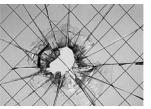


The Russian Federation









2008 Hate Crime Survey

About Human Rights First

Human Rights First believes that building respect for human rights and the rule of law will help ensure the dignity to which every individual is entitled and will stem tyranny, extremism, intolerance, and violence.

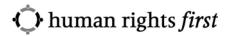
Human Rights First protects people at risk: refugees who flee persecution, victims of crimes against humanity or other mass human rights violations, victims of discrimination, those whose rights are eroded in the name of national security, and human rights advocates who are targeted for defending the rights of others. These groups are often the first victims of societal instability and breakdown; their treatment is a harbinger of wider-scale repression. Human Rights First works to prevent violations against these groups and to seek justice and accountability for violations against them.

Human Rights First is practical and effective. We advocate for change at the highest levels of national and international policymaking. We seek justice through the courts. We raise awareness and understanding through the media. We build coalitions among those with divergent views. And we mobilize people to act.

Human Rights First is a non-profit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington D.C. To maintain our independence, we accept no government funding.

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HRF's Fighting Discrimination Program

The Fighting Discrimination Program has been working since 2002 to reverse the rising tide of antisemitic, racist, anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and homophobic violence and other bias crime in Europe, the Russian Federation, and North America. We report on the reality of violence driven by discrimination, and work to strengthen the response of governments to combat this violence. We advance concrete, practical recommendations to improve hate crimes legislation and its implementation, monitoring and public reporting, the training of police and prosecutors, the work of official anti-discrimination bodies, and the capacity of civil society organizations and international institutions to combat violent hate crimes. For more information on the program, visit www.humanrightsfirst.org/discrimination or email FD@humanrightsfirst.org.

2008 Hate Crime Survey

The Russian Federation is an excerpt from Human Rights First's 2008 Hate Crime Survey, which includes sections examining six facets of violent hate crime in the 56 countries that comprise the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE): Violence Based on Racism and Xenophobia, Antisemitic Violence, Violence Against Muslims, Violence Based on Religious Intolerance, Violence Against Roma, and Violence Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Bias. The Survey also examines government responses to violent hate crimes in sections on Systems of Monitoring and Reporting and The Framework of Criminal Law and includes a Ten-point Plan for governments to strengthen their responses. The Survey also includes an in-depth look at the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and the United States and contains a Country Panorama section that profiles individual hate crime cases from more than 30 countries within the OSCE.

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Tad Stahnke, Paul LeGendre, Innokenty Grekov, Michael McClintock, and Alexis Aronowitz.

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The Russian Federation

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Executive Summary

The number of violent hate crimes against individuals in Russia continues to grow steadily, with 2008 on track to be another record-setting year. According to the leading nongovernmental monitor, in 2007 there were at least 667 victims of racially motivated violence, including 86 murders. The beginning of 2008 has shown an increase in the most violent hate crimes. Already in the first eight months of 2008, 65 people were killed as a result of racial and other bias-motivated assaults.

NGO monitors remain the most reliable source of information for tracking individual cases and detecting year-on-year trends. In the Russian Interior Ministry's annual figures on crimes, there is no separate reporting on crimes carried out with a bias motivation. There is no official data that tracks the response of police to crimes with a suspected bias motivation or the disposition of hate crime cases prosecuted in the courts. Nor is there much data on this from NGO monitors. Furthermore, widespread underreporting by hate crime victims calls into question the extent to which official monitoring could capture the true extent of the problem.

Bias-motivated violence is directed against all non-Slavic members of Russian society—citizens and noncitizens alike—as well as defenders of hate crime victims. In recent years there has been a sharp increase in violence against migrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union. Migrant workers from Central Asian countries are extremely vulnerable to attacks; since many of them arrive in Russia without proper documents, they risk deportation if they report crimes committed against them to the police. Immigrants and visitors from Africa and Asia have likewise been common targets of neo-Nazi violence. Jews, Muslims, Roma, as well as human rights and gay rights activists have also been victims of brutal bias-motivated assaults.

Though political leaders have begun to recognize the problem posed by neo-Nazi violence, their calls for action have only slowly trickled down through law enforcement structures. Although there had been a steady increase between 2004–2006 in the extent to which hate crimes had been recognized and prosecuted as such, 2007 marked a step back in that respect. In general, the number of prosecutions pale in comparison to the increasing frequency with which the crimes are being committed. Antiextremist legislation, of which penalty enhancement provisions in cases of hate cimes are a subset, has also been misused to target human rights activists and others who are critical of the government.

In 2007, several defendants suspected of racially motivated violence stood trial. While there have been convictions in some of these cases, observers reported that the racist and other bias motives of violent hate crimes are often not pursued by prosecutors or are disregarded by the courts, especially in less serious attacks. More frequently, charges under provisions on hooliganism or other common offenses are brought, even in cases where there appears to be evidence of a racist motive.

The year 2007 also saw several parallel legislative initiatives that resulted in the adoption of new and amended provisions to deal with violent hate crimes. In May and August 2007, a number of articles of the criminal code were amended to allow for enhanced penalties when the crime was motivated by "ideological" or "political" biases as well as because of a victim's social group. Russian law had previously addressed bias motivations based only on "national, racial and religious hatred." Observers fear that the amendments may be used to squelch legitimate political dissent.

