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TATARS AND RUSSIANS: HOW TO FIND A COMPROMISE TO FORM A RESPECTFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS EACH OTHER

Abstract: *in the article the authors examine various aspects of the relationship between Russians and Tatars. The historical experience of living together and the enrichment of cultures during close and long-term contacts are illustrated by examples of mutual borrowing in material culture (tools, housing, food), and mutual linguistic influence. The authors paid attention to the reflection in folklore of stereotypical ideas of Russians and Tatars about each other, showing the origins of negative and positive stereotypes. In addition, the article is devoted to the study of Russia's integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars during the period. 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. 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 the integration policy of the Russian Empire regarding the Crimean Tatars, based on primary sources and political literature, using scientific methodology, is beyond doubt.*

Key words: *Russians, Tatars, ethnic contacts, ethnography, folklore and political technologies, socio-political experience, integration, Russian Empire, Crimean Tatars, government decrees, newspaper "Translator-Terdzhiman".*

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Introduction

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What objective reasons caused the deportation of the Tatars from Crimea?

On May 18, 1944, by decision of the State Defense Committee of the USSR signed by I.V. Stalin, the eviction of the Crimean Tatars to Central Asia began.

From what eyewitnesses say, and what is recorded in Soviet and German chronicles, it is enough to understand that resettlement was the only and most correct decision. After all, out of the total Crimean Tatar population of 200,000, 20,000 became Wehrmacht fighters, that is, almost all men of military age.

We must remember that the Germans had not yet been expelled from our land, no one could say when the war would end and what other possible turns in its course. And so, having liberated Crimea, in such conditions, leave hostile armed detachments in the rear of our army, who have more than 700 machine guns alone? This would be extremely irresponsible and dangerous. What if the Germans returned to Crimea? This could not be ruled out then.

And how would they get along with the Red Army soldiers returning from the front? What would the war veterans do with them if they learned about what the Tatar punitive forces did in Crimea during the German occupation? A massacre would begin, and resettlement was the only way out of this situation. But there was something to take revenge on the Red Army soldiers for, and this is not Soviet propaganda; there are plenty of facts about their atrocities from both the Soviet and German sides.

From the memoirs of Crimean survivors during the occupation: "When the Nazis retreated to the village of Old Crimea, the police offered them to slaughter the entire population overnight. Even these nonhumans were speechless from such an offer and refused the services of the "Tatar militias."

The Romanians also refused these services, because it was they who captured Crimea in 1941.

In Old Crimea there is a street on April 12. It was up to this street that the police managed to slaughter people; then the partisans and the Red Army stopped them.

Already in the fall of 1941, German-Romanian troops invaded the territory of Crimea, whose population consisted of ethnic Russians and ethnic Tatars. There were few Ukrainians there, and they got there on the directive of the Soviet government, which sent Ukrainians who had experience in agricultural work with similar soils to Crimea.

An entry was preserved in the diary of a resident of Simferopol: "It became known that in Bakhchisarai crowds of Tatars greeted the Germans with bread and salt and thanked them for their liberation from Russian rule." SS Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf noted that the Tatars prayed for the long life of Adolf Hitler, the German people and the Wehrmacht.

The massacre happened on April 12, 1944, when the Nazis were already leaving Crimea, and units of the Red Army had not yet managed to completely occupy its cities.

The fighters of the "self-defense company", together with those who did not want to be called Russians, carried out a massacre of the Russian population of Crimea. They slaughtered women, old people, and children just because they spoke Russian.

On April 12, 1944, when the Romanians left Simferopol, three streets of the Russian city were cut out. The same thing happened in Dzhankoy.

It was rather not the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, but rather their resettlement. Dzhugashvili thereby saved them. If the front-line soldiers had returned from the war and found out what the Tatars had done, there would have been St. Bartholomew's Night. In Simferopol, in 12 hours - from 20:00 on April 12 to 8:00 in the morning on April 13 - the Crimean Tatars killed many people.

Plus, we must take into account that thousands of Crimean Tatar battalions took an active part in the battles with the Red Army on the side of the Wehrmacht. Leaving such guerrilla warfare in Crimea means running the risk of losing the peninsula from a simple Romanian landing in Crimea. Or keep a couple of much-needed divisions on the peninsula at the front.

Yes. The issue was resolved radically. Chohom. Perhaps it was worth acting more selectively (although where it was selective - still 70% supported the Nazis). After the war, if there was time, maybe they would have done just that. But not during the war, when the territory had just been liberated and the front could still return. Therefore, they acted quickly.

