Russia

In terms of human rights, migration is a major challenge throughout the former Soviet Union, but especially in Russia, with the anti-Georgian campaign of autumn 2006 and the new legal mechanisms. In Russia itself, the issue is fuelled in public debate by the demographic crisis and the labour requirements that have made a “need for immigration” apparent. These problems have long been known but have recently been turned into political issues by President Vladimir Putin and the government. By the same token, the rise in nationalist trends and the tightening of Russian foreign policy have at the same time made xenophobic and racist trends in society and its institutions more visible and encouraged them. These trends result in public policies and legislation that is increasingly discriminatory and the appearance of an implicit “Russian nationalist preference”.

Migration was essentially internal within the USSR: migration for work reasons and military transfers, with, in addition, forced population displacement during and after the Second World War. The Soviet borders were closed and people were very rarely permitted to leave the country: only people considered in the Soviet mind to be of Jewish “nationality” had had the opportunity to emigrate since the 1970s.

In 1991, the fall of the Soviet empire and the transformation of the USSR into 15 Independent Republics changed matters dramatically: citizens were given the opportunity to freely leave their Republic, numerous conflicts broke out in the New Independent States (NIS), and these experienced radical economic and social transformation.

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1 There has been a considerable decline in the Russian population since the beginning of the 1990s. According to the Goskomstat (State Statistical Committee), Russia currently has 142.4 million inhabitants, compared with 150 million in 1991. During 2004 alone, the population of the Russian Federation has fallen by 800,000 and the Russian population could fall to below 100 million in 2050. The mortality rate is increasing (16 % in 2005), whilst the birth rate is too low (10%). Life expectancy has fallen (59 years old for men, 72 for women), with alcoholism, poor living conditions, cardiovascular disease and violent deaths being the principal causes of death. In spite of an encouraging positive migration rate, the population is declining by hundreds of thousands of people per year. (See Marie Jego, “La dévastation démographique russe”, Le Monde; 2nd September 2006)

2 Deportation of several peoples of the Caucasus (Chechen, Ingush, Karachay, Balkar) and of Koreans, Germans, Crimean Tatars, Meshketian Turks, as well as the populations of regions that were conquered during the war (Baltics, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles). See Pavel Polian, Against their will: The History and Geography of Forced Migration in the USSR, CEU Press, 2004

3 The Soviet system differentiates between citizenship (grazhdanstvo) and nationality (Russian, Chechen, Ukrainian etc); This ‘natsionalnost’, defined by a language or a culture, may be translated in English by the notion of “national origin”. The various nationalities were classified according to their degree of economic development and “national consciousness”, and each nationality held its own territory (Soviet Republic, autonomous republic, autonomous territory). In contrast with the Muslim or Orthodox peoples, the Jewish people were considered a nationality.
I. The main types of migration and the challenges

1.1. Emigration

With the opening of borders, a high level of emigration was evident at the beginning of the 1990s, with the focus on several countries: Germany, Israel, the United States and the Republics of the former USSR. Between 1990 and 2003, 5 million people left Russia (including 3.5 million from the former USSR republics).

At the beginning of the 1990s a shuttle trade with neighbouring countries (Turkey, China, Poland) developed, known as "suitcase trade" (wholesale purchase and retail re-selling), which provided a supplementary income for people who are seriously affected by the social and economic consequences of economic liberalisation. This form of economic migration has declined since the end of the 1990s.

Since 1999, the largest sector of emigration has been made up of refugees from Chechnya, mainly towards Europe. Requests for asylum from the Russian Federation, essentially from Chechens, increased more than four-fold between 2000 and 2003. Russia has become the principal country of origin for asylum seekers in 29 industrialised countries.

1.2. Immigration

According to the 2002 census, over eleven million people had been received in Russia since the previous census in 1989, which, according to references, makes it the second or third country of immigration worldwide, to which can be added the figure for irregular immigration. A positive migratory inflow of nearly 6 million people has not curbed the demographic decline, but has reduced its scale. It appears that the principal immigrants into Russia have been … Russians, but a continuous flow is noticeable over the same period from countries such as Armenia.