I. Violent Attacks on Individuals

The number of violent hate crimes against individuals in Russia continues to grow steadily, with 2008 on track to be another record-setting year. According to the SOVA Center for Information and Analysis, the leading nongovernmental monitor of hate crimes, in 2007 there were at least 667 victims of racially motivated violence, including 86 murders.¹ In comparison, there were 568 victims of violent hate crimes, including 63 murders, registered in 2006. The beginning of 2008 has shown an increase in the most serious violent hate crimes. Already in the first eight months of 2008, 65 people were killed and 318 injured as a result of suspected racial and other bias-motivated assaults.²

Skinhead violence is directed against all non-Slavic members of the Russian society, as well as defenders of hate crime victims. Among foreign nationals, immigrants from Africa and Asia are the likely targets of neo-Nazi violence. In recent years there has also been a sharp increase in violence against migrants from the so-called "near abroad," which refers to the countries of the former Soviet Union. Migrant workers from Central Asian countries are extremely vulnerable to attacks-since many of them arrive in Russia without proper documents, they risk deportation if they report crimes committed against them to the police. Finally, the threat of hate violence hangs over non-Slavic Russians from the Caucasus and Siberia. Anti-Roma racism and human rights abuse of Roma and other people referred to as "Gypsies" remains particularly problematic in Russia. Roma victims of hate crimes, similarly to migrants without proper legal documents, are extremely reluctant to report any violence against them due to real and perceived police prejudice against them, evident from analyses by various Roma and human rights groups.3

While the violence is attributed to a sizable and rapidly growing decentralized neo-Nazi movement—numbering as many as 70,000 individuals according to some estimates—public opinion polls have shown that intolerance is prevalent in Russia even among the general population. For example, according to Levada Center surveys, 55 percent of the Russian population to some extent approves the slogan "Russia for (ethnic) Russians." According to another poll conducted in Saint Petersburg, 25 percent of Saint Petersburg's inhabitants were ready to approve a violent hate crime; 10 percent of school children shared the ideology of neo-Nazi groups or were prepared to join the movement, and 16 percent sympathized with skinhead ideology.

A. Murders

There have been over one hundred cases in the past 18 months in which individuals have been murdered in incidents where there has been a suspected bias motivation. Examples from 2007 and through mid-2008 include the following:

- On May 6, 2008, two Uzbek workers were killed in Moscow. According to the witnesses, 47-year-old Uhtom Rofeev, who died at the crime scene, and 41-year-old Matloda Ahlyadova were attacked by three youths. The police confirmed that the perpetrators could have been skinheads, and that the murders were potentially motivated by racial hatred.⁶ A week earlier, the police discovered mutilated bodies of three Uzbek immigrants, but neglected to announce a motive in the cases.⁷
- On March 28, 2008, in a small rural village in the Sverdlovsk Oblast, two youths carried out a brutal murder of a man whom they perceived was a homosexual. Two persons were arrested in connection

with the murder and the prosecutors recognized the bias motivation.8 However, while Russian law allows for enhanced penalties for bias motivations, the provisions do not extend to cases in which the bias was motivated by sexual orientation.

- On March 12, 2008, Justin Adjei Ashi died in a hospital of thirty knife wounds in Saint Petersburg. A sophomore at the Financial Academy, Ashi came to Russia from Ghana. Three unidentified killers attacked the 20-year-old in the center of the city. The incident was apparently being treated as a priority by the Saint Petersburg Procuracy's special investigative unit.9
- On October 20, 2007, a group of skinheads, armed with baseball bats and knives, attacked passersby in Southwestern Moscow, targeting people of non-Slavic appearance. Sergei Nikolaev, a well-known 46-year-old chess player and businessman, native of the Sakha Republic, was severely beaten and stabbed repeatedly, dying on the scene.

More attacks followed on the same day: Galidzhan Gulyashov, a 37-year-old street cleaner from Uzbekistan, and Salimzhan Rakhmonov, a 28-yearold Tadjik citizen, were hospitalized with serious wounds. Sixty-three fans of the Football Club Spartak were detained in the area, and half of them were held in connection to the attacks. 10 The police recognized the racist motivation of these attacks and confirmed 27 similar incidents occurring on the same day.11 On July 1, 2008, the district attorney's office passed the case to the Moscow City Court. The suspects—13 youths, including 3 minors—face a variety of charges related to the murder of Nikolaev and nine other attacks. Among the charges are murder as a hate crime, attempted murder as a hate crime, and incitement to violence.12

- On September 20, 2007, Akhmad Reza Khorrami, the 19-year-old son of an Iranian diplomat, suffered multiple knife wounds to his heart and died on the way to the hospital in Moscow. A special investigative unit was formed to work on the case; incidentally, the incident was recorded by an outdoor surveillance camera.¹³
- On September 18, 2007, the body of Sargis Sargsyan, an ethnic Armenian, was discovered in a Saint Petersburg city park. In the course of the investigation, police found extremist literature and other materials in the apartments of the suspects. Eleven individuals were detained for involvement in the murder of Sargsyan, as well as attacks on three other individuals, including a racially motivated attack on Sayana Mongush, a journalist from the Tyva Republic. In December 2007, six of the eleven were charged with premeditated murder motivated by hooliganism in the case of Sargsyan.¹⁴
- In August 2007, videotaped murders were circulated of two men allegedly of Dagestani and Tajik origin. Widely circulated video footage of the execution-style killings showed the beheading of one and the shooting of the other, with a Nazi flag in the background. The video was posted on the Internet in the name of a previously unknown neo-Nazi group with a demand for the expulsion from the Russian Federation of all Asians and people from the Caucasus. Investigators of the Interior Ministry initially stated that the video was not authentic, so no real investigation was undertaken. On August 15, 2007, Victor Milkov, who posted the video on the Internet, was arrested and sentenced to one year of compulsory labor for violation of the article 282 of the Criminal Code (incitement of hatred).

