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Article



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CRIMEAN TATARS AND RUSSIA: LESSONS FROM HISTORY AND WAYS OF INTEGRATION INTO THE FUTURE

Abstract: *In the article, the authors explore Russia's integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars. In 2014, the Crimean Tatar issue received a new impetus for internationalization, which was associated with a number of factors. The foreign information space was filled with news reports and reports from international organizations on human rights violations in Crimea and the oppression of Crimean Tatars. At the same time, in historical retrospect, this is not the first time that Crimea has integrated into the Russian space. This socio-political experience and its technological dimension are of both applied and theoretical scientific interest. Analysis of scientific literature showed an ambiguous assessment of the joint historical past of Crimea and Russia. Researchers' opinions about the Russian experience of integrating the Crimean Tatars vary sharply, from positive to purely negative, pointing to the centuries-long deliberate extermination of this ethnic group by Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Therefore, the relevance of an objective study of Russia's integration policy regarding the Crimean Tatars, based on primary sources and political literature, using scientific methodology, is beyond doubt. The article also provides a forecast regarding the further development of the Crimean Tatar issue on the territory of the Russian Federation.*

Key words: *political technologies, socio-political experience, integration, Russian Empire, Crimean Tatars, government decrees.*

Language: *English*

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Introduction

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*Don't paint shameful deeds as good,
 oblivion is not given to the living,
 quickly from the face of Soviet power
 erase the black spot!
 Can't hold water with water,
 don't put out fire with fire,
 return the homeland to the people,
 his soul remained in him!*

Boris Chichibabin

If you look deeply into the history of relations between the Tatars and Russians, you can conclude that these two peoples and their ancestors have always been together and are so inextricably linked with each other and with other peoples of Russia that to break their unity means to destroy Russia itself. In addition, just as the Russian people today are divided by the borders of different states, so the multicultural Tatar people are divided by the same borders, because the Great Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Rusyns are the heirs of Rus' and special branches of the Russians, as well as the Kazakhs, Nogais, Crimean, Meshchera, Dobrudzhinsky, Lithuanian, Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and other Tatars are the heirs of the Horde and special branches of the Tatars. Thus, through Orthodox Christianity, two large divided peoples are united - Tatar and Russian, this union is the heir of Rus' and the Horde at the same time, and if you look more broadly, then the heir of Byzantium and the Great Mongol Ulus. And the key connecting link in this union are the Orthodox Tatars. However, this union has enemies - those who want to separate the Tatars from the Russians. Some want to build Russian statehood without the Tatars, others want Tatar statehood without the Russians, and still others are foreign "partners" who want to break the common heritage of Rus' and the Horde. However, there are differences, for example, the large Russian people were initially formed on the basis of Orthodox Christianity, but the large Tatar people were initially formed on the principles of Yasa Genghis Khan, primarily based on a Christian basis, but at a certain period of time they underwent Islamization, and since then it has passed 7 centuries before the Muslim Tatars officially recognized that Orthodoxy is traditional for the Tatars, and the Tatar people are a confessional spirit, which is enshrined in the development strategy of the Tatar people ("TATARS: ACTION STRATEGY"), adopted on August 29, 2020 in Kazan at the extended "Milli Dzhieny" ("National Assembly") of the World Congress of Tatars with the participation of the President of Tatarstan Rustam Minnikhanov, State Councilor of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaimiev, Deputy Prime Minister of Russia Marat Khusnullin and the entire elite of the republic, as well as delegates of the Tatar communities of Russia and from abroad. All three groups of opponents of the

Tatar-Russian union want to build small national states on the fragments of the empire and see their main obstacle as the spiritual unity of the Tatars and Russians, which is achieved not by the unification of language or cultures, but by the unity of the Orthodox Christian Faith and Eucharistic communion. In addition, culturally, the branches of the Russian and Tatar peoples are also close, this is true both for Russia and for Kazakhstan, Ukraine and other countries.

As for the language and the language issue, objectively today the language of interethnic communication is the modern literary Russian language, and not Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, etc. mov, or Tatar, Cossack, Nogai, etc. body This is an objective reality and the Tatar language has lagged behind the Russian language. The Tatar language today, for various reasons, is not the language of interethnic communication that it used to be; the halo of its use in Russia, including in one of the Russian regions - Tatarstan, is limited to rural areas, Sabantui, Tatar concerts and events of the VKT and other Tatar public organizations; in everyday and business communication, urban Tatars even communicate with each other in Russian.

In city mosques, prayer is performed in Arabic, and sermons and duas, as well as business and everyday communication, are performed in Russian. The latter logically follows from the fact that the majority of mosque parishioners are not Tatars and do not understand Tatar. Apparently, this fact forced the head of the Muslim Spiritual Directorate of the Republic of Tatarstan Kamil Samigullin, in order to preserve the lost positions of the Tatar language, to oblige the mosques of Tatarstan to preach only in Tatar, but this position of the regional mufti was rejected by other Islamic religious structures and their leaders operating throughout Russia. The picture is completely different in Kryashen Orthodox churches, where services are performed in their native language, regardless of whether they are in cities or rural areas. Today no one will argue that the Kryashens preserved the knowledge of the Tatar language better than anyone; it is quite obvious that this is a direct consequence of its living functioning in the highest form - in the form of communication with God the Creator.