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4 For an overview see the report “Regards franco-russes sur l’immigration” (coordinated by Anne de Tinguy, Janna Zaiontchovskaya), Migrations sociétés n°101, September-October 2005. Several figures and analyses are taken from this report. The site www.demoscope.ru, in Russian, provides a full range of source documents on the issue (analyses, statistics, legal texts, press kits, etc.)

5 In France, according to OFPRA (the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons), the number of Russian applications increased from 755 in 2000 to 1,755 in 2001, 1,814 in 2002 and 3,419 in 2003, with the number of applications relating to the Chechen conflict accounting for around 3/4 of these. The percentage of Russians amongst those granted refugee status has also increased in France: 27% in 2001, 38% in 2002 and 47% in 2003. See OFPRA reports; UNHCR, Asylum Levels in Industrialized Countries, January to September 2003 and Asylum seekers in industrialized countries, first quarter 2004, 4th June 2004; Amnesty International.


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The following maps show both conflict-related population movement and the set of migratory flows for Russia and the CIS.

**Figure 1.8**

Main Displaced Population from the Former Soviet Union, Mid-1990s

Source: Based on IOM, CIS Migration Report 1996.

Note: Map is designed to broadly illustrate major refugee and IDP flows at the time, based upon best available information, and is not intended to be authoritative or precise.
The “Red Feet”

With the break-up of the USSR, many Russians living in neighbouring republics found themselves in newly independent states whose language they did not speak and with which they could not identify. The fear of repressive laws, in particular the obligation to speak the national languages of the new states, and/or tensions (see below) drove between 5 and 6 million of them to return to or, in some cases, to come to a Russia in which they had never lived but that they viewed as their natural homeland. In the middle of the 1990s, however, the number of returns settled down. Estimated at 23 million at the end of the 1980s, 18 million Russians still apparently live in the former USSR republics. It is notable that considerable Russian minorities live in the three Baltic republics (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia) that are now members of the European Union and in which they have often been unable to obtain citizenship.

At the time of the fall of the USSR, no repatriation law existed to facilitate the return of the "Red Feet", especially since the Russian government may have considered the presence of large minorities in the neighbouring republics as an influential lever. An evolution in government policy has been noticeable recently: the demographic crisis and labour requirements have made state policies necessary both to attract migrants and select from amongst them. Presidential decree No. 637 of 22nd June 2006 came into force in January 2007 and provided for a new aid programme for those people who returned. A simplified procedure is planned for obtaining residence permits (вид на жительство) and work permits, as well as help with removal costs: people who arrive must be offered work and assistance with accommodation7.

The NGOs that work on this issue highlight the fact that 1.5 million Russians or Russophones live on Russian territory and for years have been unable to obtain Russian citizenship. In order to benefit from the new regulations, they must now leave and return8. Despite the publicity this has been given, there is doubt as to the capacity of the 12 regions taking part in the pilot to fund repatriation assistance. Furthermore, although officials stress that people of all nationalities are welcome and that the official term sootechstvenniki (compatriots) includes all those born in the USSR and their families, many political and media commentators demonstrate a preference for “Russophone migrants without an accent”9. Presidential decree No. 637 also defines compatriots as people who are “educated in Russian cultural traditions, with a mastery of Russian and wishing to maintain their links with Russia”. The vagueness that surrounds this reveals the contradictions in Russian migratory policy, caught between the need to deal as quickly as possible with the problem of labour shortage and the temptation to use the fate of the “Red Feet” to serve the nationalist discourse.

Refugees from conflicts in the former USSR

After 1991, conflicts erupted in several former USSR Republics: in Abkhazia (Georgia), in Nagorno-Karabakh (an Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan), civil war in Tajikistan. These conflicts caused part of the population10 to flee, resulting in waves of refugees within the countries themselves (see below) and also to Russia. According to the association Civic Assistance (www.refugee.memo.ru), 77% of these forced migrants are Russian.

