INTRODUCTION

This Extended Response will examine the situation of minorities in Moscow, particularly with regard to obtaining registration in that city; it updates the 27 May 1998 Response to Information Request RUS29376.EX concerning propiska, the residence registration system in Russia and explores new registration regulations in Moscow. The Response is largely based on interviews conducted in Moscow in May and June 1999 with members of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other individuals who work with minorities.

RESIDENCE REGISTRATION

New registration regulations came into effect in Moscow as of 21 May 1999 (Regulations No. 241-28, 30 March 1999) (Kommersant 22 May 1999, 2). According to the Russian newspaper, Kommersant, a spokesperson for the government stated that the new regulations are in compliance with the Constitutional Court decision of 2 Feb 1998, which ruled as unconstitutional many fundamental aspects of the Russian registration system; but Kommersant claims that this is not the case (ibid.; Nezavisimaya Gazeta 2 July 1999). Both Kommersant and Nezavisimaya Gazeta state that restrictions on the length of stay have been lifted as well and the regulations now allow for temporary registration for up to five years (ibid.; Kommersant 22 May 1999). For further information about the Russian residential registration system prior to the implementation of the new regulations, please see RUS29376.EX, which is available at Regional Documentation Centres, in the REFINFO database, and on the IRB Website at <www.irb.gc.ca>.

According to two sources, registration can still be restricted because of the inability to obtain living space of an officially approved size-6 or 12 square metres depending on circumstances (Kommersant 22 May 1999; Ossipov 20 May 1999). Nezavisimaya Gazeta also provides instances where registration is dependent on finding appropriate-sized housing (2 July 1999). For example,
individuals must have access to 12 square metres of living space if they are moving into
government or municipal living quarters (ibid.). Some of the exceptions include spouses, aged
parents, people who left Moscow and are returning to an earlier place of residence, and all close
relatives (ibid.).

_Nezavisimaya Gazeta_ also states that an applicant is not required to have housing of six
square metres (the minimum floor space requirement) if applying for registration of less than six
months, nor does the minimum floor space requirement apply to people temporarily registering
with close relatives, although written consent of other inhabitants and of the housing authority in
the area is required (ibid.).

According to the 1998 Constitutional Court decision, limited documentation is required for
legal registration: a passport or any document establishing identity; and any document showing a
reason for moving, such as an employment contract (Kommersant 22 May 1999, 2), or a letter
from the landlord or owner of the building granting approval to the applicant for residence (ibid. 2-
3; Ossipov 20 May 1999). Therefore, according to Ossipov, all a person should require to legally
register is a completed form, a passport and a document as described above (ibid.).

Registration offices are supposed to make decisions within three days of receiving
applications (Nezavisimaya Gazeta 2 July 1999). The registration fee is one per cent of the
minimum wage (ibid.). _Nezavisimaya Gazeta_ states that citizens moving to Moscow are not
required to terminate their registration from their original place of residence and that this should
be done "automatically" upon registration in Moscow (ibid.). Refusal to grant registration can be
appealed to a higher official or directly to the court (ibid.). If the registration officials find an
inaccuracy or illegality in the application, they are required to return it to the housing authority
(ibid.), that supplied the documentation for the application proving that the person was
living in the
area listed on the application (Ossipov 20 May 1999).

All arrivals in Moscow who plan to stay for longer than three days must register within three
days of arrival in the city (Nezavisimaya Gazeta 2 July 1999). _Nezavisimaya Gazeta_ reports that,
according to Article 178 of the Administrative Code of Russia, living without registration is subject
to a fine of 10 per cent of the minimum wage (ibid.). Since 1997, Commonwealth of Independent
States (CIS) citizens living in Moscow without registration are to receive a warning and then a fine
of up to five times the minimum wage (ibid.). According to _Nezavisimaya Gazeta_, citing official
information, more than two million people live in Moscow without proper registration (ibid.).

**Procedures in practice**

Svetlana Gannushkina, co-chairperson of the Civic Assistance Committee and counsellor at
the Memorial Human Rights Center in Moscow, stated that regulations change frequently and are
often illogical and arbitrary (UNHCR/Memorial 1999, 13-14). Procedures in practice are long and
involved, often inconsistent, depending on the individual or the office being used (Ossipov 20 May
1999; Gannushkina 2 Sept. 1998). Some offices require all household members to show up
personally, for example, while in other cases, all "householders' passports" must be produced
(ibid.; Ossipov 20 May 1999). Nina Moskvina, author of a Moskovskie Komsomolets article written
after the implementation of Moscow's new registration regulations, is of the opinion that, in
general, for people moving within the city, registration appears to have become more, not less,
complicated since the new regulations appeared (10 Aug. 1999). She states that for people who
wish to move into the city, the situation is "more or less clear: you want to live in the city-
pay." (ibid.).