However, the Kryashens have other problems: firstly, there are catastrophically few Kryashen churches, especially in cities, secondly, some of the Kryashens, for various reasons, do not have Tatar identity, and thirdly, knowledge of the Kryashen version of the Tatar language requires special additional efforts. The modern literary form of the Tatar language differs from the corresponding form of the Tatar language created and disseminated by Nikolai Ilminsky and Father Vasily Timofeev for Divine services in approximately the same way as the modern Russian language and the Russian language of the Russian Empire with "yat", "er", "er", etc. More

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and more Tatars are recognizing the fact that the future belongs to the Russian-speaking Tatars, who are one of the highly urbanized peoples. In cities, they grow up from childhood in a Russian-speaking environment; until recently, their parents knew the Tatar language, but the current generation of Tatar parents no longer knows it, and accordingly, they will not be able to pass it on to their children. Some “hot heads” on the part of the Tatars do not want to come to terms with this fact and are trying to correct the situation with the Tatar language through the popularization of repressive measures, for example, forcing everyone in Tatarstan to speak Tatar through compulsory study of it in school, or by ignoring the already existing large number of Russian speakers Tatars and attempts to oust them into an imaginary marginal sector compared to Tatar-speaking Tatars, but what comes of it? Exactly the opposite effect: those who do not accept the established reality of the existence of Russian-speaking Tatars as a special significant Tatar group look marginalized, while it is easier for Russian-speaking Tatars themselves to lose their Tatar identity due to the position of their Tatar-speaking fellow tribesmen, who do not accept those who do not know their bodies. It is worth noting that outside of Tatarstan the majority of them, with the exception of those permanently living in Tatar villages, are quite compact and closed, but once they move to the city, already in the second or third generation the Tatar language becomes only a historical heritage. And no repressive measures can keep a young Tatar or a young Tatar woman who wants to develop in the village, if he or she sees all the prospects for development in the city, and not just in the city, but, as a rule, in the capital - in Moscow. This is primarily characteristic of the Meshchera Tatars from Nizhny Novgorod, Ryazan, Tambov, Penza, Ulyanovsk regions, Mordovia and Chuvashia. Also in Moscow there are a significant number of representatives of Tatar youth from Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk regions and other regions.

There are almost no teachers of the Tatar language in Moscow (by the way, those who exist are Kryashens); there is also no real support for their activities from Tatarstan or the VKT, most likely because it is beneficial for Tatarstan officials and public figures not to notice this, because none of them really does not believe that the capital's Tatars will be Tatar-speaking in the future, and money will have to be allocated for this attempt, if only to show, to portray the appearance of concern for the preservation of their native language. Of course, ordinary Tatars do not like this state of affairs with their native language, which used to be a language of international communication along with Russian, and now the halo of its use has narrowed to rural areas, but it is also impossible to ignore the already established fact of the existence of a large group of Russian-speaking Tatars,

and try to force them to learn The Tatar language is a completely useless activity. Moreover, any repressive measures in this matter will one way or another undermine the Tatar-Russian unity that has developed over centuries and ensures the existence of Russia. After all, on the one hand, these measures will not lead to an expansion of the area of use of the Tatar language and the Tatars will always be unpleasant to realize the ongoing weakening of its position, and the Russians will always be unpleasant to realize that the Tatars do not like the already established Russian-speaking nature of some Tatars and that in one of the regions of Russia — Tatarstan is trying to fight Russian-speaking by imposing the Tatar language through the education system, which in itself is still ineffective.

In any case, both peoples will have an unpleasant aftertaste. What is the way out of this situation? In our opinion, there is a way out and it can be called in one word - harmony. To do this, the Tatars need to recognize the realities of today, and not live in illusions. The “ideal reality” (let's call them that) is as follows:

1. Most of the Tatars (about 30%, including that part of the Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan who consider themselves Tatars, but not limited to them) profess Orthodox Christianity.

2. Most modern Tatars (both Orthodox and Muslims) are bilingual or only Russian-speaking, and, as a rule, the ethnic Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, not always having a Tatar identity, have a better command of the Tatar language. And this is solely the merit of the system of education and worship in the Tatar language of Ilminsky-Timofeev. Where this system did not exist, Orthodox Tatars, like urban Muslim Tatars, for the most part did not retain their native language.

3. Most Russian-speaking Tatars profess Orthodox Christianity or have Orthodox close relatives.

4. Tatar-Russian marriages are widespread, the children in which, as a rule, in any case become Russian-speaking and in more than 80% of cases choose Orthodox Christianity rather than Islam.

5. The modern literary Tatar language poorly takes into account the peculiarities of the languages, dialects and dialects of different Tatars, which makes it uncompetitive as a candidate for the language of interethnic communication, in the so-called “the age of new information and telecommunications technologies”, and yet another reform of the Tatar language may become finishing, not reviving it. Only after recognizing the existing reality can we talk about harmonious actions that will contribute to the preservation and development of both Tatar identity, culture, language, and Tatar-Russian unity. In our opinion, these are the following actions, namely:

1. Expanding the use of modern Tatar, Kazakh, Nogai, Crimean Tatar and any other literary forms of

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the Tatar language and their dialects and dialects in Orthodox worship. At the same time, in all purely Kryashen settlements of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, Kryashen churches should fully function, where the divine service will be performed in the Kryashen version of the Tatar language completely, in all churches of settlements with a mixed population, the divine service should be performed partially in the modern literary Tatar language (start this The process can be done by duplicating the Gospel and the Apostle on it). In places where Tatars live densely throughout Russia, Orthodox worship in churches should also be partially in the Tatar language.

2. In Russian megacities, just large cities and Tatar historical centers, such as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Ufa, Yekaterinburg, Orenburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Astrakhan, Volgograd, Ulyanovsk, Penza, Saransk, Saratov, Samara, Perm, Tobolsk, Tyumen, Ryazan, Kasimov, Temnikov, Dzhanikoy, Bakhchisarai, Simferopol, etc. special parishes of the eastern tradition should function, where divine services will be performed in Tatar, Kazakh, Crimean Tatar, Nogai, Bashkir, as well as in the languages of labor migrants (Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Tajik), in most cases in such parishes the divine service will be in modern literary Tatar language (partially or completely). Parishes of the Eastern tradition will have some features, such as equipped special places for ablution, carpets and rugs in churches, which involve the removal of shoes, men's singing in Byzantine chant, some features in the clothing of clergy and clergy, a more active use of ancient Christian prayer poses and gestures, etc. .d. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that for a Russian-speaking Tatar, a service only in Tatar will be incomprehensible; a service with partial Tatar inserts is more suitable for him.