A conflict broke out on Russian Federation territory in 1992, between Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia. Around 45–60,000 Ingush were expelled from the Ossetian district of Prigorodny. Over a 14 year period 10–20,000 had returned, whilst 15,000 had emigrated elsewhere in Russia, and the remainder were still in refugee camps or in a situation of extreme precarity in Ingushetia11.

The special situation of the Chechens is to be noted, who were chased from their Republic firstly by the 1994-1996 war, then by the conflict in 1999. Their status as "displaced persons" (see below) has barely been

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1 Марьяна Торочешникова, Новая миграционная политика – «вредительская политика», http://www.svobodanews.ru, 3.01. 2007
2 This disparity is again encountered in the case of refugees (see below).
3 According to the term used by a journalist from NTV, http://news.ntv.ru/itogi/100018/
4 Problems arose especially for mixed couples, particularly in the case of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict, when couples could live neither in Armenia nor in Azerbaijan.
5 Memorial Report: “О ситуации с вынужденными переселенцами ингушской национальности в Пригородный район Северной Осетии – Алания”

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recognised. Despite being Russian citizens, Chechens living in Russian Federation territory have great difficulty in obtaining recognition of their rights and their situation resembles that of refugees from other countries from the point of view of the discrimination to which they are subject and the difficulties they encounter.

**Economic migrants from the former USSR**

Since the 1990s, Russia has attracted a great many economic migrants from the Ukraine, the Caucasian countries (especially Armenia and Georgia) and Central Asia.

In 2003 the number of foreigners officially working in Russia was estimated at 380,000 (including 180,000 from the CIS), added to whom are the former USSR nationals in irregular situations, and a considerable number of Chinese and Turkish workers. The IOM office estimated the number of foreigners in an irregular situation at 5 million, whereas the World Bank report gave a very low estimate of around 1.5 million. On the Russian side, the Federal Migration Service estimated the number of foreigners in Russia at 10-12 million, including 7 million working illegally: 40% working in the building trade, 20% working in the wholesale and retail trades, and the rest working in various industrial and agricultural sectors. These figures can become much higher, as in President Putin’s declaration in front of United Russia, the party in power, when he referred to 500,000 legal immigrants amongst 10-15 million foreigners.

**The special situation of the Roma**

Forcibly settled throughout the USSR in 1956, Roma and Gypsy families found their local government boundaries turned into real borders after 1991, with family and other links cut. Two further minorities are subject to "shuttle" migration and live in Russia in particularly precarious conditions: the Madjari, from the Carpathian region (the Ukrainian-Hungarian border) and the Ljuli from Central Asia.

**Immigrants from countries outside the former USSR**

Several particularly sensitive situations may be noted:

- The Afghan situation: the number of Afghans who cannot return to their homes following the fall of the USSR-supported regime is estimated at 100,000, of whom only several dozen have been granted refugee status (www.refugee.memo.ru).

- The situation of foreign students, many from African or Asian countries that have links with the USSR and who are increasingly victims of racist attacks (see below).

**II. the legal context: its application and evolution**

Although experts have insisted for years that immigration provides the opportunity to solve the Russian demographic crisis, the authorities look at it purely from the policing point of view, entrusting the Federal Migrations Service with the task of curbing irregular immigration. In January 2007, new rules were

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13 ITAR-TASS dispatch dated 17th November 2006.
14 See the FIDH/Memorial Saint Petersburg report, The Roma of Russia: the subject of multiple forms of discrimination, October 2004
15 The Federal Migrations Service was created in July 1992 and became part of the Ministry of Federation Affairs, Nationality and Migration in May 2000. This ministry was dissolved in October 2001, and the migration issue came under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. In 2004, the Federal Migrations Service came under the direct control of President Vladimir Putin.
established aiming both to simplify procedures for new arrivals (and thus providing a clearer picture of immigration) and to improve migrant selection, clearly evoking the idea of a "selective immigration" policy.

2.1. Entry and residence

In June 2000, Russia withdrew from the 1992 Bichkek agreement on the freedom of movement between the CIS countries, preferring to sign bilateral agreements with the various CIS countries. The decision to permit entry to the territory simply with an internal passport (identity card) was used as a political weapon 16. The nationals of certain CIS countries must hold an international passport (Tajikistan) whilst others must even obtain a visa (Georgia, Turkmenistan).