In January 2008, Artur Umadanov from Dagestan recognized his brother Shamil Umadanov on the video. Shamil had left for Moscow in summer 2007

and stopped calling his relatives in the middle of August. Relatives reported this fact to the police, but it was not until June 2008 that the Investigative Committee of the Russian General Prosecutor's Office admitted that the double murder on the video distributed in August 2007 really took place. Four young men, members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Society, were subsequently detained in connection with the murder.15

- On July 30, 2007, an ethnic Korean citizen of Uzbekistan was murdered in Saint Petersburg. Yakov Pak died of multiple knife wounds, and the perpetrators drew a swastika on the windshield of his car.¹⁶
- On April 16, 2007, in Moscow, a 46-year-old ethnic Armenian, Karen Abramyan, was attacked by two young people shouting neo-Nazi slogans. Abramyan was hospitalized with twenty knife wounds and died in the hospital. Two suspects with blood spots on their clothes were arrested immediately after the crime. One of them, 18-year-old Arthur Ryno confessed to participation in as many as 37 fatal attacks committed out of racial hatred, though he later retracted his words.17 The subsequent investigation resulted in nine arrests of people 16 to 22 years old, who were charged with 32 attacks, including 20 fatalities, on people from the Caucasus and the Central Asia.18 On July 1, 2008, the district attorney's office passed the case to the Moscow City Court. Among the charges are murder as a hate crime, attempted murder as a hate crime, incitement to violence, and hooliganism.19
- On February 23, 2007, the police discovered bodies of two Turkish citizens in Samara. Both suffered multiple knife wounds. A murder investigation was opened and police are reportedly considering the possibility that the murder was a hate crime.²⁰

In early January 2007, two neo-Nazi skinheads attacked an Azerbaijani national in Moscow. 53year-old Nadir Bairam died from injuries suffered in the assault.²¹

B. Serious Assaults

As with the incidence of murders, the number of assaults with a suspected bias motivation recorded by the SOVA Center has set new records every year since 2004. Some examples from 2007 and early 2008 include the following:

- On April 14, 2008, an employee of the Omani Embassy was assaulted in Moscow. Hassan Mahlul was severely beaten by a group of five and received a concussion. The investigators believed that Mahlul was likely a victim of skinhead violence.²²
- On April 6, 2008, an unidentified skinhead gang assaulted three Azerbaijani minors in Moscow. A 13-year-old student was hospitalized, and two of his friends received medical attention at the crime scene. Just a month earlier, the bodies of two Azerbaijanis were discovered in Saint Petersburg.²³
- On June 21, 2007, a priest from the Finnish Lutheran Church of Saint Petersburg was hospitalized with serious head trauma. The 54-year-old was beaten by a group of youths in the city center.²⁴
- On June 11, 2007, members of a Jewish congregation in Ivanovo, Moscow Oblast, were attacked by a group of skinheads. The victims included 69-year-old Rabbi Tsvi Hershovich, the head of Ivanovo's Jewish community Ervin Kirstein, and a regular parishioner Valery Makushev. The attacker—Sergei Novikov—was found guilty of charges of hooliganism and incitement to religious hatred and sentenced to four years imprisonment.²⁵

- A Baptist family in Derbent, Republic of Dagestan, has reportedly been harassed many times over the past years. In a recent incident, on May 5, 2007, Aidyn Kadyrov's house was attacked by three men. The attackers shouted racial slurs and physically assaulted a Baptist man. The police arrived only four days after the attack. In the past, vandals have painted satanic graffiti on Kadyrov's house.²⁶
- On April 24, 2007, two youths attacked an imam and his pregnant wife in Kostroma. The attackers told victims to "go back to their Muslim country" before beating Imam Mirza-hazrat Abdullaev and pushing his wife Nadira.²⁷
- On January 4, 2007, five Malaysian students suffered an attack in Nizhny Novgorod after being surrounded by a group of fifteen youths. The victims were subsequently treated for minor injuries.²⁸

Attacks on Human Rights Activists

Human rights defenders and those who speak out against hate crimes or support the rights of minority communities have in some cases themselves been the victims of hate violence.

- On June 1, 2008, Alexei Davydov, an LGBT activist affiliated with several prominent organizations, was assaulted while addressing reporters at the Moscow Gay Pride event. Davydov was pushed to the ground and severely beaten by members of the National Slavonic Union. The police managed to arrest the attackers, although Davydov was also detained and sent to the same police station along with the attackers.²⁹ There were reportedly no charges filed against the perpetrators.
- In March 2008, radical right websites circulated a "death list" with home addresses and personal information on public figures, human rights defenders, and academics working on the problem of xenophobia in Russia. Also included on the list were the names and addresses of Supreme Court

- justices, procuracy officials, and the interior ministry—a total of 50 individuals. A number of radical right websites posted the link to the list, accompanied by direct threats of violence and even murder. On April 24, 2008, Tatyana Chernyshova, the interim head of the department of media relations of the General Prosecutor's Office, announced that an investigation had begun.³⁰
- In the early morning of July 21, 2007, neo-Nazi skinheads launched an assault on an antinuclear protest camp in Angarsk, Siberia.31 The activists were violently attacked with iron rods, knives, and air pressure guns. The attackers were shouting extremist slogans, such as "Right-wing!" and "Anti-Antifa!" Twenty-one-year-old Ilya Borodaenko, an antifascist advocate from Nakhodka, suffered a skull fracture during the attack and died in the hospital. At least nine other campers were reported to have been seriously injured. Up to 28 people were detained by the police in connection to the attack, 14 of them were arrested and charged with hooliganism under article 213 of the Criminal Code. One person was additionally charged with deliberate infliction of grievous bodily harm leading to death (under article 111, part 4).32
- On June 19, 2007, Dr. Valentina Uzunova, an ethnologist and expert on extremism and racist incitement in Russia, was attacked and beaten by an unknown woman in Saint Petersburg. The 59-year-old victim was hospitalized with a concussion. The attack took place a day before Uzunova was to speak at the trial of Vladislav Nikolsky, charged with incitement of hatred. Various documents and an expert examination for the case were stolen from Uzunova's purse.³³

Attacks on Moscow Gay Pride Parades

Efforts to organize a gay pride parade have been marred since 2006 by official bans, hostility from the city authorities, violent protestors, and poor police protection.