3. Expansion of the practice of performing Baptism with names familiar to the Tatars.

4. It is necessary to develop Orthodox Tatar art - icon painting and shamail.

5. It is necessary to ordain and appoint bishops from among the Tatars or who speak the Tatar language and are familiar with the Tatar culture to departments responsible for the registration of the Tatar population, this is especially true for the Tatarstan Metropolis.

6. Through Orthodox worship in Tatar, Crimean Tatar, Nogai, Kazakh and other related languages in ordinary parishes and parishes of the Eastern tradition of the Russian Orthodox Church, it is necessary to arrive at a harmonious reform of the modern literary Tatar language. The language of communication with God, used by representatives of the entire divided Tatar people, is capable of being a language of interethnic communication.

7. Tatar and Russian nationalists need to stop contrasting the history of the Tatars and Russians; they need to emphasize in every possible way the

unity and symbiosis of these two Russian principles. Ideally, every Tatar should consider himself a Russian (at least partly), and every Russian should consider himself a Tatar (also at least partly), because belonging to each other is our strength.

The Russian world and the Tatar world cannot exist without each other. Tatars and Russians must preserve this unity not only for themselves, but above all for all the peoples of historical Russia - the heir of the Golden Horde. Therefore, it is puzzling that some Tatar nationalists praise those Tatar historical figures who were or are perceived as opponents of this Tatar-Russian world, for example, Kul Sharif, Syuyumbike, and not those who really built this unity - Sartak, Mengu-Timur, Kasym, Yakub, Sain-Bulat Simeon Bekbulatovich, Shah Ali, Seid Burkhan Vasily Arslanovich, among whom were both Christians (Sartak, Sain Bulat, Seid Burkhan, etc.) and Muslims (Kasim, Yakub, Shah Ali, etc.). And the current situation of the Republic of Tatarstan is not liked by ordinary Russian people, because under the so-called. "Parade of sovereignties" of the 1990s and even in the 2000s, the republic made attempts to "sail away," as Damir Iskhakov put it, or at least "sail away," using Islamic religious and Tatar national factors (then it was very difficult for the Kryashens and other Orthodox Tatars Tatarstan), identifying themselves with the heirs of the Kazan Khanate, this was witnessed by the current generation of ordinary Russian people who no longer believe the "cunning Tatars" and are wary of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the "revival of Tatar statehood."

The Russians have a question: what kind of Tatar statehood is being revived? The Kazan Khanate of late times with 60,000 Christians in slavery, or was the Republic of Tatarstan revived as the heir of the Kasimov Khanate? We see that Tatarstan must be revived and clearly proclaim its political succession from the Kasimov Khanate, where truly Christian Tatars, Muslim Tatars, Russians, Mordovians and other peoples lived in peace, friendship and together built Russia as the heir of the Golden Horde.

Those Tatars who think so can be called Russian or Kasimov Tatars in the broad sense, there are quite a few of them among the Tatars and they represent a special Tatar socio-political force. Many of them are Russian-speaking and Orthodox, with a pronounced Tatar identity, who want to preserve it, even those who do not know the Tatar language want to learn it, study it, pray in it in Orthodox churches and at home. On the contrary, there is a part of the Kryashens of Tatarstan who have an excellent, masterful command of the Tatar language, perform divine services in it, but at the same time have lost or do not have Tatar self-awareness.

This happens in life; knowledge of a language does not always guarantee the preservation of identity, and vice versa, ignorance of a language does not always mean a loss of identity. That part of the

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Kryashens of Tatarstan who do not want to be Tatars must be “let go”, you will not be forcibly nice, but at the same time we must not forget that there are also those Kryashens who decided to be a subethnic group within the Tatars with a special name, and there are also those who calls himself equally a Kryashen and an Orthodox Tatar and does not see a problem in the name.

In any case, the Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan have already developed their own Kryashen church and liturgical culture, no matter who their specific representatives consider themselves to be, and we, all Tatars, must help them revive and preserve it, because this is our culture - the culture of a large divided Tatar people, which includes not only the Tatar-speaking Kryashens, Nagaibaks, but also Nogais, Kazakhs and other branches of the historical Horde Tatars.

We must also help preserve the language and culture of the Mordovians - the Karatai, who profess Orthodox Christianity and speak the Tatar language. For an Orthodox Christian, supporting the language and culture of his brother in the faith of Christ is quite natural, which is why Orthodox Russians should support the expansion of the use of the Tatar language in Orthodox worship, and therefore support the Orthodox Tatars, because in Christ there is neither a Greek nor a Jew, but everything is in Christ to everyone!

Main part

Since the repatriation of the Crimean Tatars to the territory of Crimea in the 1990s. The Crimean Tatar issue systematically attracted the attention of the scientific community. At the same time, political and economic aspects (rallies, unauthorized seizure of the Crimean land fund by representatives of this ethnic group) have traditionally been in the foreground. However, the Crimean Tatar issue received international resonance as a result of the political events of 2014. This is evidenced by discussions by the heads of various states, including Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Turkey, on the Crimean Tatar issue, numerous publications in the international media, as well as the close attention of international and non-governmental organizations (UN, OSCE, Amnesty International, Initiative Group for Human Rights in Crimea, Field Human Rights Center, Crimea SOS) to the situation of the Crimean Tatars on the territory of Russian Crimea. The beginning of the 21st century was the time of the emergence of hybrid forms of conflicts between great powers, which learned to act in the “gray zone” - on the brink of war and peace, without entering into an open military clash and without violating the norms of international law. In hybrid wars, various methods of warfare can be used, including the replacement of traditional basic values of society with the moral and psychological attitudes of the aggressor, falsification

of history, desacralization of significant events and personalities, the formation of ethnic nationalism, as well as inciting interethnic and interreligious contradictions in multi-ethnic regions. All of the above poses a direct threat to Russia as a multinational state. Therefore, the Crimean Tatar issue, being an internal problem of Russia, is at the same time an object of confrontation between great powers and a factor in either strengthening or weakening Russian influence in the Black Sea-Mediterranean region. After the political events of 2014, the joint past of Russia and the Crimean Tatars, as one of the means of shaping the worldview of the population, acquired special interest and an increased level of politicization. This thesis is confirmed by contradictory assessments of the scientific community during the historical period when Crimea was part of Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Researchers' opinions about the Russian experience of integrating the Crimean Tatars vary sharply from positive to purely negative, indicating a policy of deliberate destruction of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group during the Tsarist and Soviet periods of Russian history. This is explained by the fact that “history itself, as a science, is within the methodological framework of interpretation, which significantly varies the possibilities of obtaining, interpreting and applying historical knowledge as a political ideology.” In addition to the already well-developed principles of historical science - historicism, objectivity, alternativeness, three methodological approaches of historical science can be distinguished, namely:

