE printed political and propaganda material. Including regionally produced material that can test the legality of the regional movement because it tends to be less discriminate and cautious than

6. the centrally produced material often being violently hate based and of an unconstitutional content.

In addition assess the magnitude of printed matter and its distribution, including its source. It's fairly common knowledge that RNE'S flagship masthead *RUSSKYE PORYADOK* or Russian Order has an immense circulation now exceeding a million copies. Of greater significance is to get an accurate picture of flyer and pamphlet distribution. The Russian press revealed in 1998 in Moscow alone the RNE was distributing one million flyers a week. The article went on to state that many people were oblivious to the ubiquity of RNE'S distribution mechanism, as they were car users who didn't frequent public transport. Personally I'm a little skeptical on that figure of one million a week in Moscow (now they're finding it hard to do anything in Moscow); it may have been achieved as a one off one-week initiative. However regardless street distribution is a very powerful medium at their disposal (in the provinces they distribute what they like with impunity and without obstruction) which needs to be examined further. The quantity they're distributing nationally per week could be between one million and five million, at this stage I just don't know. But I can say with qualification that promotion through this medium provides a reliable flow of interested and inquisitive people on a weekly basis.

11) Examine RNE involvement with broader patriotic movement's i.e. MSA (movement in support of the army) which originally was established as a worthy political movement to fight the depravation in the military. which seems to have become a victim of highjack, to promote the political agenda of Albert Markashov and Alexander Barkashov.

Potential costing

Accompanying the sharp devaluation of the Ruble is a very stark rise in hard currency purchasing power i.e. domestic travel costs including airfares, which are down by approximately 70% on 1996 prices.

In addition to any remuneration paid to myself for the duration of the work (on that point I would like to emphasize I'm not a mercenary), the variables for the works costing will be how many people accompany me and the time it takes to complete. Ideally three people including myself would be involved any more really becomes cumbersome and unnecessary. As I've already stated 3 to 6 months is the ideal time frame to do to do everything definitely and thoroughly. Anything less than the lower case time frame quoted would compromise the works quality severely limiting any results. With sufficient time and depending how the mission unfolds I would envisage conducting the work over 15 to 25 provinces undoubtedly some regions would be of greater interest and produce better results than others.

At three months a review would be welcome, but possibly not safe or practical. Another variable to the time needed, is how quickly I initiate this field trip once back in the Far East. I will need time to become comfortable and acquainted with the movement again. In addition to this I'll have to find the opportune moment to propose this field trip to my contacts. I just don't walk in there and say were going on a trip. I estimate the time needed to become re-orientated and get on the road so to speak will probably be three weeks. During this period besides any remuneration due to myself, any costs would be negligible. Of course there's the possibility that I decide to abort the project at this stage, citing as

7. reason the inability to integrate into the movement. Hence it would be futile, a waste of resources and even unsafe attempting to continue.

At the completion of the field work depending on the extent of my findings and analysis, realistically 2 to 3 weeks will be required to collate, analyze write and edit the findings to present them to the required standard. I may even need a third party to work with me on the findings. If this is the case I have a writer and editor at my disposal named Samuel Green in Budapest. Who has a good understanding of contemporary Russia? Whilst he's never had any personal exposure to the extremist movement, he at least appreciates the seriousness of the extremist threat. If need be I'm happy to disclose his coordinates in Budapest.

I have come up a costing figure while out on the field of \$3000 a month or \$750 a week because the work proposed is essentially regional based I will be avoiding capital city premium costs. I've essentially quoted this figure not on the cost of hotels etc, I envisage we'd seldom stay in hotels but rather with our regional comrades and others offering accommodation. Besides extensive transport costs food and entertainment, the remainder of this amount is to cover any contingency costs i.e. any trouble I may happen to encounter with regional authorities as I'm reluctant to consistently register with local OVIR offices (essentially the Interior Ministry), if any trouble arises which my travelling "comrades" are unable to extricate myself from, situations are usually resolved for between \$20 and \$100. Other contingency costs are likely to be nights when we may have to seek hotel accommodation. This is not the place for conspicuous spending our extensive social life will largely be at other people's homes and at railway station bars etc. If these in the field costs were exceeded I'd be prepared to subsidize them with my personal remuneration that is agreed to.

I would also need some non-returnable equipment including a high-resolution video camera and a couple of digital pocket cameras. You may ask isn't this a bit brazen and conspicuous? On the contrary I would present this equipment to my travelling "comrades" to be used at their discretion. For whom it would carry some novelty value, and incidentally Russian's love photos. I don't foresee this equipment arousing any suspicion; it's not that I'm proposing running around with satellite telephones and television cameras. At the projects conclusion I would envisage having quiet a comprehensive film catalogue, revealing who and what, I wouldn't like to guess.

The immediate and medium term use of all research findings/ analysis, including film footage, photographic journals and propaganda material collected would be for the exclusive use of any party sponsoring the work. Though I would like to reserve the right to use it in the long term for anything I may publish on the subject