Most recently, in 2008, a pride parade ban was upheld by the Tverskoi District Court of Moscow. The march was originally scheduled for May 31 from the Moscow Central Post Office to Lubyanka Square, although was banned by the authorities.

Similarly, in 2007, LGBT activists in Moscow were also denied the right to assemble for a peaceful demonstration. Days before the intended date of the gathering, parade organizers had submitted plans for a Moscow Gay Pride march to Moscow Mayor Yury Luzhkov, who banned the march, calling it "satanic." 34

On May 26, 2007, the evening before the march to City Hall, roughly 40 people staged a demonstration protesting against homophobia. About 15 police officers were present. Two large nationalist organizations staged a counter demonstration against Moscow Pride and gathered over 300 people. They were shouting violent threats-"our scouts will be in the center tomorrow. Faggots won't get through!"—in reference to the next day's events. On May 27, police secured Tverskaya Square around City Hall. Skinheads and nationalist extremists had begun occupying the square, yelling "Moscow is not Sodom! No to pederasts!" as 30 parade participants gathered. The parade leaders were immediately arrested upon entering the square. Police did not intervene to stop the violent protestors who continued the physical attacks on others as the parade organizers were arrested.

At least eleven women and two men among the participants were arrested and held for several hours in police vehicles before being taken to a police station. They were left in the heat, denied medical attention, and verbally harassed by police officers. One officer said: "No one needs lesbians, no one will ever get you out of here." When a group of participants was released from police custody after several hours, protestors pelted eggs and shouted hateful epithets at them.35

II. Attacks on Places of Worship and Cemeteries

In 2007, almost every religious congregation in Russia was subjected to acts of vandalism and serious property damage. Overall, places of worship and cemeteries affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church had been vandalized and attacked the most. Proportionately, Jewish and Muslim sites were the most frequent targets of vandals. Western Christian groups, including Baptists and Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints experienced similar problems. Overall, no religious organization operating in the Russian Federation is safe from attacks, robberies, neo-Nazi graffiti, or cemetery desecrations. Many sites are vandalized multiple times, reflecting a lack of security and deficiencies in police protection.

Some examples of attacks on places of worship and cemeteries include the following:

- On May 14, 2008, unidentified vandals defiled several gravestones at a cemetery in Nizhny Novgorod. The unidentified perpetrators targeted the resting place of the city's former chief rabbi, Judas Bershtein, which is a well-known site visited by many Jewish residents of Nizhny Novgorod. Earlier in the year, nine gravestones were covered with black paint at a Muslim cemetery in the city's "Tatar Quarter."36
- On April 4, 2008, a synagogue in Vladivostok was covered with nationalist graffiti and swastikas, which was the third act of vandalism at this synagogue in seven months.³⁷
- On February 4, 2008, a mosque in Vladimir was attacked at night. The perpetrators threw Molotov cocktails at the façade, causing a fire to break out. Some ten acts of vandalism have occurred at the same mosque over the past three years.³⁸

- On October 19, 2007, a group of unidentified young men carried out an attack on a synagogue in Astrakhan. The vandals threatened the members of the Jewish community, shouted racial slurs, and inflicted damages on the building.³⁹
- In the fall of 2007, a Christian cemetery was vandalized in the city of Kotlas, Arkhangelsk Oblast. Gravestones were covered with graffiti, swastikas and other Nazi symbols, and many crosses were overturned.40
- In October and November 2007, a Jewish school was vandalized in Bryansk. Four minors broke windows while shouting "We shall build a white heaven! Sieg Heil!" at the Or Avner School. The police originally charged the perpetrators with "hooliganism motivated by religious hatred" (article 213, part 2).41 However, on May 21, 2008, the prosecutor of Bryansk changed the charges to hooliganism (article 213) and vandalism (article 214).42
- On August 29, 2007, a Christian Orthodox center was attacked in the Moscow Oblast. Three vandals broke windows and beat one worker. The attackers had apparently meant to assault a nearby Jehovah's Witnesses center, but mistook the target.⁴³
- On August 1, 2007, unknown perpetrators drew swastikas and neo-Nazi graffiti on gravestones at the Arsk cemetery in Kazan, Republic of Tatarstan. This historic Christian Orthodox cemetery had been vandalized on previous occasions.⁴⁴
- In June 2007, unknown vandals drew swastikas on the building of a Pentecostal church in Voronezh, which was previously vandalized a few months earlier. The Pentecostal community did not file

- charges after the first incident, but finally approached the authorities after the repeat offense.
- In June 2007, a Jewish cemetery in Petrozavodsk, Republic of Karelia, was vandalized.⁴ The vandals defaced the arc at the entrance, drew fascist messages and swastikas. Similar incidents have occurred at the same cemetery many times in the past.⁴
- Two incidents occurred in the Kurgan Oblast on April 15 and 16, 2007. First, 19 gravestones were broken by vandals at a Muslim cemetery. The next day, unknown vandals wrote "Death to Jews" on the façade of a building.
- On March 18, 2007, a synagogue in Voronezh was vandalized. The vandals drew nationalistic and neo-Nazi graffiti, such as swastikas and Celtic crosses, and other racist slogans.⁴⁹

- In March 2007, attackers partially destroyed an Assembly of God church in Moscow, setting off a blaze that destroyed the roof and much of the interior with an explosive device. The congregation had previously received numerous threats, and local authorities had refused to register the property as belonging to the church.50
- In February 2007, a young man firebombed a Jehovah's Witnesses building in Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk Oblast.⁵¹

III. The Government Response

A. Political Will

It is especially important for senior government officials to speak out against hate crimes and drive the national discussion on hate crime prevention. The rhetoric of the president and other senior political leaders helps steer law enforcement agencies' activities.