- 1) history is the basis of any political ideology;
- 2) history is written by the victors, that is, the elites who won the political struggle with external or internal competitors;
- 3) “there is no limit to the interpretation of historical fact.”

The above data form the relevance of an objective study of the Russian experience of interaction with the Crimean Tatar ethnic group. The need to conduct these studies lies in a systematic study of the joint history of Russia and the Crimean Tatars based on sources and political literature to identify functional socio-political technologies for the integration of the Crimean Tatars into the modern all-Russian space. In order to achieve this goal, the article analyzed the following problems, namely:

- study government decrees that relate to Crimean Tatars;
- research periodical publications;
- classify periodical publications demonstrating technologies for the integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group;
- determine the mechanisms for integrating the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian space, as well as the main directions of the tsarist policy towards the Crimean Tatars.

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In this regard, the object of study is the national policy of Russia. The subject is the integration policy of the Russian Empire towards the Crimean Tatars. The study was carried out within the framework of the developed scientific methodology, which consists in the application of systemic, civilizational and geopolitical approaches. The main research methods were: chronological, institutional, induction, analysis, synthesis, abstraction, typology, comparison, generalization of the experience of interaction between the tsarist government and the Crimean Tatar ethnic group. Crimea first came under the jurisdiction of Russia on April 8, 1783. According to the Crimean researcher A. A. Irkhin, the annexation of Crimea and other territorial increments of Catherine II became possible due to the fact that the West was disunited and occupied with internal conflicts between the leading powers - France and England, busy redividing the world outside Europe. Continental affairs were handled by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Therefore, Russia has an objective opportunity for territorial expansion to the West within the geographical framework of the Baltic-Black Sea arc. It is in this arc that the historical and civilizational dispute about the border between Russia and Europe

takes place. The signing of the manifesto "On the acceptance of the Crimean peninsula, Taman island and the entire Kuban side under the Russian state" posed a rather difficult task for the Russian Empire, to integrate the Crimean Tatar population into the Russian space, which belongs to another civilizational community and gravitates in the religious, cultural and political spheres to Ottoman Empire.

The Empress's special attention to new subjects is demonstrated by the following promise of Catherine II to the Crimean Tatars: "holy and unshakably for ourselves and the successors of our throne, to support them on an equal basis with our natural subjects, to protect and defend their persons, property, temples and natural faith, which is freely practiced with will remain inviolable by all legal rituals, and finally allow each of them to have all the charms and advantages that such a state enjoys in Russia." The study of government decrees and literature allowed us to identify the political technologies used in the 18th century. by the imperial government, for the integration of the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian space. These technologies can be classified into three areas (Figure 1).

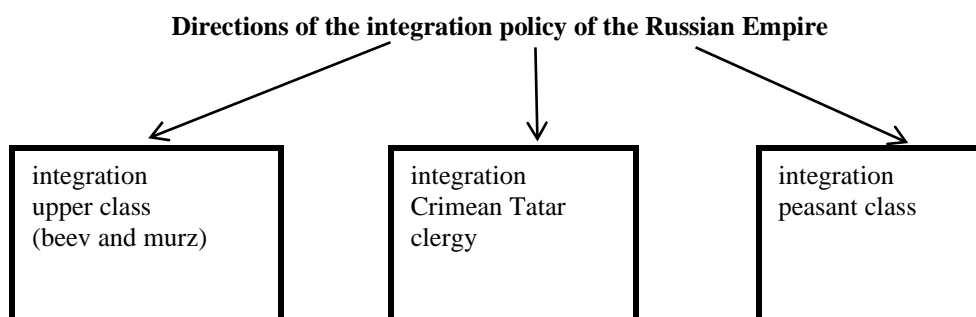


Figure 1. Features of the integration policy of the Russian Empire

The political technologies of integration in relation to the Crimean Tatar upper class (beys and murzas) were as follows, namely:

1. Involvement of the Crimean Tatar nobility in military service with the possible awarding of officer ranks to "relevant persons."

2. Granting to the upper class of Crimea - the beys and murzas - all the rights and benefits of the Russian nobility.

3. Providing many murzas and beys with civil ranks (the rank of collegiate councilor was granted to Memet Bey Shirinsky, the position of regional conscientious judge was granted to Kazyndar Megmet-aga and others).

4. Creating conditions for the activation of the socio-political activities of the Crimean Tatar elite - providing representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group with the positions of district leaders of the nobility. These positions were received in the Simferopol district - Abduveli-aga Topechokrasky,

Feodosiysk - Major Atai-Murza Shirinsky and others.

5. Allocation of land resources of the Tauride province for the use of eminent Crimean Tatars.

Imperial integration technologies aimed at representatives of the Crimean Tatar clergy and the religious feelings of the Crimean Tatars, namely:

1. Ensuring respectful attitude towards the religion of Muslims by representatives of other faiths. This is evidenced by the order issued by G. A. Potemkin, which stated: "... as a church rebel, who dares to neglect respect for their sacred places and violate the prayer of Muslims, will be subjected to the most severe punishment."