Alexander Ossipov, program officer at Memorial Human Rights Center, described a typical
Applicants must have documentation from the housing authority showing that they are living in a certain area, which can only be obtained after showing that rent and communal services have been paid (ibid.). Those forms are then taken to the OVIR office, the section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs responsible for visas, passports and exit documents, along with an application form signed by all adult persons registered in the flat indicating that they agree that the newcomer can move in (ibid.). This form must also be signed by the housing authority; theoretically, this approval is automatic (ibid.). These forms, along with photographs, are then taken to the Russia's federal police force (MVD) (ibid.). The MVD must also approve the newcomer moving into the area (ibid.). The application is subject to a police check and applicants can be denied permission based, for example, on administrative violations (ibid.). Next, a fee has to be paid at a bank and the receipt is then taken to the police station, where a temporary registration for place of residence is issued (ibid.). To obtain a permanent registration, Ossipov noted, the procedure would be similar; however, in the case of a male registrant, he would also have to bring his war card so that the registration officials can check his military service record (ibid.).

All of these offices have specific reception hours that are the same as most people's working hours and in some cases, access can be very restricted (Gannushkina 2 Sept. 1998; Ossipov 20 May 1999). Ossipov stated that the process of having one's personal documents checked is not only time-consuming but humiliating, that officials are generally unpleasant, send registrants from one office to another, arbitrarily make people wait and officiously cause people needless delays or concerns by questioning non-essentials (ibid.).

Application of registration laws

Ed McClain, chief-of-mission of the Internal Organization of Migration (IOM) in Moscow, made the point that there are no systematic studies or empirical studies about the consequences of Russia's registration system (7 June 1999).

Some interviewees indicated that some of the difficulties related to the application of the registration laws are administrative. McClain stated that it would be hard to underestimate the amount of administrative confusion that exists (ibid.). Ossipov and Gannushkina noted that sometimes information simply does not get to police stations so the police are not aware of current regulations (20 May 1999; 31 May 1999). Ossipov stated that local police officers are often either unaware or ignore the fact that a particular regulation has been abolished or changed (20 May 1999). So, for example, if a regulation charging a fee for a particular transaction has been abolished, the police will still stop a person and demand payment of the fee which is no longer in effect (ibid.).

Furthermore, the general division of power between federal, regional and local law-makers and administrators is not clear (Babushkin 7 June 1999; Civic Assistance Committee, n.d., 5-7; McClain 7 June 1999; Migration 1997, 15-25). McClain pointed out that Russia is becoming increasingly decentralized and that there is no mechanism to reconcile regional or city official regulations or legislation with federal norms, nor are there sanctions that can be imposed; there is no workable appeal process (7 June 1999). According to an article, "Regulation of Migration in Russia", written by Vladimir Mukomel, deputy director of the Russian Center for Ethnic, Political and Regional Studies in the Moscow magazine, Migration, "[m]ore often than not, regional legislative activity tends to conflict with the federal legislation on the migrants' rights. The connivance of federal authorities has [led] to a steady deterioration of the juridical status of migrants in the regions" (1997, 24).

In February 1999, following a September 1998 review of violations of Laws on Freedom of
Movement, On Refugees and On Forced Migrants[1], the General Prosecutor’s Office and the Ministry of the Interior sent an “admonition” to local prosecutors and interior ministry offices about their implementation of legislation related to freedom of movement (Civic Assistance Committee n.d., 8); in addition, the two departments recommended that local authorities work with local NGOs (ibid.; Grafova 11 June 1999). Lydia Grafova, head of the Migrants’ Forum, stated that there has been some increased effort by local authorities to work with NGOs as a result (ibid.).

**Appealing a Regulation**

Svetlana Gannushkina states that it is possible to try to change a registration regulation that appears arbitrary, such as the rule that temporary residents can only register in Moscow once a year (which prevents temporary residents from renewing their six-months permits) (UNHCR/Memorial 1999, 14). However, she says that the only way to change the law is by subjecting a migrant to a long court case:

such issues are settled by precedent: somebody has to go to court, appeal, and reach the highest instance, which would recognize the unlawfulness of [the inability to extend temporary registration]. But most people who come to stay for a while have been traumatized and cannot be expected to go through the hardships of a court trial. So far we have failed to find a person who would do it (ibid.).