President Dmitry Medvedev has made several general statements since his election in March 2008 in regards to the problem of racism and xenophobia in Russia. On June 11, 2008, Medvedev pledged to fight xenophobia and extremism using all available legal mechanisms.⁵² A month later, President Medvedev approved a new Foreign Policy Concept, which promises to counteract neofascism, all forms of racial discrimination, aggressive nationalism, antisemitism, and xenophobia.⁵³

Medvedev's predecessor, Vladimir Putin, had similarly spoken out on several occasions against extremism, xenophobia, and antisemitism. In a February 2008 meeting with heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Putin recognized the concern of many of the CIS heads of state that their citizens were increasingly the victim of violent hate crime in Russia. He stated that "we regret this and will do everything so the perpetrators of these crimes are found and punished. We will seek to consistently and continually tackle this phenomenon." The Comments came in light of a wave of attacks against citizens of CIS countries that prompted some embassies in Moscow—such as the Embassy of Kyrgyzstan—to file diplomatic notes urging the authorities to protect their citizens. The comments can be consistently and street that prompted some embassies in Moscow—such as the Embassy of Kyrgyzstan—to file diplomatic

In other forums, Putin has recognized that nationalism, xenophobia, and religious and racial hatred not only violate rights of Russian and foreign citizens, but also are a serious threat to stability and safety of the country.56

In Saint Petersburg, Governor Valentina Matvienko, who had been on record for downplaying the problem of hate crimes, admitted in January 2008 that the situation with neo-Nazi groups in the city was "absolutely critical" and called on law enforcement bodies to infiltrate such groups.⁵⁷ In Moscow, on April 17, 2008, Mayor Luzhkov called for stronger punishments for crimes motivated by nationalism and xenophobia, pointing to a lack of real penalties for hate crimes as one of the reasons for the rise in incidences.⁵⁸

While these calls for a firmer response to the problem are welcome, there is the danger that they will result in indiscriminate and harsh actions that will violate individuals' rights. For example, in the wake of a wave of attacks in Moscow in early 2008, there were reports that police in some parts of the city were randomly photographing and fingerprinting young men in the metro.⁵⁹ An effective reponse to hate crimes must go beyond rhetoric and be part of a broad and comprehensive strategy based on human rights principles that has yet to be articulated and implemented by Russia's leaders.

Senior political leaders have also made remarks that have promoted division. In October 2006, in the midst of an anti-Georgian campaign, President Putin made a comment about the need to protect "the interests of the native population of Russia." His words were widely interpreted to mean special protections for ethnic Russians at the expense of foreigners, migrants, and minorities of Russian citizenship.

As previously discussed, despite repeated attempts in the last several years by LGBT groups to organize a peaceful gay pride parade in Moscow, Mayor Luzhkov has been outspoken in his vehement opposition to such events, coming under heavy criticism from European officials and NGOs. In 2008, Luzhkov's City Hall once again refused authorization for a gay pride parade.

Some statements of public officials have also revealed the extent to which political leaders may be in denial over the incidence of violent hate crimes. The Governor of Saint Petersburg Matvienko proclaimed on August 19, 2008, that "in the first half of this year, there hasn't been a single [bias] crime." Not only did the statement run contrary to an earlier concern regarding the threat of neo-Nazi groups, but Matvienko's assertion also contradicted available data. The Saint Petersburg Prosecutor's Office reported 16 crimes motivated by ethnic hatred in just the first three months of 2008, while the SOVA Center recorded 42 such attacks, including 13 murders in the first seven months of 2008 in both Saint Petersburg and the surrounding Leningrad Oblast.⁶¹

Some senior law enforcement officials have sought to downplay the extent of the problem of hate crimes, even in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary. For example, in a March 19, 2008, interview with the daily *Rossijskaya Gazeta*, Moscow's chief prosecutor Yury Semin stated in response to a question about the series of recent murders committed by neo-Nazi gangs: "I am sure there is no growing wave of extremism in Russia. ... Yes, there have been crimes motivated by religious and ethnic hatred. ... But statistics show that year by year the number of such crimes is falling." *\varphi\$

B. Systems of Monitoring and Reporting

The Interior Ministry publishes annual figures on crimes in the Russian Federation. Within these figures, however, there is no separate reporting on crimes carried out with a bias or hate motivation. There is also no break down of data on particular crimes in order to distinguish victims from different population groups. The Interior Ministry's annual report includes data on crimes "of an extremist nature" that to some extent overlaps with the concept of hate crime. In 2007, there were 356 such crimes. By contrast, in 2006 the Interior Ministry reported 263 incidents, up from 152 in 2005.44

While the published statistics do not provide a breakdown by specific crimes considered to be of an extremist nature, interministerial guidelines provide a list of the articles of the criminal code that fall within that category. These include common violent crimes, such as muder, assault, and vandalism, when they have been determined to have been aggravated by "ideological, political, racial, national, or religious hatred or hatred and enmity toward some social group." For the purposes of the statistics, an extremist crime also includes any crime in which enhanced penalties were sought under article 63, according to which the same factors can be considered an aggravating circumstance.

However, the Interior Ministry's concept of crimes "of an extremist nature" also extends to:

- violent crimes that have little to do with biasmotivated violence (e.g. an attempt on the life of a state official);
- extremist groups (e.g. the organization of an illegal armed formation; creation of an extremist group);
- nonviolent, speech-related acts (public calls for engagement in extremist activity; incitement to hatred);

 other crimes with no relation to hate crime (e.g. interference in the carrying out of electoral rights).

Thus, without a further breakdown in their statistical reporting, the Interior Ministry data on crimes of an extremist nature provide only a limited barometer of trends in bias-motivated violence.

While the Interior Ministry reports on crimes nationwide, some local prosecutors have begun to report more publicly on crimes of extremist nature in their jurisdictions. In some of these reports, more details are provided into the nature of these crimes. For example, in June 2007, the Nizhny Novgorod prosecutor announced that there had been 14 crimes motivated by national hatred registered from the beginning of the year, including one already sent to court. For Similarly, in July 2007, in the course of reporting on efforts to combat extremism, the General Prosecutor's office in the Far East Okrug and the prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk Oblast provided information on action taken in the cases of three bias-motivated murders and two acts of vandalism.