In 2013, at a round table in Simferopol, a member of the Majlis of the Crimean Tatars, Ali Khamzin, said that the Crimean Tatars had every right to desert from the Red Army and go into the service of the Nazi authorities, and rejected the Majlis's proposal to dissociate themselves from the collaborators. He declared:

"We will not dissociate ourselves from the Crimean Tatars, who allegedly, as you say, were collaborators. We will not dissociate ourselves from the Vlasovites and consider them traitors."

The granddaughter of a "self-defense unit" fighter who came to Crimea at this time is the singer Jamala.

Although we cannot speak for all Tatars.

There were genuine heroes among them. It's not a matter of nationality. At all. The point is a society that can educate real people. Among the Crimean Tatars there are 8 Heroes, 5 Cavaliers of the Order of Glory of 3 degrees...

Main part

2014 will go down in modern Russian history as the year of Crimea. After being part of independent

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Ukraine for twenty-two years, the Crimean Peninsula became part of Russia as two separate federal subjects. The Russian Federation has expanded to a territory of 27 thousand square meters. kilometers and a population of 2 million people. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a precedent has been created for changing jurisdiction for part of the territory of one state in favor of another on the basis of the people's will. However, the results of the referendum on the status of Crimea were not taken into account by the leaders of Ukraine and its allies represented by the United States and member countries of the European Union. The change in the status of the peninsula caused the largest confrontation between Russia and the West since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR. From the point of view of Washington and Brussels, Moscow's actions violated the foundations of international law and world order. The Russian leadership believes that the results of the popular vote give grounds to talk about the reunification of Crimea with Russia.

Russian President Vladimir Putin notes: "Crimea is a unique fusion of cultures and traditions of different peoples. And in this way it is so similar to greater Russia, where over the centuries not a single ethnic group has disappeared or dissolved. Russians and Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars and representatives of other peoples lived and worked side by side on Crimean land, preserving their identity, traditions, language and faith." Along with the annexation of Crimea, Russia inherited a wide range of problems of interethnic relations on the peninsula, which had not been resolved by the previous government for twenty years. And in this regard, a special problem is building relationships with the Crimean Tatars, who make up about 12% of the total population of Crimea.

Taking into account the tragic history of this people, who survived Stalin's deportation and for many years did not have the opportunity to return to their homeland, this is natural. The events of the 20th century largely determine the current identity of the Crimean Tatars. During the years of Ukraine's jurisdiction in Crimea, in the mass consciousness of the Crimean Tatars, the negativity caused by the Soviet trauma was transferred to Russia as the legal successor of the USSR, although post-Soviet Russia did a lot to condemn Stalin's policies and perpetuate the memory of the victims of political repression and deportations. Vladimir Putin in his "Crimean speech" rightly noted: "Yes, there was a period when cruel injustice was shown to the Crimean Tatars, just like to some other peoples of the USSR." We should not forget that the history of Crimea added a certain urgency to the perception of Russia, primarily the centuries-old confrontation between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, whose vassal was the Crimean Khanate until the annexation of Crimea to the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century. During their stay as part of post-Soviet Ukraine, many

acute problems of the Crimean Tatars were not resolved.

At the same time, official Kiev artificially inflated fears and stereotypes among the Crimean Tatars associated with their tragic history during the period of Soviet totalitarianism.

This was done to create a counterbalance to "Russian separatism in Crimea" and made it possible to distract Crimeans from demands to solve pressing socio-economic and political problems.