In 1997, the legal advice centres set up by Memorial Human Rights Center and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provided legal assistance to over 3,000 individuals throughout Russia and helped file over 400 lawsuits, complaints and other applications (ibid., 83). A procedure has been established for the effective protection of forced migrants who were refused permanent registration at their place of residence (ibid.).

**MINORITIES IN MOSCOW**

In general, according to Alexander Podrabinek, editor-in-chief of the human rights newspaper, *Ekspress Khronika*, Caucasians in Moscow face added difficulties "in every sphere of their activities" (31 May 1999); both he and Evgeni Proshechkin of the Moscow Anti-fascist Centre stated that it is more difficult for Caucasians to do business or find work in Moscow than for other people (ibid.; 2 June 1999).

**Barriers to obtaining registration**

As noted above, an individual must have accommodation to obtain residence registration in Moscow (Petrov 20 May 1999; Grafova 11 June 1999; Ossipov 20 May 1999). However, it is harder for minorities, such as individuals from the Caucasus, to find accommodation because property owners do not want to rent their apartments to them (ibid.). Social housing is available only to people who have lived in Moscow for several years, and, in any event, is scarce (ibid.). Rental agencies also do not wish to deal with individuals from the Caucasus (ibid.). Gannushkina stated that people who decide to provide housing to refugees or forced migrants are subject to periodic housing inspections (2 Sept. 1998). According to Human Rights Watch's Alexander Petrov, migrants coming into the city usually do not have the money for lease agreements to purchase their own places (20 May 1999). They generally live unregistered with friends and relatives (ibid.). He stated that as far as he was aware, getting temporary registration is not particularly difficult but can be a very unpleasant experience for dark-skinned people from Chechnya or Centra Asia (ibid.).

Alexander Ossipov pointed out that when people do try to register on a temporary basis, the
complicated nature of the procedures tends to cause difficulties for them and is very time-consuming (20 May 1999).

Lydia Grafova stated that registration is the most difficult problem facing migrants (11 June 1999). She mentioned a group of Kazakhs in Kaluga who feel compelled to pay old women in the village to register them illegally (ibid.). She also mentioned that a class of "propiski businessmen" has sprung up, who act as propiska brokers (ibid.).

Andrei Babushkin of the Committee for Citizens' Rights, provided an example of how the registration system can cause problems for people (7 June 1999). He stated that Armenians who left Azerbaijan 10 years ago cannot get permanent registration, and have to re-apply for temporary registration every year (ibid.). If they are unable to make the rental payments on time, they are in danger of losing their registration, which, in turn, means that they will lose their jobs (ibid.). Without residence registration individuals cannot access social services or obtain legal work (Grafova 11 June 1999; Silvestri 11 June 1999).

In an article jointly published by Svetlana Gannushkina and Oleg Orlov, they reported that Interior Ministry officials have been told by their supervisors not to provide registration to Chechens, but to only allow them to register for six months (n.d.). They also note one instance where a person's passport had had the word "Chechen" stamped on it during the registration application process which is now not an acceptable practice (ibid.)

POLICE HARASSMENT

Caucasians and other migrants and minorities are harassed frequently by the police on the streets of Moscow, have their documents checked up to several times a day and are forced to give bribes to the police (Arutyunov 31 May 1999; Golenpolsky 25 May 1999; Podrabinek 31 May 1999; Gannushkina 31 May 1999; Silvestri 11 June 1999; Grafova 11 June 1999; Spectre 11 June 1999; Ossipov 20 May 1999). Ossipov also reported that the bribe money which is collected goes into "special funds for the police" (20 May 1999). If documents, such as residence registration, are not in order and a bribe is not forthcoming to the police, individuals can be taken to police stations where they face detention, interrogation and abuse, particularly if the detainee resists or still does not pay (ibid.; Gannushkina 31 May 1999; ibid. 16 June 1998). Svetlana Gannushkina stated at a June 1998 international conference that there have been increasing reports of police destroying people's documents and detaining individuals for up to 30 days in a special beggars' prison at the Moscow Internal Affairs Department (ibid.). She added that "it seems that many of the policemen believe such actions to be lawful, and they accompany this behavior with nationalistic abuse, threats and accusations" (ibid.). According to Gannushkina,

We have heard from Moscow police officers themselves that they have set plan targets for detainment and the taking into custody of persons who have no registration. Failing to meet these targets means policemen are subjected to administrative penalties (ibid. 29 May 1998).