These local efforts go some way in helping to fill the serious hate crime data deficit, although a more accurate picture of the situation nationwide will require efforts to disaggregate the data to more clearly bring out statistics on violent hate crimes. Perhaps more importantly, longer-term efforts need to be made to enhance hate crime reporting among victims and training of officers in accurately detecting and recording bias motivations so that statistics better reflect the actual situation.

C. The Framework of Criminal Law

In 2007, several parallel legislative initiatives resulted in the adoption of new and amended provisions to deal with violent hate crimes. On May 10, 2007, bias motivations were added to article 214 of the criminal code dealing with vandalism. As with other articles of the criminal code dealing with aggravating circum-

stances, this article was amended to include an enhanced punishment when the act of vandalism is committed "with a motive of ideological, political, racial, national, or religious hatred." This amendment marked the first time that the notions of "ideological" and "political" had been added to the other forms of hatred (racial, national, religious) as aggravating circumstances stipulated in other articles of the criminal code. Article 244 was also amended so that an act of desecration motivated by bias can be punished by a maximum sentence of five years (up from three years previously).

On August 10, 2007, amendments to antiextremist legislation were also passed, resulting in a number of changes to provisions addressing bias-motivated violence. These amendments expanded the concept of bias motivations in the terms similar to those of the amended article 214. Whereas Russian law previously addressed bias motivations based on "national, racial and religious hatred," the amendments expanded this definition to include motivations based on "ideological, political, racial, national, and religious hatred and enmity or hatred and enmity toward some social group."

Similar changes regarding bias motivations were introduced to article 63 on general aggravating circumstances for all crimes, as well as to six other articles of the criminal code dealing with specific offenses where bias motivations provide for sentence enhancement.⁶⁹ Bias motivations as aggravating circumstances in the same terms were also extended to five new articles of the criminal code.⁷⁰

Some observers have argued that these provisions will now allow prosecutors to seek enhanced penalties in cases of neo-Nazi violence against antifascists and other youth subcultures (which might now be prosecuted as "ideological" hate crimes). Others have also argued, however, that the new range of "hatred" is too broad and opens the way to arbitrary application of the law, especially given the fact that what constitutes a

"social group" is not currently defined in Russian criminal law.⁷¹

Another related legislative initiative discussed in 2007 was a bill to amend article 4 of the Federal Law on Mass Media to prohibit any mention of ethnicity in crime reports published by the media. It was introduced in the State Duma in March 2007 and raised a wave of protests from various NGOs, who were concerned that the prohibition of mentioning the ethnicity of victims and perpetrators would lead to an inability to independently monitor hate crimes. Some critics have argued that the bill would also place further restrictions on freedom of speech.⁷² The first reading of the draft was postponed several times and had not by mid-2008 been reviewed.

D. Hate Crime Investigations and Prosecutions

Although there had been a steady increase between 2004-2006 in the extent to which hate crimes had been recognized and prosecuted as such, 2007 marked a step back in that respect. According to the SOVA Center, there were nine guilty verdicts in hate crime charges in 2004, 17 in 2005, and 33 (involving 109 defendants) in 2006. In 2007, however, there were only 24 guilty verdicts (involving 68 defendants) even though the number of incidents had increased dramatically. The situation looked to be improving slightly again in early 2008, with 14 convictions in the first seven months of the year.73 There is no official data that tracks the response of police to crimes with a suspected bias motivation or the disposition of hate crime cases prosecuted in the courts. Nor is there much data on this from NGO monitors, with the exception, noted above, that the SOVA Center has sought to monitor the number of guilty verdicts in violent hate crime cases.

There have been no recent attempts to use article 63 of the Criminal Code—one of the tools available for handing down enhanced penalties in hate crime cases. The article is a general sentencing provision that identifies aggravating circumstances that give rise to more serious penalties, including—under part (1)(f)—"a motive of ideological, political, national, racial, religious hate or enmity" in the commission of crimes. There is no evidence that prosecutors regularly seek or that courts hand down enhanced penalties under this part of article 63.74

Prosecutors appeared to be taking some steps to more vigorously respond to hate crimes in early 2008. In March 2008, a new department of the Investigative Committee of the General Prosecutor's office was created. The special department is mandated to collect and analize information on criminal cases of an extremist nature. This new body was welcomed by independent experts. However, its effectiveness in addressing hate crimes was put in doubt when Alexander Bastrykin, the chief of this committee, in introducing the new body, drew attention to people from the Caucasus as a source of extremism in Russia. While not denying the existence of neo-Nazi groups, he stated that: "First of all, we should look at the criminality of the people from the Caucasus."

In June 2008, the Interior Ministry reported that the authorities had arrested 53 suspects in 2008 for violent attacks across four regions. The suspects included members from 11 separate gangs and were allegedly being detained in connection with 38 attacks, including 17 murders in Moscow and the Moscow Oblast, Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad Oblast. 76

In 2007 and 2008, several defendants suspected of racially motivated violence stood trial. While there have been a number of convictions in these cases, observers reported that the racist and other bias motives of violent hate crimes are often not pursued by prosecutors or are disregarded by the courts, especially in less serious cases of violent crimes. More frequently, charges under provisions on hooliganism or other common offenses are brought, even in cases where there appears to be evidence of a racial or other bias motive.