Today, the Crimean Tatars have new opportunities within the Russian Federation. At a meeting with activists of the Crimean Tatar movement on May 16, 2014, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, the President of the Russian Federation said: "In no case can we all allow the Crimean Tatar people to become a bargaining chip in some disputes, in including interstate ones. Especially in some disputes, say, between Russia and Ukraine." Thus, to a large extent, the success of Russian policy in Crimea will depend on how effective the Russian government is in integrating various groups of the population of the peninsula through a competent national policy and policy in the field of confessional relations. This report examines the initial problems that existed among the Crimean Tatars at the time of Crimea's entry into the Russian Federation, the existing difficulties in building their integration, opportunities for Russia and challenges to its desire to ensure stability and progressive development of the peninsula. The actions taken by the Russian authorities in Crimea after March 2014 are also analyzed. Taking into account the relevance of historical and political subjects of the past on today's agenda, the report also paid attention to the basic facts of the history of the Crimean Tatar people. The final part of the article offers practical recommendations for achieving socio-political stability and strengthening civil peace in Crimea. Crimean Tatars are a Turkic ethnic group that formed on the territory of Crimea in the 13th-17th centuries. Its historical core was the Kipchak tribes. Today in the Russian media there are many publications about the historical kinship of the Crimean Tatars and Kazan Tatars, however, these are different ethnic communities. According to the secretary of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea, Aider Adzhimambetov, Crimean Tatars and Tatars from Russia are "brotherly peoples with a common history." "But these are different peoples. They were formed in different territories completely individually," he continues. Indeed, if the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates came under the rule of Moscow in 1552 and 1556, the Crimean Khanate existed until 1783, being a vassal of the Ottoman Empire for most of its history. This Ottoman influence seriously affected the religious traditions, culture, and language of the Crimeans, not to mention the awareness of their "specialness" and involvement in the politics of the

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Ottoman Empire - the great power of the Middle Ages and Modern times. Crimea became part of the Russian Empire after the Manifesto of Empress Catherine II on April 8, 1783. During the process of annexing Crimea to Russia, the Crimean Khanate was liquidated, which contributed to the mass emigration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey. At the same time, the Russian and then Little Russian (Ukrainian) communities grew on the peninsula, as well as an increase in the number of Armenians, Germans, Bulgarians, Jews and other groups. A significant part of the Crimean Tatars moved to the Ottoman Empire in the period 1790 - 1850s, and from there subsequently spread throughout the world (today small diasporas exist in Canada, Romania, Germany, Bulgaria). Expert Rinat Pateyev rightly noted: "Estimates of the migration flow vary widely: from tens of thousands to several hundred thousand, and sometimes even millions of migrants." At the same time, he notes: "If we can talk about several million Crimean Tatars in Turkey, then it is correct to call them Turks, who may have Crimean Tatar roots, but do not identify themselves with this people. A striking example is... Ahmet Davutoglu, who often likes to remember his Crimean roots, but does not identify himself as a Crimean Tatar. It should also be noted that in Turkey, Crimean Tatars living in Crimea are called "Crimean Turks". After the end of the civil war (during which "white", "red" and "national" governments were replaced in Crimea), the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created in 1921 from part of the former Tauride province of the Russian Empire as part of the RSFSR. By this time, representatives of 59 nationalities lived in Crimea. The ethnic composition of the Crimean population at that time was as follows: Russians - 42%, Crimean Tatars - 25%, Ukrainians - 11%, Germans - 6%, Jews - 5%. The question of a national republic with the granting of the right to national autonomy was raised even then. According to documentary sources, the Crimean Tatars and Germans laid claim to "full autonomy". Full autonomy presupposed the achievement of a certain level of state sovereignty - the provision of rights to the Crimean Republic in the field of external relations, international trade, and independent resolution of the issue of the return of emigrants to Crimea. Russian and Crimean Tatar became the two languages of the autonomy. "In the 20s of the last century, the so-called Leninist national policy was actively pursued. It was then that many autonomous republics and districts with national names were formed. In Crimea, the autonomous republic was simply called Crimean. There were many Crimean Tatars in its leadership, and certain quotas (public and private) of local national personnel were necessarily observed. And this was done not only for appearance, for show. Indeed, some impetus was given to the cultural development of the people - theaters and publishing houses were opened, teaching was carried out in their native language." It