Although the constitution of the Russian Federation in principle permits freedom of movement throughout the territory, the influence of the Soviet system remains strong. In Soviet times, the propiska system permitted movement to be controlled, entry to certain towns was forbidden and, until the 1950s, small farmers had no passports and consequently were unable to travel. Furthermore, a relatively complex registration system has existed in Russia since the beginning of the 1990s, that makes a distinction between:

- permanent registration (or registratsia po mesti zhitel'stva, registration at the place of residence): this registration must be through the passport service (responsible to the Ministry of the Interior) and is required for obtaining a certain number of rights such as obtaining a passport, for entry to higher education establishments, access to regular medical care, acquiring nationality, etc.

- temporary registration (registratsia po mesti pribyvania): all persons staying in another town for more than three days must register with the passport service.

Both Russian citizens and foreigners are subject to this system of double registration and non-registration can result in fines or, for foreigners, expulsion from Russia. In practice, though, the majority of refugees or immigrants in Russia, as well as many migrants from the Northern Caucasus, have great difficulty in registering (especially for permanent registration). In fact, the procedure assumes that they rent their lodgings legally and that the owner agrees to their registration at his property, which is rarely the case (if property owners agree to rent to foreigners it is most frequently done through the black market). Migrants are vulnerable and are the first victims of police identity controls and blackmail to regularize their situation. Corruption is further increased by the existence of agencies for false registration and that protect only half of those people who turn to them for help.

Foreigners wishing to take up residence on Russian territory must also obtain a temporary residence permit, (razreshenie na vremennoe prozhivanie), after presenting a certain number of documents (income attestation, health certificate, etc.)

New, simplified procedures had been in effect since 15th January 200717. People who have newly arrived in Russia no longer have to apply for registration, but must simply inform the Migrations Service of their presence on the territory, either by going to a branch of the Migrations Service or by sending in a special form by post18. Requirements for obtaining a temporary residence permit have also been simplified, requiring

16 Thus, just prior to the Ukrainian presidential elections in December 2004, with Russia supporting the sitting candidate, V. Yanukovich, administrative procedures were simplified for Ukrainians wishing to live or work in Russia. Russia also works against Georgia by granting Russian passports to citizens of the independentist republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, as well as to the inhabitants of Transdniestria, who are granted a Russian passport, but with no automatic right to stay on Russian Federation soil. This policy was not exempt from volte-face or pressure: in September 2005, the Russian Prime Minister announced that Tajiks could enter Russia with only their internal passports, only to cancel the regulation two months later under pressure from the nationalist groups in the Duma.

17 The “Immigration Census Law” and the “Modification to the Law on the Legal Status of Foreigners in Russia” came into force. The legal texts were adopted by the Duma (the lower chamber of the Russian parliament) on 30th June 2006 and approved by the Federation Council (the upper chamber) on 7th July 2006.

18 It might be thought that, for the Russian authorities, the issue was one of bringing illegal immigration “out into the open” (migrants would have no reason to hide if inscription in the migration register was only a matter of declaration and could not be refused to them).
only the migration card (issued on crossing the border), an identification document and a health certificate; the residence permit is also valid as a work permit.

The change to a system that only requires a declaration has been welcomed by the human rights NGOs. At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of fines for those who do not follow the procedure. It is also difficult to know how the new regulations will be perceived and applied in practice and they will need to be evaluated in a few months to obtain an idea of the effects these changes will have. The Russian NGOs stress, however, that these new regulations are already putting people who have been in Russia for years in a difficult position and that they will find themselves in the same situation as the people who have just arrived.

2.2. Work permits

Although the Russian authorities assert that, since January 2007, entry and residence has been made easier for foreigners, access for economic migrants to the labour market is, on the contrary, much more tightly controlled. In fact, the newly adopted laws in force since January 2007 also change the work permit system. Until now, foreign labour quotas existed for nationals from countries from whom Russia requires a visa. Since 15th January 2007, the regional authorities and federal government have been able to set quotas for all economic migrants, taking into consideration migrants’ citizenship, profession and qualifications. For 2007, these quotas have been set at 6 million for the countries with which Russia has a system that does not require a visa, and a little over 300,000 for other countries.