In the abovementioned case of the September 2007 murder of Sargis Sargsyan, prosecutors brought charges of murder motivated by hooliganism in spite of evidence supporting the fact that the crime may have been motivatef by racial hatred.⁷⁷

In another case in May 2008, prosecutors in the city of Bryansk dropped hate crimes charges against four youths who had attacked the Or Avner Jewish School five times, on some occasions threatening and screaming antisemitic epithets at the students in the school. Although investigators had established that the attacks were motivated by ethnic hatred, the youths were charged instead with vandalism and hooliganism.⁷⁸

Even in cases where hate crime convictions are obtained, the Russian judicial system continues the trend of showing leniency toward the defendants. According to the SOVA Center's statistics, at least 20 of 96 violent hate crime offenders received probationary sentences in 2006. In 2007, 19 out of 67 perpetrators were sentenced conditionally, without having to serve actual jail time.⁷⁹

In the many cases in which charges are never even brought, an expectation of impunity may act to further encourage such violence. On the night of January 6, 2007, for example, young people stormed the headquarters of a Mormon church in Samara, smashing windows and throwing smoke bombs.80 The SOVA Center cited the incident as evidence that extremist groups were confident they could act with impunity: a statement of the extreme nationalist Eurasian Union of Youths (ESM) took credit for that attack, as well as for an assault on the office of the Russian Family Planning Association in Orenburg. The statement declared that ESM would continue to bring pressure against the "sectarians," and that "acts of vandalism are extremely important for the building of a sovereign democracy and a healthy civil society in Russia." No investigation into the organization's role in the incidents was reported by law enforcement agencies.81

Nonetheless, there has been some progress in the prosecution of some violent hate crimes. In addition to those mentioned above, some examples where investigations and prosecutions progressed in prominent hate crime cases include the following:

- In May 2008, Moscow prosecutors charged nine neo-Nazis with 32 attacks on ethnic minorities, including 19 murders and 13 attempted murders. The suspects stand accused of having committed their crimes between August 2006 and April 2007, usually late at night. They would pick one solitary member of an ethnic minority as a victim, beat and stab him, then flee. Prosecutors charge that ethnic hatred motivated all the attacks. All of them face hate crimes murder (Article 105 of the Criminal Code) charges and ethnic incitement (Article 282) charges. Among the victims were Azerbaijanis, Chinese, Kyrgyz, Tajiks, and Uzbeks.82
- The case involving a neo-Nazi gang from Saint Petersburg, suspected of murdering ethnologist and extremism expert Nikolai Girenko and Senegalese student Samba Lampsar, was one of the most prominent investigations of 2007. In February 2008, the Saint Petersburg Prosecutor's Office charged 14 young men belonging to the Military Terrorist Organization (BTO), also known as the "Kisly Gang," headed by Dmitry Borovikov and Alexei Voevodin, with six murders, one attempted murder, and one robbery, including the high profile murders of Girenko and Lampsar. The trial was scheduled to start in late 2008.83 The gang's leader, 18-year-old Dmitry "Kisly" Borovikov, was shot to death in the course of being arrested in May 2006. It remains unclear whether hate crime charges will be brought against other gang members under investigation.
- In September, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of right-wing activists Mikhail Klevachov and Vladimir Vlasov in the case of the Grozny—

Moscow train bombing of June 12, 2005. The first jury acquitted the two of all charges in November 2006. On April 10, 2007, in a retrial, the pair was found guilty of attempted murder motivated by ethnic hatred, terrorism, and illegal purchasing and keeping of explosives. Klevachev and Vlasov were subsequently sentenced to 18 and 19 years in prison respectively.84

- Another landmark event was the trial of seven offenders charged with murdering antifascist activist Timur Kacharava and assaulting Maxim Zgibay in November 2005 in Saint Petersburg. On July 31, 2007, all defendants were announced guilty on all counts. One of the defendants was convicted of murder while the other six were charged with hooliganism. Additionally, all seven were found guilty of incitement—in this case of inciting hatred against antifascists as a social group. The murderer was sentenced to twelve years in jail, while those found guilty of hooliganism received much more lenient sentences: three were sentenced to prison terms of between two and three years, while three others received probationary sentences.⁸⁵
- On June 19, 2007, in Saint Petersburg the jury convicted a group of youths in the murder of Roland Epassak, a citizen of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who was stabbed to death in September 2005. This was the second trial in connection with Epassak's murder. On July 25, 2006, the four suspects were acquitted of all charges and released from custody. In the retrial following the filing of the Prosecution's appeal, four people were convicted of murder with a racist motive and sentenced to seven to fourteen years in prison.86
- On April 30, 2008, the Moscow city court passed a guilty verdict in the Cherkizovo Market explosion case. Nikolai Korolev, a member of the Slavonic Union and the leader of the military-patriotic club

"Spas," was accused of forming and leading a criminal group for committing serious crimes, which carried out nine terrorist acts. Nikolai Korolev, Sergei Klimuk, Oleg Kostarev, and Valeri Zhukovtsov were found guilty of committing a terrorist act, murdering 14 and attempting to murder 61 people at the Cherkizovo Market in August 2006. Additionally, Nikolai Seniukov was proven guilty of the 2006 murder of Vighen Abramiants, Armenian student.87 Four defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment, while others received sentences ranging from two to twenty years in prison.88 The murder charges and sentences included recognition of the bias motivations of the acts.

Misuse of Antiextremism Legislation

Antiextremist legislation—of which aggravating circumstance provisions are a subset—and in particular Article 282 dealing with incitement to hatred has been misused to target human rights activists and others who are critical of the government.