should, however, be taken into account that the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was not an ethnic (in Soviet terminology, "national") autonomy, i.e. was not formed on a national-state or ethno-territorial basis. However, local residents, especially Crimean Tatars, perceived Crimea as "their" republic. In 1937, during the "Great Terror," representatives of the national intelligentsia came under attack (in particular, the national poet Bekir Choban-zade was repressed). In the 1930s, more than 100 mosques and houses of worship were taken from the Crimean Tatars, half of which were demolished. Similar actions by the authorities were aimed at the Orthodox clergy and Orthodox churches, as well as other religious denominations of the peninsula. According to the All-Union Population Census of 1939 (the last before the start of the Great Patriotic War), on the territory of the Crimean Autonomy, Russians made up 559 thousand people (49.6%), Tatars (including Crimean Tatars) - 219 thousand (19.4%), Ukrainians - 154 thousand (13.7%), Jews - 66 thousand (5.8%), Germans - 51 thousand (4.6%), Greeks - 21 thousand (1.8%), Bulgarians - 15 thousand (1.4%), Armenians - 13 thousand (1.1%) people. In August 1941, in connection with the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, the NKVD of the USSR carried out an operation to evict Germans from Crimea, in 1942 - Italians, and on May 18, 1944, after the liberation of Crimea from fascist occupation, the deportation of Crimean Tatars began. In the 60 hours it took to carry out the operation, 187,859 people were taken out of Crimea. About 70% of the displaced ended up in Uzbekistan, as well as in Kazakhstan and other regions of the Soviet Union. The bulk of the deportees were old people, women and children. On the fronts, special orders were issued to dismiss Crimean Tatars from the army, who were also sent to special settlement areas. Taking into account former military personnel, the total number of deported Crimean Tatars amounted to 200 thousand people.

The fate of the Crimean Tatars was shared by the Crimean Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks. Their eviction from Crimea began on June 24, 1944. 9,620 Armenians, 12,420 Bulgarians and 15,040 Greeks were deported to Kazakhstan, the Urals and Siberia. Together with them, the Kurds, Gypsies and Turks who lived here were expelled from Crimea. In total, more than 300 thousand residents were deported from Crimea during the war years. The deportation became the reason for the liquidation of the Crimean Autonomous Republic and its transformation into an administrative region. To compensate for the population decline, an organized resettlement of tens of thousands of people from various regions of Russia and Ukraine was carried out to the peninsula. Crimean Tatars were deported from the peninsula on charges of collaboration with the Nazi occupiers. Facts of collaboration did occur (Tatar SS Mountain Jaeger Regiment, Wehrmacht units, police) and were not

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isolated. A number of leaders of the Crimean Tatar movement hoped to establish their national statehood with the help of the German occupiers. And if some of them sought full support of the occupation authorities, then the moderate part advocated a “third way” between Hitler and Stalin. “Most of the people who collaborated with the Nazis managed to leave Crimea along with the retreating German troops, and the rest (about 5 thousand people of different nationalities) were arrested by the NKVD even before the deportation of the Tatars. The eviction included both the apolitical part of the population and the Red Army servicemen and members of their families. In 1944-1945, according to Soviet estimates, 15-25% of the expelled Crimean Tatars died in exile (representatives of the Crimean Tatar population themselves cite even more terrible figures - up to 46%).” The last figure is questioned by Russian experts on the history of Stalinist repressions and deportations. About 9 thousand front-line soldiers who fought in the Red Army were sent to places of deportation. At the same time, among the Crimean Tatars, nine people have the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, one of them (Amet-Khan Sultan) was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, about 12 thousand people fought against fascism in partisan detachments and underground groups. During the Khrushchev Thaw, the Crimean Tatars, unlike other deported peoples, did not receive the opportunity to return to their homeland. By this time, the Crimean region was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR. On February 5, 1954, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR, a decision was made, “taking into account the commonality of the economy, territorial proximity and close economic and cultural ties between the Crimean region and the Ukrainian SSR,” to transfer Crimea to Soviet Ukraine. This decision, submitted for approval by the allied authorities, received their support. This administrative measure did not change the situation of the Crimean Tatars. As a consequence, a movement for the right of return arose, which at the first stage maintained a moderate line. In 1958, its representatives were received by the then Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR A.I. Mikoyan, promising to solve a pressing problem in a short time. But only in 1967 a document appeared that allowed “Tatars who previously lived in Crimea” to settle throughout the territory of the USSR, subject to the provisions of the passport regime. This spurred a wave of comebacks. The Soviet-era passport registration system effectively blocked the possibility of resettlement, and activists of the Crimean Tatar movement were persecuted by the authorities. The return of Crimean Tatars to Crimea en masse during that period did not happen. At the same time, it should be noted that representatives of the dissident movement who were not of Crimean Tatar origin also provided significant moral support to the demands for