2. Demonstration of government attention to the religion of Muslims. Catherine II allocated funds to repair Crimean mosques and help the poor Muslim clergy.

3. Establishing control over the local Muslim clergy through the creation of a supreme body of

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spiritual authority in 1794 Muslims VTauride region – Tauride Mohammedan spiritual rule, as well as through the government appointment of muftis.

4. Popularization of knowledge of the state language among the clergy by providing greater social prospects for those who have mastered the Russian language. “If there were several candidates for a clergy position, preference should have been given to those who knew Russian.”

5. Spread of the Russian language among the Crimean Tatars, through individual representatives of the clergy who speak the state language. Because, in addition to performing liturgical duties, the clergy supervised the education of Muslims.

6. Creating conditions for the recognition of the power of Russian rulers by the highest Muslim clergy.

7. Demonstration of respect for the traditions of the Crimean Tatars through the vesting of the clergy with certain judicial power.

8. Formation of a positive attitude of the Muslim clergy towards the Russian government through the exemption of representatives of this class from paying taxes.

Integration policy of the Russian Empire in relation to the Crimean Tatar peasant class, namely:

1. Ensuring the freedom of the Crimean Tatars. Peasants belonging to the Crimean Tatar ethnic group were equated to state peasants, to whom serfdom did not apply.

2. Providing benefits to the Crimean Tatars (peasants and settlers) in the form of exemption from military service (from recruitment), as well as from duty for troop billets.

3. Popularization of military service among the Crimean Tatars, through the creation of national military formations, entry into which took place on a voluntary basis, upon enlistment a salary was paid.

Despite the loyal policy regarding the Muslim population of Crimea, consolidating the positions of the Russian Empire on the territory of the peninsula was quite problematic. This is evidenced by waves of emigration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group to the Ottoman Empire. The reasons for the emergence of this process were: panic caused by a change in the usual way of life and differences in cultures, the liberties of officials and Russian troops on the ground, as well as contradictions in the issue of land ownership. It is worth noting that the new administration did not create any obstacles to the departure of the Crimean Tatars, but did its best to convince them not to leave their homeland with the help of the Muslim clergy and the allocation of land plots. And it worked: many Crimean Tatars who left their homeland returned back. The process of including the Crimean Tatars in the political, economic and cultural all-Russian space was permanent, due to the external influences of the West and the Ottoman Empire, as well as internal objective reasons:

the closed nature of the Crimean Tatar society; lack of patriotism towards the Russian Empire; ignorance and misunderstanding of internal processes occurring in Russian society;

insufficient education of the Crimean Tatars and ignorance of the legislative framework of the Russian Empire;

the government's lack of knowledge about the cultural and everyday characteristics of Russian Muslims;

Inconsistent integration activities of the government.

Therefore, even after a hundred years, the issue of integration of the Crimean Tatars remained relevant for the Russian government. Then the tsarist government began to involve the information sphere, namely, it gave permission to a prominent representative of the Crimean Tatars I. Gasprinsky to publish the first Crimean Tatar newspaper of the Russian Empire “Translator-Terdzhiman”, the author and editor of which he was, in order to influence the Crimean Tatar public. The publication of the newspaper began to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Crimea to Russia. The periodical was published from 1883 to 1918, its format was informational and educational, it covered all the most striking and important events of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Of interest is the fact that the newspaper, while performing a special state function, was also private. In modern scientific literature there is conflicting information regarding the political views of I. Gasprinsky. In works published before 1991, it was stated that, according to his convictions, he was an “all-Russian patriot” and advocated the rapprochement of the entire East with Russia. In studies published since 1992, I. Gasprinsky is already demonstrated as a fighter against the Russian autocracy. Studying the works of Gasprinsky: “Russian Islam. Thoughts, notes and observations of a Muslim”, “Russian-Eastern Agreement. Thoughts, notes and wishes”, as well as materials from the newspaper “Translator-Terdzhiman” did not confirm the latter concept. Based on the study of the publications of the newspaper “Translator-Terdzhiman”, it is possible to highlight the following aspects of integration technologies that were brought to the Crimean Tatar ethnic group through the newspaper and systematically displayed on the pages of the periodical, namely:

1. Philological technologies, which were expressed in the bilingual nature of the periodical (the newspaper was published in Russian and Crimean Tatar languages).

2. The authoritative personality of I. Gasprinsky in the role of the conductor of the views of the Russian government and the publisher-editor of the newspaper.

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3. Demonstration and popularization of the peaceful living of Muslims and Christians within the Russian Empire.

4. Fostering a sense of patriotism for Russia, popularizing the ideas of statehood as a great Russian power.

5. Informing the Crimean Tatar population of the orders and innovations of the Russian authorities.

6. Criticism of the Turkish state, which was one step lower in the field of education and printing.

7. Demonstration of Russia as an advanced civilizational center, the most acceptable for the life of Muslims in comparison with European countries.

8. Propaganda for increasing the level of secular education and vesting administrative functions with representatives of the highest clergy of Crimea.

9. Demonstration of the active participation of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group in the socio-political events of the country.

10. Spreading the idea of the need to increase the level of secular education for the successful implementation of representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group in the professional sphere.

11. Formation by the editor-publisher of "Translator" of a two-level state identity of the Crimean Tatars called "Russian Islam".

12. Popularization of military service in the Russian army of representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group.

13. Popularization of observance of Russian celebrations in the Crimean Tatar community.

14. Informing Crimean Tatars about the history of Russia with a positive assessment of the activities of the rulers of the Russian Empire.

15. Informing the Crimean Tatar population of the orders and innovations of the Russian authorities.

16. Demonstration of the authority of the Supreme Ruler of Russia and the privileged position of the Crimean Tatars on the territory of the Russian Empire.

17. Call on the Crimean Tatars to comply with the legislation of the Russian Empire.

18. Popularization of the study of the Russian language through demonstration of great social prospects among specialists who have mastered the Russian language.

19. Demonstration of freedom of religion and respectful attitude of the authorities towards the religious rituals of Crimean Muslims.