One of the most prominent cases is that of Savva Terentyev, who made a critical—though aggressive and obscene—comment in his online blog, protesting police brutality and corruption. He was subsequently charged with incitement to hatred (article 282 of the Criminal Code) against the entire police force as a social group. Despite lacking a credible case and in the face of strong public protest, prosecutors took the case to court at the end of March 2008. On July 7, 2008, the City Court of Syktyvkar (Komi Republic) sentenced Terentyev to a one-year suspended sentence.89

The decision to bring incitement charges against Yury Samodurov, the Director of the Sakharov Museum in Moscow, has similarly had significant public resonance and has been criticized as a misuse of antiextremism legislation. On May 13, 2008, Samodurov and Andrey Erofeev, a recently fired curator at the State Tretyakov Gallery, were charged on the basis of Article 282(2) of the Russian Criminal Code (incitement to national and

religious hatred), for the 2006 Forbidden Art exhibition. The works displayed had been refused by other museums, and the purpose of the exhibition was thus to study "the nature and tendencies of institutional censorship in the area of culture." The case against the organizers of the exhibition began in June 2007, and originated in the publicly manifested outrage of the Orthodox Community who had deemed the works exhibited as provocations of an anti-Christian, anti-Orthodox, and anti-Russian nature. In 2005, in a similar case that was criticized by domestic and international human rights groups, Samodurov was found guilty of incitement to hatred charges for organizing Caution, religion!, an exhibition which included paintings and other art examining-and parodying-the intersection of religion with commercial interests, politics, and popular culture.

E. Specialized Human Rights Bodies

The Human Rights Ombudsman

While there are no institutions in Russia that perform the functions of an official antidiscrimination body, as outlined in Council of Europe policy recommendations, Russia's Ombudsman Vladimir Lukin has addressed matters of human rights, including hate crimes. Most recently, in May 2008, Vladimir Lukin took part in the OSCE supplementary meeting discussing the role of national institutions against discrimination in combating racism and xenophobia. The ombudsman underscored the important function that his institution and nongovernmental human rights organizations play in combatting national, racial, and religious intolerance in Russian society.⁹¹

In the 2008 annual report, the Ombudsman noted that "[in 2007], problems of interethnic and interconfessional intolerance, religiously motivated violence and vandalism remained acute," pointing to a lack of

diligence on the part of the law enforcers: "there are still very few cases where investigation is properly completed to establish the culprits and hold them accountable."92 This, however, was the only reference to hate crimes in the entire report.

This marks a departure from pervious reports when Ombudsman Lukin took a stronger and more public stance against hate crimes, accusing law enforcement officials and certain regional leaders of ignoring or covering up racially motivated violence.⁹³ The Ombudsman's annual report for 2006 included an entire section dedicated to the problem of hate crimes in Russia.⁹⁴

The Presidential Council for Developing Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights

The Presidential Council for Developing Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights examines human rights violations in Russia, reporting directly to the head of state. Chairwoman Ella Pamfilova has discussed problems of racism and xenophobia in Russia with high-ranking Russian officials and representatives of international institutions, although these issues are on the periphery of the council's agenda.

In 2008, the Council released a preliminary draft of its report on activities since 2002. According to the document, the Council has prepared forty one draft laws, amendments, and expert opinion notes for the President and the Government of Russia. However, none of these documents addressed the issue of hate crimes. Similarly, none of the six special working groups at the Council look at the issue of racism, xenophobia, or bias violence.95

IV. Recommendations

In order to address the problem of racist and other bias motivated violence, Human Rights First urges the respective Russian authorities to implement the following recommendations:

Strengthening Political Will

- President Medvedev should appoint a special commission or personal representative with the mandate to investigate and propose a comprehensive national plan for combating bias-motivated violence and other forms of intolerance.
- President Medvedev, Prime Minister Putin, and other senior government officials should speak out to publicly condemn crimes of racist violence and other violent bias crimes whenever they occur, and take action to ensure that such crimes are thoroughly investigated, perpetrators prosecuted and bias motivations are taken into account in the investigation and prosecution.
- Senior government officials should respond to public statements by political leaders and by public officials at any level of government that incite racist violence and other bias crime by publicly condemning such statements.

The Response of Police and Prosecutors

- Law enforcement and criminal justice agencies should publicly commit to investigate allegations of bias motives in specific violent hate crimes, and to provide regular public updates into the investigation and prosecution of such crimes.
- Criminal justice officials should undertake a more systematic application of available criminal law

- provisions that allow for enhanced penalties when a crime has been determined to have been motivated by bias. These include a general penalty enhancements provision (article 63) that can be applied in any violent crime, as well as specific penalty enhancement provisions in cases of murder (article 105), various degrees of assault (articles 111, 112, 115, 116) as well as in other violent crimes against persons and property (articles 117, 119, 150, 213, 214, 244).
- The relevant authorities should immediately undertake a review of the tools available under current laws, regulations, and rules to prosecute bias motivated violence, consistent with international human rights standards, including witness and juror protection programs, the admissibility at trial of prior acts and convictions, as well as procedures for recognizing the testimony of suspects as cooperating witnesses. The results of this review, along with recommendations for improvements, should be made public.
- Law enforcement officials should work together with victims, their communities and civil society groups to increase the confidence of hate crime victims to report crimes to the police. The authorities should ensure thorough investigation and prosecution of any reports of police harassment of hate crime victims.

Systems of Monitoring and Reporting

■ The Interior Ministry should seek to enhance the current system of data collection by disaggregating crimes "of an extremist nature" so as to report separately on violent crimes motivated by bias.

- Statistics should also provide data disaggregated to distinguish the various types of crime and forms of bias recorded.
- The Russian authorities should provide training for police and prosecutors in identifying and recording bias motivations, and in bringing evidence of bias motivations before the courts. They should commit to take advantage of training opportunities available by international organizations, e.g., the OSCE's Law Enforcement Officer Program on Combating Hate Crimes, as well as through international and local nongovernmental organizations working in Russia.
- The Russian authorities should establish an official and independent antidiscrimination body in line with Council of Europe recommendations. This body should provide oversight over the monitoring and reporting of hate crimes. Such a body must be mandated to work closely with the Interior Ministry, the General Prosecutor's Office and other bodies concerned with the registration, investigation, and prosecution of hate crimes.

■ The Human Rights Ombudsman should request from the relevant authorities and publish on a regular basis official information on crimes for which there is a suspected bias motivation. The Ombudsman should compare this official information with information available from other sources, including civil society groups, and inquire with the authorities as to the nature of any discrepancies.

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