Furthermore, since 15th January 2007 discriminatory measures have been introduced for retail trading. No more than 40% of those working on markets may be foreigners, and they are not permitted to sell alcohol or medicines. It is expected that, from the 1st April, foreigners will no longer be able to work on markets.

2.3. The legal status of refugees and internally displaced persons

In 1993, two laws were voted, one on "refugees" (bezhentsy), the other on "internally displaced persons" (vynuzhdnye pereселentsy). The latter term is applied to Russian citizens who have had to leave their place of residence because of mass civil disorder or other reasons, while the term of refugee refers to citizens of other countries.

Thus, only a section of forced migrants have been able to benefit from the laws: the association Civic Assistance estimates that 4 million forced migrants arrived in Russia between 1992 and 2003. Only one million four hundred thousand were granted the status of refugee or of displaced person. It is notable that most of those who were granted this status were ethnic Russians (three quarters of those awarded this status between 1995 and 1999).

2.4. Acquiring nationality (Russian citizenship)

According to the law voted in 1992, citizens of the former USSR permanently resident in Russia at the time the law was voted automatically obtained Russian citizenship, as did citizens who settled after 1992 if they held no other citizenship. In April 2002 a new nationality law was voted, to which, in June 2002, was added a law on the "legal status of foreigners". The problem lies in the fact that, in order to start an application for naturalisation, it is necessary to register one’s "place of permanent residence" although many have only temporary registration or no registration at all (see above). Those wishing to acquire Russian nationality must also give up their own nationality, a step that many hesitate to take. Even though several hundreds of

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19 In exchange for "easier" registration (see above) all economic migrants have to pay income tax, and are threatened with a fine of 2-5,000 roubles and/or expulsion from the country in the case of violation. Fines for employers using illegal labour have also been increased (fines from 250 - 800,000 roubles).

20 Постановление Правительства РФ от 15 ноября 2006, N 683

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thousands of people per year are granted Russian nationality\(^{21}\), thousands are still outside the system. During the 2002 census, 400,000 people declared that they were stateless and 1.3 million people were unable to indicate their citizenship.

### 2.5. Expulsions

The legal situation of migrants is so vulnerable that some have lost the status they had been granted: refugee status, residence permit or even citizenship.

- during the anti-Georgian campaign (see below) in the autumn of 2006, temporary or permanent registration, residence permits and even the decision to grant citizenship to some Georgians were annulled. Dozens of Georgians found themselves in detention centres following expeditious legal rulings and were expelled to Georgia.

- a further sensitive situation is that of Uzbek refugees. Russia closely collaborated with the authoritarian Uzbek regime in the “war against terrorism” and dozens of people accused of being Islamic fundamentalists and members of the Hizbut-Tahrir party were sentenced in Russia and also expelled from Russia, sometimes after being stripped of their nationality\(^{22}\).

### III. Migration and the rise in xenophobia and discrimination

The autumn of 2006 marked a real turning point, both politically and legally. Although, up to then, numerous reports and articles had focussed on the racist attacks and murders to which immigrants working in Russia were subject, especially on the markets, (which were the scene of collective violence by skinhead groups or other ultra-nationalist and militarized movements - actions that were rarely brought to justice), the official policy of the Russian State was not openly hostile to immigration. Violent inter-ethnic clashes in September in Kondopoga in Karelia, followed by the Georgian diplomatic crisis at the end of September – beginning of October 2006, were the pretext for the Russian authorities to change their discourse and policy. The Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI), which had fuelled and controlled the Kondopoga riots, occupies an increasing amount of space in the Russian media.

The number of foreign workers is openly considered to be too great and they are designated as the principal cause of the problems Russians have in finding work, especially on the markets, as the new legislation demonstrates (see above). The desire to considerably restrict "non-Russian" immigration has been clearly expressed by one of the Federal Migration Service officials, who stated that the “native” population level of tolerance was limited to no more than 20% of immigrants\(^{23}\).