repatriation to their homeland. Other facts are also known. After the tragic event in the village of Besh-Terek (summer 1978), when Musa Mamut (previously convicted of violating the passport regime) committed an act of self-immolation, at his funeral the Russians carried banners “Musa from Russian brothers.” Against the backdrop of dissatisfaction with the then policy of the union center, Mustafa Dzhemilev moved to the forefront in the Crimean Tatar movement. With the change in the political course of the USSR leadership towards liberalization, the Crimean Tatars had the opportunity to return to their homeland. In 1987 and especially 1988. The flow of Crimean Tatars returning to Crimea has become massive. In fact, the process of political rehabilitation of the deportees began on November 14, 1989, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the Declaration “On recognizing illegal and criminal repressive acts against peoples who were subject to forced relocation and ensuring their rights.” In October 1992, in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, the heads of the CIS member countries signed an Agreement on issues related to the restoration of the rights of deported individuals, national minorities and peoples. This agreement was ratified by Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Armenia. Against the backdrop of dissatisfaction with the then policy of the union center, Mustafa Dzhemilev moved to the forefront in the Crimean Tatar movement. With the change in the political course of the USSR leadership towards liberalization, the Crimean Tatars had the opportunity to return to their homeland. In 1987 and especially 1988. The flow of Crimean Tatars returning to Crimea has become massive. In fact, the process of political rehabilitation of the deportees began on November 14, 1989, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the Declaration “On recognizing illegal and criminal repressive acts against peoples who were subject to forced relocation and ensuring their rights.” In October 1992, in the capital of

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Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, the heads of the CIS member countries signed an Agreement on issues related to the restoration of the rights of deported individuals, national minorities and peoples. This agreement was ratified by Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Armenia.

But there was no need to talk about the unity of the Crimean Tatar movement at that time. If the more radical part of it was grouped around the OKND (Organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement), then the moderate part, which tended to cooperate with the authorities, collaborated with the NDFT (National Movement of the Crimean Tatars). It should be noted that OKND was created in May 1989 as a result of a split in the Crimean Tatar national movement. OKND represented the more radical part of the Crimean Tatars. In June 1991, OKND leaders held a national congress of Crimean Tatars in Simferopol - Kurultai, which laid the ideological foundation of the modern Crimean Tatar national movement. The NDKT united mainly representatives of the intelligentsia and office workers. The movement advocated the restoration of the national statehood of the Crimean Tatars within the framework of state institutions being formed in Crimea. The NDKT did not show noticeable political activity and was more of a club of intellectuals than a political party, limiting itself mainly to literary polemics with its opponents. The OKND was headed by Mustafa Dzhemilev, and the most prominent leader of the NDKT was Yuri Osmanov. Both leaders had experience of imprisonment for political reasons. In 1989, Yuri Osmanov was included in the State Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the problem of the Crimean Tatar people. In 1989 (according to the latest All-Union Population Census), the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea was 38,365 people. By May 1990, according to experts, it had already increased to 83 thousand people, and by October of the same year - to 120 thousand people. By November 1991, shortly before the signing of the Belovezhskaya Accords and the collapse of the unified union state, the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea was already 147 thousand people. However, their arrangement and integration on the peninsula took place already in the context of the collapse of the USSR, the formation of independent Ukraine and the development of the Ukrainian national-state project. In the process of the collapse of the USSR, the Crimean Tatar national movement outlined the following basic demands: legal rehabilitation, land provision, linguistic status and state position. Various opinions and assessments were expressed on all these issues. Thus, the issue of rehabilitation was not only connected with its legal implementation, but was also sometimes supplemented by calls to give the Crimean Tatar population a special status of "indigenous people," as well as appeals to the international community with a request to speed up the