20. Spreading the idea of the need to create a military-political alliance between Turkey and Russia, as opposed to the policies of Western civilization, which, trying to use the ethnic and religious closeness of the Crimean Tatars and Turks, sought to pit the interests of the Ottoman and Russian empires in Crimea.

21. Information counteraction to the emigration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey.

22. Formation of a common enemy for the Russian and Turkic population of Russia in the form of the West.

The study of Russian integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars, foreign political literature, and media publications on this topic made it possible to identify a number of factors that at the present stage may turn out to be pressing problems for the process of integration of Crimea into the Russian space, namely:

1. Large area, low density and multicultural composition of the Russian population.

2. The closeness of the Crimean Tatar society in the political, economic, social and spiritual spheres.

3. Civilizational differences between the Russian and Crimean Tatar populations.

4. Negative mythologization of the joint historical past of Russia and Crimea, as well as the lack of systematic reciprocal activities of Russia in the field of "soft power".

5. Systematic work of foreign countries to create a socio-cultural environment through grants for training (Türkiye Scholarships programs SWPS University), events and scientific research, videos ("Strangers in their own land. Imperial attack on the rights of the Crimean Tatars", "Who are the Crimean Tatars", "Find Erwin") in the media; cinema and theatrical productions; scientific literature. These actions are aimed at creating a stereotype among the Crimean Tatars: "Russia has been oppressing the Crimean Tatars for centuries and is deliberately pursuing a policy of destruction and displacement of this ethnic group from the territory of Crimea."

The Russian state is based on the synthesis of the Russian-Orthodox core and the Turkic-Muslim population, which is reflected in the internal structure and external appearance of the state, and the Turkic peoples and the Muslim community make up a significant part of Russian society. However, this condition is maintained with a strong central government and project activities of the Russian elite. As soon as the era of weakening of the Russian state begins, which has a pattern of repeating itself in Russian history, Russia begins to crumble into segments, where national and civilizational factors serve as the basis for pulling the empire apart piece by piece. Therefore, to create stability in relations between Moscow and the Crimean Tatar ethnic group, the following is necessary:

1. Strong central government.

2. Reforming the state economy and exiting the peripheral position in the capitalist system.

3. Formation of an elite focused on the national interests of the state, and not on their own. Since "the overwhelming majority of the Russian political and economic elite are fully integrated into the Western project, therefore they are liberal in nature: they evacuate their finances to the West, buy

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real estate there, send their children there to study and live.”

4. Creating a single identity among the population and a clear project for the future vector of the country’s development.

5. Improvement in quantitative and qualitative indicators of the “soft power” technologies of the Russian Federation in working with the Crimean Tatar ethnic group (more actively disseminate the positive experience of interaction between Russia and the Crimean Tatars in the media, create various educational projects at the state level, cultural events, lecture courses, publish scientific, journalistic works on this topic in compliance with the principle of historicism).

6. Considering the eastern mentality of the Crimean Tatars and the special role of national authorities for this ethnic group, it is necessary to popularize the pro-Russian national heroes of the Crimean Tatars, as well as to form an authoritative, pro-Russian political leader.

7. Systematically work to create a pro-Russian Crimean Tatar political, economic and cultural elite, which can be achieved through the previously mentioned “soft power” technologies, as well as the presence of “social elevators” for the population.

Conclusion

To summarize, the following should be noted.

Firstly, the policy of the Russian government regarding the Crimean Tatars of the 19th–early 20th centuries. compared to the 18th century. has evolved and reached a new qualitative level. This is clearly demonstrated by the quantitative indicators and species diversity of integration technologies.

Secondly, the integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group into the all-Russian space since 1783 has been a permanent and difficult to achieve process due to a number of objective reasons. Therefore, it requires systematic work by the regional and federal governments to resolve this issue.

Thirdly, the identified experience of integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group into the Russian space of the 18th–21st centuries. can be functional in the modern historical period of Crimea’s integration into the all-Russian space.

Speculation on history is the worst kind of speculation. Because the result of such actions is the growth of hatred. And the result of hatred can be a new war or a new conflict. Therefore, the rule is this: if you want peace and friendship, don’t let us speculate on history; if you want to sow a future war, immediately start pushing the topic, distorting the facts and whipping up emotions.

I don’t want to talk about the Eurovision Song Contest at all. Instead of the competition for the national identity of the peoples of Europe, which it was once intended to be, it has turned into a vivid

manifestation of vice, singing for some reason almost always in English. To make it clear? But it doesn’t need to be clear. Write the name of the song, tell us what it is about, and we will be happy to enjoy the Greek, Polish, Bulgarian and German languages. But since the meaning of the competition has been lost and it has completely degenerated, then participation in this competition is not at all important for our country; we must approach it without aspiration. Understanding full well that this is a politically biased show, working according to the liberal principle “it doesn’t matter how people vote, it’s important what the jury thinks, which no one knows!” This means sending nationally colorful performers to Eurovision who sing in Russian (and certainly not in English). Buranovsky grandmothers are just right. In 2017, I would send Sergei Shnurov there. Let him show. He’ll talk. He will sing. Looking at it, we will definitely enjoy it. As for who votes and counts – we don’t care about that! A frivolous competition, where talent does not decide anything, must be treated with humor and not seriously. But enough about this truly wretched glossy competition, inflated with advertising to incredible proportions. The current results of Eurovision, on which our country’s enemies are speculating along with the Fifth Column, demand only one thing from us: an honest story about what happened in Crimea in May 1944. Why did the leadership of the USSR decide to evict the Crimean Tatars and how was this carried out? It’s important to tell the truth – there is a lot of speculation on this topic. Well, the ultimate goal of speculation on this topic by Kyiv and Washington and Brussels is the organization of bloodshed in Crimea - this is visible to the naked eye. So let's begin.