While Mikhail Arutyunov of the International Assembly for Human Rights Protection, calls police treatment of Caucasians "the most illegal thing in Moscow" (31 May 1999), Alexander Ossipov is of the opinion that Caucasians who appear more Slavic are less likely to be stopped as often by police (20 May 1999). Alexander Podrabinek pointed out that while Caucasians are subject to police abuse while in detention, this is common among many other detainees as well (31 May 1999). Arutyunov stated that Ukrainians arriving at the Kievsky train station are also subject to harassment over documentation (31 May 1999). Gannushkina stated in June 1998 that while "campaign[s] of round-ups and repressions ... in 1997 ... victimized mostly the Georgians from
Abkhazia, in 1998 its main victims have been victims of the Tajikistan conflict" (16 June 1998). Lyudmila Alexeeva, chairperson of the Moscow Helsinki Group, stated that within the group’s Moscow legal centre, the lawyer who works with Tajiks must travel to their local community because they are too frightened to leave it (19 May 1999).

**POLITICAL AND POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARD CAUCASIANS**

Alexander Ossipov identified two underlying threads to the problems faced by Caucasians: a political desire to restrict movement and anti-Caucasian sentiments (20 May 1999). Both these tendencies are often related to the political and popular association of Caucasians with crime (ibid.; Golenpolsky 25 May 1999; Arutyonov 31 May 1999; Civic Assistance Committee n.d., 6-7; Lokshina 25 May 1999).

**Political Attitudes Toward Caucasians**

Some interviewees cited the Moscow government as perpetuating the police and the public's anti-Caucasian attitudes and behaviour (Arutyonov 31 May 1999; Podrabinek 31 May 1999; Gannushkina 2 Sept. 1998; Petrov 20 May 1999; Ossipov 20 May 1999). The government makes its anti-migrant sentiments clear and passes them down to the police and administrative bodies (ibid.; Arutyonov 31 May 1999). City politicians cite a fear of criminality as the reason for their desire to restrict in-migration (ibid.; Ossipov 20 May 1999). During the May 1999 interview, Arutyonov warned that there is a widely-held fear that Chechen violence will spread to the capital (Arutyonov 31 May 1999).

According to the Civic Assistance Committee, the Moscow city government releases inaccurate information stating that 70 per cent of killings are committed by migrants, while the city prosecutor's office attributes 11 per cent of crimes to citizens of the former Soviet Union (n.d., 6-7). McClain also noted that the newspapers often print stories about the criminal activities of people from the Caucasus (7 June 1999).

Alexander Petrov referred to sporadic 'clean-up campaigns' launched by the Moscow government directed at newcomers, including Caucasians and Africans (20 May 1999; see also Gannushkina 16 June 1998). Podrabinek noted that whenever the situation in the Caucasus deteriorates, there are increased reports of people being taken from their homes by police (31 May 1999). He stated that the police have specific orders to physically harass Caucasians (ibid.). When asked how he knew this, he stated that, as editor-in-chief of a human rights newspaper, the Ekpress Khronika, it was his job and that of his writing staff to know these sorts of things; police officers had revealed this information to him in private conversations (ibid.). Mikhail Arutyonov stated that the police report they have an order to stop certain people, although not to take their money (31 May 1999). Roman Spectre of the Council of Nationalities was of the opinion that while the order to make wide-ranging checks was from the government directly, the choices about which ethnic groups to check were left up to the police, rather than being a clear directive (11 June 1999).

**Public Perception of Caucasians and Minorities in General**

According to Tanya Lokshina, director of the Moscow office of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ), the very strong hatred of migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia dates roughly from the Chechen war (25 May 1999). She added that there had always been animosity shown by Russians towards people from these areas, but the now commonly-accepted view that Moscow's markets are controlled by the Caucasian and Central Asian-dominated mafia has greatly exacerbated that dislike (ibid.). Spectre also made the connection between the Caucasian-run markets and public antipathy to people from the south (11 June 1999). He was of the opinion that people from the Caucasus are the most hated people in Moscow (ibid.). Anti-Caucasian attitudes
are also becoming more prevalent in the rhetoric of the country's extremist parties (Proshechkin 2 June 1999).