rehabilitation process. The land issue was often presented as a demand for the unconditional legalization of all unauthorized seizures of land plots on the peninsula. The language issue was discussed not just as a problem of state status and support for the Crimean Tatar language, but often flowed into the demand for a complete translation of all geographical names of the peninsula into Turkic toponymy. The most radical calls that arose among the national movement repeatedly boiled down to the demand for independent Crimean Tatar statehood. At the same time, the relationship between Kiev and the Crimean Tatar movement for more than two decades was characterized by inconsistency and contradiction. At the end of the USSR and in the first years of Ukrainian independence in Crimea, along with others, two large political movements began to develop in parallel - the Crimean Tatar and the pro-Russian. At the same time, the Crimean Tatar movement was split into representatives of OKND and NDFT. In 1991, through the efforts of OKND representatives, self-government bodies of the Crimean Tatars (actually parallel power structures) were created. These are the Kurultai (national parliament, elections to which were held every five years with the participation of the adult Crimean Tatar population) and the Mejlis (a kind of government). The Mejlis was formed by the Kurultai. At the second Kurultai (June 2630, 1991), the Declaration on the National Sovereignty of the Crimean Tatars was adopted, which unequivocally stated: "Crimea is the national territory of the Crimean Tatar people, in which only they have the right to self-determination as set out in international legal acts, recognized by the international community. The political, economic, spiritual and cultural revival of the Crimean Tatar people is possible only in their sovereign national state. The Crimean Tatar people will strive for this goal, using all means provided for by international law... The land and natural resources of Crimea, including its health and recreational potential, are the basis of the national wealth of the Crimean Tatar people and the source of well-being of all residents of Crimea." In the early 1990s, the Mejlis had some competition from the NDFT, whose leader was the writer Yuri Osmanov. It was he who was the creator and editor-in-chief of the Areket newspaper; he developed the draft concept of the Constitution of the Crimean Autonomy, the draft Law of Ukraine on the restoration of national integrity, rights and conditions of the Crimean Tatar people (nation), the Concept of national policy, rights and relations in Crimea. At the same time, unlike Mustafa Dzhemilev and his supporters, who spoke from a strictly critical position towards Russia, Osmanov was a supporter of building pragmatic relations with the Russian Federation and opposed maximizing the ethnic factor. He also criticized the Mejlis and its leadership for their commitment to extremist forms of struggle. Unfortunately, the tragic death of Osmanov in

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November 1993 (according to the official version, it was the result of a robbery) contributed to the marginalization of the NDFT. This moderate political movement did not find a new leader and actually disappeared from the forefront, while Mustafa Dzhemilev, on the contrary, began to gain points, and the Mejlis then became a monopolist in Crimean Tatar politics for many years. The permanent leader of the Mejlis until November 2013 was Mustafa Dzhemilev, after which he was replaced by Refat Chubarov. Only in 2006, with the formation of the public organization Milli Firka (People's Party), this monopoly was slightly shaken. During its stay within Ukraine, unlike the Mejlis, the public organization "Milli Firka" received official registration with the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. But this organization did not achieve great success. In the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Crimea in 2010, she participated on the list of the Ukrainian Village Democratic Party, which received only 7,268 votes (1%) and did not enter the peninsula's parliament. Representatives of the Milli Firka organization argued both then and later that the election results were falsified. Nevertheless, thanks to close cooperation with the Party of Regions and the office of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, Milli Firka strengthened its position. For two decades, the central Ukrainian authorities saw the Mejlis as their natural ally in containing the "Russian party" (which achieved some success in 1994, when supporters of unity with Russia became both the president of the autonomy and the majority in the highest representative body of Crimea). At the same time, Kyiv was afraid of the ethnocentric aspirations of the Crimean Tatar activists, their claims to transform the peninsula into an entity that would not take too much into account the Ukrainian legal framework. Hence the interest in the latent conflict between the Russian and Crimean Tatar communities of Crimea. This contradictory approach determined the Crimean Tatar policy of official Kyiv and the regional authorities of Crimea, which, with the exception of a short period in the first half of the 1990s, showed loyalty to the Ukrainian state. Before the change of state jurisdiction of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatars was not registered with the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine and was not recognized by either the authorities of Crimea or the authorities of Ukraine. Vice Speaker of the Crimean State Council Remzi Ilyasov rightly noted: "The relationship of the [Ukrainian] authorities with the Crimean Tatars was more like open flirting and walking in circles. For two decades since the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the Crimean Tatar people, deprived of their homeland, have been waiting for the authorities to adopt a law on the status of the Crimean Tatar people, a law on rehabilitation, which would be the most important prerequisites for the preservation and development of national identity, the development of national culture and language.