#### 3.1. Daily discrimination in racist political speeches

Apart from the difficulties in legalising their situation, migrants are confronted with numerous difficulties in finding accommodation. There are a multitude of small ads announcing "Russians only" or "blacks not welcome". There is open hostility towards immigrants: to quote just one figure, a survey carried out by the Levada Centre from November to December 2004 showed that 58% of those surveyed accepted the idea that

\(^{21}\) According to Federal Migration Service figures, 500,000 people acquired Russian nationality in 2005, 300 – 350,000 in 2006.

\(^{22}\) See FIDH note “Russia: expulsion to Uzbekistan in contravention of international norms”, http://www.fidh.org/article.php3?id_article=3810


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their town or local district administration prohibited residence for Caucasians or people from Central Asia. In an election trailer in October 2005, (which was finally banned), the Rodina party called for Moscow to be “cleared of its garbage”; the identification of black-haired immigrants eating water melon, Caucasian music playing in the background, with “garbage” was thinly-disguised.

The atmosphere of general hostility to migrants, encouraged especially by the media and the political parties, is fuelled at the same time by stereotypes of the Soviet period and stereotypes relating to perceived new threats: thus migrants are accused of being responsible for the rise in crime, drug trafficking, corruption of the Russian population ("they steal our wives and daughters"), of living only in each other’s company, speaking only their own language and of being unable to integrate.

From a “hygienic” perspective, they are accused of being a health risk to the local population, since irregular immigrants have access only to emergency healthcare. They are also accused of destabilising the labour and employment markets by accepting wages that are too low, and by affecting rents by paying too much for their apartments. Since mendicity has greatly increased since the beginning of the 1990s, "foreigners" are accused of begging and so living off the Russian population, of not working, etc. Those who work illegally are criticised for not paying tax, for sending money back home and so damaging the development of the Russian economy.

At the same time, the majority of immigrants are perceived as working in the field of trade. Enviied as minorities that "succeed", they are accused of ethnic favouritism and clientelism (they recruit only people of the same origin and thus bar the way for Russians to work), and also of selling poor quality goods at very high prices. By establishing quotas in January 2007, restricting the presence of foreigners on markets and forbidding them to sell “dangerous” products (alcohol, medicines), the authorities give credence to and further justify the idea that foreigners might corrupt the population, endanger their health and, of course, take the place of Russians in the labour market, as the discourse following the events in Kondopoga showed.

3.2. Racist violence

Violent acts carried out by skinheads and racist murders have been on the increase for many years. According to the anti-racist organisation Sova, there were at least 54 deaths in racist attacks in 2006. Sova estimates that 520 people were victims of racist attacks in 2006, noting that the figures are not comprehensive. According to Amnesty International, 28 people were killed and 336 attacked for racial motives in 2005.

Certain towns, such as Saint Petersburg or Voronezh have become places where murders or attacks are repeatedly carried out, whether on Roma, nationals from Central Asia, Asia, Africa or the Caucasus.

On 21st August 2006, a bomb exploded in the Tcherkizovsky market in Moscow, killing more than 10 people and wounding 50. According to the investigation, the terrorists belonged to nationalist groups and had targeted foreigners working on the market (basically those from Azerbaijan). The

24 Following the bombings in the autumn of 1999, attributed to the Chechen without evidence, numerous voluntary militia groups were created and set up a neighbourhood watch together with the police, monitoring in particular “persons of Caucasian nationality” living in block of flats, and residents were encouraged to point out their Caucasian neighbours to the police.

25 It is to be noted that a version of this trailer included a cautionary reference to the riots that had occurred in France at the same period, and a constant comparison with them was made in the press and in political statements.

26 A poor view was taken of the presence of a great many nationals from the Caucasus and Central Asia selling their produce on markets at a time of food shortage.

27 Here again, this was built up as a political issue by the Federal Migration Service, whose director, K. Romodanovsky explained that “We will lose over 200 billion roubles a year just on employers’ unpaid taxes. Added to which, foreign workers take 260 billion roubles back home. The end result is that we lose 460 billion. And this is money that should go to “social welfare”, for pensions and for public sector salaries”. Komsomolskaya Pravda 29th December 2006.