Alexander Podrabinek was of the opinion that there is a certain Russian chauvinism that affects popular attitudes towards all non-Russians (31 May 1999). This is not specifically directed against any one group, although he believed that subjectively, it is possible to say those who suffer the most at this time are those from the Caucasus, as well as Central and East Asia (ibid.). Petrov also believed that, generally, there is a "very unfriendly attitude to anyone who is not Slavic—anyone from Central Asia, Caucasus—for Russians, they are all cherny or black" (20 May 1999).

Alexander Ossipov was asked about different perceptions that Muscovites have about the numerous Caucasian peoples (20 May 1999). He was of the opinion that the Russian population is not, in general, particular about the details of individuals' ethnicity (ibid.); they are all seen as "persons of Caucasian nationality" (ibid.). He added that there might be some gradations, citing first the perceived link between Chechens and criminality (ibid.). He believes that Azeris might be perceived in a slightly better way than Chechens, but their association with the markets means that, overall, they are not well regarded (ibid.). He noted that the general population might perceive people from Siberia or the Urals in a slightly better light but that they still face problems with registration and the police (ibid.).

Ed McClain stated that abuse of "third country nationals" is probably the worst, then people from the Caucasus would be next (7 June 1999).

**OBTAINING PROTECTION OR ASSISTANCE**

One specific organization in Moscow, the Civic Assistance Committee, which is open two days a week, is devoted to providing immediate emergency assistance to refugees and forced migrants, as well as drop-in centres and hot lines to provide some level of support (Babushkin 7 June 1999; Arutyonov 31 May 1999; Gannushkina 31 May 1999).

The Civic Assistance Committee is involved in several activities: providing immediate social assistance; helping people obtain refugee or forced migrant status; providing assistance in court cases; and taking general claims to the prosecutors (ibid.). It has also pursued roughly ten cases through the court system contesting various laws (ibid.). In summary, it plays a mediation role between refugees or forced migrants and the government (ibid.).

Svetlana Gannushkina described one task that illustrates the committee's role. Staff prepare one particular document for many people who come through their office; it simply states that the bearer of the document has visited the Civic Assistance Committee office and is registered with them (ibid.; ibid. 16 June 1998). The document which contains the committee's official seal, affords the bearer an unofficial sort of protection by showing that employees of a public organization in Moscow know of his or her existence in Moscow; if something happens to the bearer, at least there is a place to start an investigation (ibid.; ibid. 31 May 1999). It is not a legal document; despite that fact, the police have questioned the committee's right to distribute it (ibid.; ibid. 16 June 1998). Gannushkina stated that the staff have issued approximately 2,000 such documents and they often are used for entire families; so the actual number of people who have been "protected" by them is even larger (ibid. 31 May 1999).

The International Assembly for Human Rights Protection provides assistance primarily helping to obtain replacement documents or dealing with similar bureaucratic issues (Arutyonov 31 May 1999). In the first half of 1999, this organization has assisted approximately 150 people who have written in for assistance as well as others who have called its part-time hot line (ibid.).
Getting assistance for people caught up in bureaucratic problems or who have been detained by the police can be a matter of personal contacts, as opposed to following official procedures (Gannushkina 31 May 1999; ibid. 16 June 1998; Arutyonov 31 May 1999). For example, Arutyonov stated that his contacts as a former Soviet member are useful in helping some cases (ibid.). Gannushkina stated that official options for redress are long and complicated, such as appeals to deputies, the courts or the Prosecutor's Office (31 May 1999). Efforts to work with the police are futile, she added (ibid.).

A legal network for refugees throughout Russia is being set up through the Memorial Human Rights Center (Grafova 11 June 1999; Gannushkina 31 May 1999). It has 25 centres at present and is expecting to soon expand to over 50 (ibid.).

Alexander Petrov stated that minorities coming into Moscow tend to seek out their local community groups, where, for example, they may get help with registration (20 May 1999). Ossipov, however, was of the opinion that it is sometimes difficult for migrants coming into Moscow to get support from their community organizations, citing Armenians and Azeris as examples (20 May 1999). These organizations are generally not willing to help people from their own ethnic group with the registration and administrative difficulties they face (ibid.). He mentioned that Dagestanis who went to the Dagestani cultural association might receive sympathy, but that, generally, there is little that these groups can do (ibid.). Some groups are not interested, while others are more politically oriented, rather than being geared toward providing social help to individuals (ibid.). Please see the IRB REINFO Response RUSS32252.EX for information on state protection available to individuals.