The Great Patriotic War, which began on June 22, 1941, quickly reached Crimea. Already on September 24, 1941, seven German divisions, together with the Romanian corps as part of the 11th German Army of Army Group South under the command of General Erich von Manstein, began an attack on Crimea from the territory of occupied Soviet Ukraine through the Perekop Isthmus. Without going into details of the course of hostilities, we note that in 1941 the Germans failed to take Crimea and Sevastopol. On May 7, 1942, the commander of the 11th Wehrmacht Army, General Manstein, launched Operation Bustard Hunt. Its result was the defeat of our Crimean Front and a sharp increase in the Nazi onslaught on Sevastopol. The heroic defense of Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, lasted 250 days and nights. On July 1, 1942, the resistance of the defenders of Sevastopol was broken, and only isolated groups of Soviet soldiers and sailors fought over the next couple of weeks.

In the occupied territory of Crimea, the Nazis deployed their instruments of terror. In this sense, Crimea was no different from Belarus, Ukraine or Latvia, where immediately after the arrival of the

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“German liberators,” mass executions began and concentration camps were built. During their stay in Crimea, the Nazis shot 72 thousand Crimeans and tortured more than 18 thousand in prisons and camps. In addition to the civilian population, 45 thousand Soviet military personnel who were captured were destroyed. The local “Dachau” was the state farm near Simferopol “Red”, which was converted into a death camp. It held both Soviet prisoners of war and residents of Crimea. During the occupation, daily executions alone took the lives of more than 8 thousand people.

In Crimea, the Germans were not original. As elsewhere, local “elements” were used to guard the concentration camps. It is no secret that many Nazi death camps (in particular, Sobibor) were guarded by Ukrainian nationalists. According to evidence, the camp at the Krasny state farm, according to the same German “scheme,” was guarded by Tatar volunteers from the 152nd Shuma auxiliary police battalion. The Nazis began their favorite tactic of pitting peoples against each other, which we saw in full after the coup in Ukraine, during the tragedy unfolding in Donbass. Where the population was not multinational, other methods of division were used. That is why we see such strange things when in one Bryansk region, populated in rural areas mainly by Russians, there was the Lokotsky district and the Dyatkovo district. In the first, self-government and a brigade under the command of Kaminsky functioned, fighting against the partisans, and in the second, full-fledged Soviet power operated and the Germans did not interfere there at all. And this is within one Russian region! Some helped the Germans fight partisans and civilians, others destroyed the invaders.

So if you tell the truth, then tell it all...

This is what the head of the USSR partisan movement P.K. Ponomarenko wrote to Stalin on August 18, 1942: “The Germans are using all means to attract to the fight against the partisans... contingents from our population of the occupied regions, creating from them military units, punitive and police detachments. By this they want to ensure that the partisans get stuck in the fight not with the Germans, but with formations from the local population. There is frenzied nationalist propaganda surrounding the formations. This is accompanied by the incitement of national massacres and anti-Semitism. Crimean Tatars, for example, received gardens, vineyards and tobacco plantations taken from Russians, Greeks, etc.”

When it comes to collaboration during the Nazi occupation of Crimea, many remember only the Crimean Tatars. For the most part, this myth was the result of a national tragedy - the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people. However, it is worth noting that firstly, not all Crimean Tatars chose the path of collaboration. Secondly, not only the Crimean Tatars collaborated with the occupation administration.

People who were active accomplices of the occupiers were appointed to the positions of heads of local self-government. By the way, V. Maltsev was appointed to the post of Yalta burgomaster. The same one who, on the night of August 1, 1946, together with General Vlasov and other senior officers of the so-called “Russian Liberation Army” (ROA), was hanged in the courtyard of Butyrka prison. Collaborationist military formations played a major role, helping the Wehrmacht in the fight against the Crimean partisans. Their number for the entire period of occupation was as follows: in Russian and Cossack units - about 5 thousand people, in Ukrainian units - about 3 thousand people, in parts of the eastern legions - about 7 thousand people and in Crimean Tatar formations - from 15 to 20 thousand people. Since June 1943, a recruitment point for the Vlasov “Russian Liberation Army” appeared on the peninsula. It should be said that he was not popular. If among the Crimean Tatars the Germans easily played on national contradictions, then of the Russians over the entire time they hardly managed to recruit only a few thousand people into the ranks of the ROA (including those languishing in concentration camps). And then, closer to the beginning of 1944, at least a third of them went over to the side of the partisans.

Thus, talking about collaboration among only Crimean Tatars is fundamentally wrong. It is also important to note that, according to the 1939 census, the Crimean Tatars were the second largest nationality of the peninsula - 19.4% (218,179 people) of the total population (Russians - 49.6%, 558,481 people). Therefore, based on the national policy pursued by the Nazis, they were a priority even in comparison with the Ukrainians, of whom at that time there were only 13.7% on the territory of the peninsula. And the Germans directed their main efforts towards pitting Russians and Crimean Tatars against each other. However, not all representatives of the Crimean Tatar people chose this path. For example, the head of the Southern headquarters of the partisan movement, Comrade Seleznev, closer to the spring campaign of 1944 for the liberation of Crimea, said in a radiogram: “The atrocities, robberies, and violence of the Germans are aggravating and embittering the population of the occupied territories. Dissatisfaction with the occupiers is growing daily. The population awaits the arrival of the Red Army. It is characteristic that the Crimean Tatars en masse become partisans.” Thus, the commissar of the 4th partisan brigade was Mustafa Selimov. In the brigade itself there were 501 Crimean Tatars, which was approximately a quarter of its strength. In general, with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, many Crimean Tatars stood up to defend our country along with its other peoples. In particular, Abdraim Reshidov served as commander of a bomber aviation regiment. During the entire war, he flew 222 combat missions and was awarded the title of Hero of the

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Soviet Union. Fighter pilot Ahmet Khan Sultan personally shot down 30 German planes, for which he was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. 15 fascist tanks were knocked out by guns under the command of Seitnafa Seitveliev during the defense of Odessa, in the battles of Kerch and Sevastopol, in the Battle of Kursk and during Operation Bagration.