Unfortunately, Ukraine has not adopted a single legislative act aimed at restoring the rights of the Crimean Tatar people, at creating fundamental conditions for their revival and preservation in their native land, which turned the return of the people into a painful process." By decree of the President of Ukraine (May 1999), the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People, headed by M. Dzhemilev, was created as an advisory body to the head of state. Thus, the Mejlis was given direct access to the president, bypassing parliament. In 2010, Viktor Yanukovich, who came to power in Ukraine, fundamentally changed the composition of the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People. Representatives of the Mejlis began to form a minority of its members, and the majority was made up of members of other public organizations (including Milli Firka) loyal to the ruling Party of Regions. As a result, representatives of the Mejlis refused to participate in Council meetings. Along with other things, this explains the subsequent support for the Maidan in 2013-2014. from the Mejlis. Only on March 20, 2014, that is, two days after the peninsula became part of Russia, the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada recognized the Mejlis as the highest executive body of the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatars (resolution No. 1140-VII). This was done along with a number of guarantees for the development of the Crimean Tatar people within the framework of a united Ukraine. In the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (1995, then 1998) within the Ukrainian state there was no concept of "indigenous people", which the Mejlis insisted on. Now, when Crimea has already become Russian, this definition was introduced into circulation by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the aforementioned resolution. Throughout the post-Soviet period, the Mejlis actively interacted with Ukrainian nationalists. At the all-Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 1998, M. Dzhemilev was elected on the list of the People's Movement of Ukraine party, in 2002 as part of the Our Ukraine bloc, in 2007 in the Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense bloc, and in 2012 - by lists of the more moderate Batkivshchyna party. Refat Chubarov in 2010 became a deputy of the Supreme Council of Crimea of the sixth convocation on the list of the People's Movement of Ukraine party. The entire period from 1991 to 2014, the Mejlis supported the new Ukrainian state, the inviolability of its borders, and also against the pro-Russian Crimean movement. This, however, did not mean that ordinary Crimean Tatars completely supported the leadership of the Mejlis. Until 2014, during the Ukrainian elections, ordinary Crimean Tatars did not always express their preferences in accordance with the "general line" of the Mejlis, giving their votes not only to nationalist parties or the Batkivshchyna party, but also to the Party of Regions and the Ukrainian Communist Party. Nevertheless, the Mejlis, speaking on behalf of the entire Crimean Tatar

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people, claimed a special status on the Crimean peninsula, without too much regard for the legal framework of Ukraine. Since 1991, in Crimea, during the mass repatriation of Crimean Tatars, the seizure of land plots has been actively practiced. Land is perceived in Crimea as one of the most valuable resources, around which the struggle of social and political groups periodically intensifies and conflict situations arise on ethnic grounds. The most resonant conflicts are typical for the southern coast of Crimea (Simeiz, Gurzuf), Koktebel (Quiet Bay), Simferopol region (Chistenkoe village, etc.). Tent camps were set up in these territories, and the situation periodically escalated, repeatedly threatening to get out of control. The leaders of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis tried to justify any seizure of territory by the fact of Stalin's deportation in May 1944. At the same time, the Ukrainian authorities did not try to resolve the land issue that was acute for the Crimean Tatars. Speaking about the Ukrainian period, Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea Remzi Ilyasov notes: "The Crimean Tatars got the most remote and poor-quality agricultural lands, with a share of 1.5 times less per person. All this was done cynically, despite the existence of the problem itself and powerful protests. Wasn't it clear that the Crimean Tatars were deported, everything was taken away from them, including their lands? They began to return en masse only after 55 years. Therefore, the Crimean Tatars, in fact, could not be members of collective farms, to which land shares were distributed in accordance with the current legislation of Ukraine." The situation of this complex and unstable balance was disrupted by Maidan-2 in Kyiv and the response in the form of the "Crimean Spring", which led to the entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation.

The civil revival in Crimea was a direct consequence of the illegitimate change of power in Kyiv. After President Viktor Yanukovich left his post, and the Verkhovna Rada was reformatted in accordance with the wishes and ideas of yesterday's opponents of the head of state and the leaders of the Maidan, opponents of the new Ukrainian order came under attack. Despite the democratic rhetoric used by the Kyiv authorities, in reality, "farewell to the past" was accompanied by discrimination against dissent and settling scores with those who do not agree with the new government. For the Crimean Tatar movement, the Ukrainian crisis highlighted several fundamentally important points, namely:

firstly, it demonstrated the crisis of the Mejlis as a monopolist in expressing the opinion of the entire Crimean Tatar people;

secondly, it highlighted the contradictions between the politically engaged elite and ordinary people concerned about security, interethnic peace, opportunities for business development and the implementation of religious freedom;

thirdly, the positions of opponents of the Mejlis have strengthened. The Milli Firka organization, previously relegated to the background, moved forward and spoke out for the Russian choice and against the movement towards Euro-Atlantic structures.