This Response was prepared primarily on the basis of interviews conducted in Moscow in May and June 1999. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

**NOTES ON SELECTED SOURCES**

**Lyudmila Alexeeva**

Lyudmilla Alexeeva is the president of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and the chairperson of the Moscow Helsinki Group.

**Mikhail Arutyonov**

Mikhail Arutyonov is the president of the International Assembly for Human Rights Protection. His group works for the protection of repressed peoples. The organization runs a hot line for forced migrants and Russians from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) two days a week. One of the group's main functions is to assist people with restoring their registration or citizenship documents.

**Andrei Babushkin**

Andrei Babushkin is the director of the Committee for Citizens' Rights, which was established in 1996. The committee runs workshops explaining social and political rights, issues publications on these same issues and runs a drop-in centre that receives approximately 30 people per day.

**Svetlana Gannushkina**
Svetlana Gannushkina is a co-director of the Civic Assistance Committee, a drop-in centre open two days a week for refugees and forced migrants. The committee provides immediate social assistance, helps people obtain refugee or forced migrant status and provides assistance in court cases. Gannushkina also makes presentations at the international level and writes numerous articles on issues related to the rights of refugees and forced migrants. She is also the head of Memorial Human Rights Center's program for the protection of the rights of internally displaced persons.

Tancred Golenpolsky

Tancred Golenpolsky is the editor of the weekly newspaper, *The Jewish Gazette* and a Member of the Russian Jewish Congress.

Tanya Lokshina

At the time of the interview, Tanya Lokshina had recently been appointed director of the Moscow Office of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ), an organization which was originally established to assist refuseniks to leave the Soviet Union. At the present time, much of its information is gathered by way of press monitoring. Lokshina is also the public representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group.

Ed McClain

Ed McClain is the chief-of-mission of the International Organization for Migration in Moscow.

Alexander Ossipov

Alexander Ossipov is the head of the Memorial Human Rights Center's program on discrimination on ethnic grounds, which was set up in 1996. His program focuses on the study of politics within areas of the Russian Federation in relationship to national minorities and so-called 'untitled populations'. The program offers lectures to the public, government bodies and international organizations describing the situation of minorities, providing information on violations and suggesting solutions to rectifying them.

Alexander Petrov

Alexander Petrov is the deputy director of the Human Rights Watch-Moscow Office.

Alexander Podrabinek

Alexander Podrabinek is the editor-in-chief of the human rights newspaper, *The Ekspress-Khronika*. The paper has been published since August 1987, beginning as a *samizdat*, an underground newspaper, and becoming a regularly published newspaper after 1991. The paper receives no government funding and is not affiliated to any party or movement.

Evgeni Proshechkin

Evgeni V. Proshechkin is the chairman of the Moscow Anti-Fascist Center, which was
established ten years ago. He is a former member of the Moscow Duma and coordinator of its policies on ethnic minorities and political extremism. The Anti-Fascist Center issues publications, participates in court cases and takes part in public fora.

**Adriano Silvestri**

Adriano Silvestri was a protection officer at the Moscow office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the time of the interview.

**Roman Spectre**

Roman Spectre is vice-president of the Federation of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Russia, a secular umbrella organization that includes 350 groups across the country. He is also the chair of the Russian Congress of National Minorities, a national group that represents all of the country's extra-territorial groups.

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Orlov, Oleg and Svetlana Gannushkina. no date. "Svidetel'stvo o polozhenii chechentsev na territorii Rossiiskoy Federatsii."


Spectre, Norman. Vice-president of the Federation of Jewish Communities and Organisations of Russia (Va-ad) and chairman of the Council of Nationalities. Moscow. 11 June 1999. Personal interview.


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According to the Civic Assistance Committee, in Russia a citizen who becomes a migrant is called a forced migrant (n.d., n1). There were a series of bombings in Moscow in August and September 1999 which resulted in over 200 people being killed (AFP 14 Sept. 1999). Militants from Chechnya have been accused of setting the bombs, leading city officials to force all temporary residents in Moscow to re-register, even if their documents were in order (Globe and Mail 28 Sept. 1999; RFE/RL 14 Sept. 1999a; ibid. 14 Sept. 1999b). Hundreds of Chechens were reportedly denied re-registration and were deported from the city (Globe and Mail 28 Sept. 1999).