28 http://xeno.sova-center.ru
victims could not request police protection (the police were also condemned for discrimination or racial violence\textsuperscript{29}), or legal protection, since the justice system was often curiously lenient with the perpetrators of attacks that are rarely judged to be racist\textsuperscript{30}.

3.3. The anti-Georgian campaign

The anti-Georgian campaign that began in the autumn of 2006 is exemplary in that it highlights police and legal practices, and also demonstrates how Russian official policy can become overtly racist.

The campaign began in October 2006, shortly after the theatrical arrest by the Georgian authorities of four Russian officers accused of spying. Despite the latter being freed, Russia reacted by cutting off postal, road and air traffic links with Georgia and by putting a stop to the issue of visas to Georgians.

President Vladimir Putin at that time demanded improved controls on markets in order to protect “the interests of Russian producers and the native Russian population”, and he condemned the control of the markets by criminal groups with a “national tinge”\textsuperscript{31}. In Russia itself, the police targeted businesses and companies run by Georgians, inspecting or closing down a great many. People of Georgian origin who had been established in Russia for years, who were born there, who sometimes held Russian nationality and who in no way thought of themselves as migrants, became the focus of the authorities’ repressive practices just as were “passport” foreigners\textsuperscript{32}. The Federal Migration Service further stated that it would no longer establish quotas for permits for Georgian citizens to work officially in Russia. The campaign was accompanied by a huge propaganda campaign in the media, focusing on Georgian-sounding names; lists of the names of Georgian children were even drawn up in schools, until the federal authorities themselves called for moderation, using the excuse of the excesses of some local authorities.

Furthermore, hundreds of Georgians have been arrested on a variety of pretexts and most have been deported from Russia. The evidence collected by the association Civic Assistance in Moscow and other Russia towns demonstrates the same course of action that is taken:

- no extension of residence permits and registration;
- closure of small companies or small retail businesses held by or employing Georgians;
- arrests on markets or in the street during visual identity controls, then those arrested are taken before the courts in groups and, just a few minutes later, are sentenced to expulsion from Russia, whatever the personal or family status. The situation is particularly tragic for Georgians who are refugees from Abkhazia, who cannot return to Abkhazia and for whom there is no possibility of being accepted in Georgia;
- before being expelled they are held in detention centres where, according to Civic Assistance, the conditions are comparable to torture. On 3\textsuperscript{rd} December 2006, Manana Djabelia, a refugee from

\textsuperscript{29} See FIDH reports on the Roma and the Chechnya, as well as the references to racist violence and speech in Russia in the report \textit{Attacks on human rights defenders in Saint Petersburg: the Russian State is guilty of negligence.} \url{http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/Russieangdef.pdf}

\textsuperscript{30} In March 2005 eight youths who were tried in connection with the murder in February 2004 of a nine year old Tajik girl, who was stabbed several times in the stomach, chest and arms, were found guilty of “hooliganism”.

\textsuperscript{31} See \url{http://www.interfax.ru/r/B/politics/2.html?id_issue=11600045}, \url{http://grani.ru/society/Xenophobia/m.112434.html}

\textsuperscript{32} This was notably the case for the famous detective story writer Boris Akunin, of Georgian origin, who experienced the sudden appearance of the tax authorities at his home.
Abkhazia in Russia, was found dead in a Moscow detention centre, although she was due to be freed.

- according to information collected by Memorial, this policy was worked out in advance in detail, with Ministry of the Interior documents requiring local police stations to ensure that as many Georgians were arrested as possible, and asking the courts to ensure that arrests resulted in expulsion\(^\text{33}\).

\[^{33}\text{An anti-Georgian campaign launched on the territory of Russia, Documents for the fourth round of consultations on human rights between Russia and the EU, Brussels, 7-8 November 2006, 14.11.2006, http://www.refugee.memo.ru/site/new.nsf/MainFrame1?OpenFrameSet}\]