During the 26 months of struggle against the occupiers, 80 partisan detachments with a total number of over 12.5 thousand people, as well as 220 underground groups and organizations, operated in Crimea. During this time, more than 29 thousand German soldiers and police were killed, more than 250 battles and 1,600 operations were carried out. In response to the actions of the partisans, the Nazis began to commit atrocities. For example, in the mountainous Crimea, 127 settlements were burned and destroyed. In the Greek village of Laki, on March 24, 1942, the Germans burned 38 people alive. In the village of Ulu Sala (now Sinapnoe), which is located 18 kilometers southeast of Bakhchisarai, in the upper reaches of the Kacha River, the Nazis burned 34 people alive - old people, women and children. Moreover, all of them, with the exception of one person, were Crimean Tatars.

In May 1944, Crimea was liberated by our army. And almost immediately a decision was made to deport the Crimean Tatars. In addition to the Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Armenians were evicted from the peninsula. The Crimean Tatars suffered the most, of course. However, when assessing these events, you need to understand the conditions under which decisions were made, what cruelty was committed around by the Nazis and their accomplices, and what a terrible war our country took part in.

On May 10, 1944, a note from L.P. Beria with a draft decision on the eviction of the Crimean Tatars was placed on Stalin's desk. After which a resolution of the State Defense Committee (GKO) was adopted, which contained the following points, namely:

- All Tatars should be evicted from the territory of Crimea and settled for permanent residence as special people. settlers in the regions of the Uzbek SSR. Entrust the eviction to the NKVD of the USSR.

- Establish the following procedure and conditions for eviction: a) Once decided special. settlers take with them personal belongings, clothing, household equipment, dishes and food in an amount of up to 500 kg per family. Property, buildings, outbuildings, furniture and household lands remaining in place are accepted by local authorities... Acceptance of livestock, grain, vegetables and other types of agricultural products is carried out with the issuance of exchange receipts for each settlement and each farm. To entrust the NKVD of the USSR, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Milk Industry, the People's

Commissariat for State Farm and the People's Commissariat for Transport of the USSR from July 1 this year. d. submit to the Council of People's Commissars proposals on the procedure for returning livestock, poultry, and agricultural products received from them according to exchange receipts to special settlers.

- ...Allocate one doctor and two nurses with an appropriate supply of medicines for each train with special settlers, in a timely manner in agreement with the NKVD of the USSR, and provide medical and sanitary services for special needs. settlers on the way... provide all echelons with special equipment. displaced persons were provided with hot meals and boiling water daily.

- ...To issue special settlers sent to the Uzbek SSR in the places of their resettlement a loan for the construction of houses and for economic establishment of up to 5,000 rubles per family with an installment plan of up to 7 years.

The operation to deport the Crimean Tatars began on May 18, 1944, that is, almost a week after the liberation of the peninsula. And already on May 20, 1944, a telegram was sent to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR L.P. Beria.

"We hereby report that the operation to evict the Crimean Tatars, which began in accordance with your instructions on May 18, was completed today, May 20, at 16:00. A total of 180,014 people were evicted, loaded into 67 trains, of which 63 trains, numbering 173,287 people, were sent to destinations, the remaining 4 trains will also be sent today.

In addition, the regional military registration and enlistment offices of Crimea mobilized 6,000 Tatars of military age, who, according to orders from the Head of the Red Army, were sent to the cities of Guryev, Rybinsk and Kuibyshev. Of the number sent at your direction to the Moskovugol trust, 8,000 special people. The contingent of 5,000 people also consists of Tatars.

Thus, 191,044 people of Tatar nationality were removed from the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. During the eviction of the Tatars, 1,137 anti-Soviet elements were arrested, and in total during the operation - 5,989 people. Weapons were seized during the eviction: mortars - 10, machine guns - 173, machine guns - 192, rifles - 2650, ammunition - 46,603 pcs. In total, during the operation the following were confiscated: 49 mortars, 622 machine guns, 724 machine guns, 9888 rifles, 326,887 pieces of ammunition.

"No incidents occurred during the operation, Kobulov, Serov, Simferopol."

One of the common myths says that all Crimean Tatars were evicted. It is not true. Members of the Crimean underground and members of their families, front-line soldiers and their relatives were exempt from eviction. Women who married representatives of other nationalities were left behind or even returned

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back to Crimea. In 1967, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council was adopted, which absolved the Crimean Tatars of charges of collaboration and recognized them as full Soviet citizens. But the Crimean Tatar people were able to return to their small homeland only in 1989, after the post-war deportation was declared illegal. Today, when Russia regained Crimea, the Crimean Tatar language became one of the three state languages here. "Crimean Tatars returned to their land. I believe that all necessary political decisions must be made that will complete the process of rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people, decisions that will restore their rights and good name in full," President Putin noted in his address on March 18, 2014.

Today, only enemies can try to incite hatred between Russians and Tatars. Enemies of the people - in full, because suffering and blood in new conflicts always fall to the lot of the people. And who can wish war and suffering for his people? Only enemy...

But is it necessary to remember history? Certainly. But we just need to talk about what brings

us together, makes us strong and fills us with pride. What about the scary pages? Were. But they passed. Closed. Mistakes are acknowledged, crimes are condemned. Dot.

This is what we need to talk about. You can even sing. And that is very unifying, and it will sound beautiful. Song about the Yalta Conference of the Three Allied Powers! It took place almost a year after the liberation of Crimea - from February 4 to 11, 1945, and J. V. Stalin, F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill, foreign ministers, representatives of the general staffs of the USSR, USA and Great Britain took part in its work. It was here that agreement was reached on the United Nations Conference, which began on April 25, 1945 in San Francisco. In fact, on February 11, 1945, the leaders of the USSR, USA and Great Britain publicly declared their determination to establish the UN.

This is how Crimea once again became the center of world politics. This is what we need to remember, talk about and sing about.

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