As soon as anti-government protests began in Kyiv in November 2013, the Crimean Tatar Mejlis outlined its position aimed at supporting European integration and against the "establishment of an authoritarian regime" in Ukraine. In fact, this was a position directly opposite to the opinion of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. After the violent dispersal of Euromaidan in Kyiv on November 30, 2013, the leadership of the Mejlis stated: "Today the situation in Ukraine has begun to acquire a character that threatens the territorial integrity of Ukraine and its sovereignty. This development of events is facilitated by the local councils of some regions of Ukraine, including the Verkhovna Rada of Crimea, which, at the direction of the ruling party, make decisions containing demands for the introduction of a state of emergency and the suppression by force of peaceful protests of citizens of Ukraine." According to Ukrainian media reports, representatives of the Mejlis were present at the Maidan itself, positioning themselves as defenders of the interests of the entire Crimean Tatar people, acting as guarantors against separatism in Crimea. When it became clear that Viktor Yanukovich had left his post, on February 23, 2014, a rally organized by the Mejlis was held on Lenin Square in Simferopol, during which Refat Chubarov demanded that the Crimean members of the Party of Regions leave the party, and also demanded that the city authorities within ten days demolish the monument to Lenin. After 3 days, the Mejlis organized a rally with the aim of blocking the building of the Supreme Council of Crimea and preventing a decision on joining Russia. During the rally, Chairman of the Mejlis Refat Chubarov stated that "Crimean Tatars will not allow Crimea to be torn away from Ukraine." At the same time, a rally of the Russian community of Crimea was held here. A conflict broke out between the participants of two rallies, as a result of which 30 people were injured and 2 people died. But almost simultaneously with this, an alternative Crimean Tatar point of view was voiced. "Crimea is desperately fighting the Bandera evil spirits. The word is up to Russia. If the Russian Federation does not want to finally and irrevocably lose fraternal Ukraine as a friendly country, if it wants to get a NATO border near Smolensk, let it sit and watch as the Crimeans themselves try to sweep away this Bandera evil spirits, which is fully financed and armed by cold pragmatists from Washington and Brussels. But our resources are not enough," Vasvi Abduraimov, a well-known Crimean public figure, politician, deputy chairman of the Council (Kenesh) of the Milli Firka party, told

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IslamNews on February 27. According to him, among the Crimean Tatars only the Mejlis and its leadership supported the Maidan. He also emphasized that during the 2012 elections, only 18% of the Crimean Tatar population supported the Mejlis, while more than 60% of this people are apolitical, and about 10-15% do not support the “Kyiv revolution” at all. Milli Firka’s fears were more than justified - from the point of view of the leadership of the Mejlis, they were “collaborators” of Yanukovich. And if Refat Chubarov’s plans regarding bans for the Party of Regions had been realized, Vasvi Abduraimov’s supporters would have also fallen under the rink of repression. And although in March there was also a split in the ranks of Milli Firka, Vasvi Abduraimov’s opponents, led by Enver Kantemir-Umerov, also supported the idea of holding a referendum on the future status of Crimea, expressing confidence that “a prosperous future awaits the Crimean Tatars in Russia.” At the beginning of March 2014, a peacekeeping mission was undertaken by representatives of the authorities and public structures of Tatarstan, as well as the World Congress of Tatars. They appealed to activists of the Crimean Tatar movement with a call for international peace and the settlement of controversial issues with the Russian majority of the peninsula. Then Crimea was visited by deputies of the State Council (the highest representative body) of Tatarstan, Mufti (head of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims) Kamil Samigullin and the President of the Republic Rustam Minnikhanov. An agreement was signed on cooperation between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in the field of medicine, tourism, investment and innovation. On March 6 and 10, 2014, representatives of the new government of Crimea, which set a course for preparing a referendum and actually joining the Russian Federation, made proposals for Crimean Tatar activists to join the authorities of the autonomy. Equal rights were declared for the entire population of Crimea and Sevastopol - Russians, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Armenians and others. On March 11, 2014, the Supreme Council of Crimea unanimously adopted a resolution “On guarantees for the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people and their integration into the Crimean community.” The resolution guaranteed that upon approval of the new Constitution of the Republic of Crimea as part of the Russian Federation, the Crimean Tatar language would be given the status of an official language on an equal basis with the Russian and Ukrainian languages. In addition, the Supreme Council of Crimea and the executive authorities of the republic will be formed with a guaranteed representation of Crimean Tatars of 20%. On the same day, the chairman of the lower house of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (State Duma) Sergei Naryshkin said that if the idea of joining Russia is supported, the deputies will support guarantees for

the Crimean Tatars. In parallel with this, attempts were made to dialogue between the highest Russian authorities and the leadership of the Mejlis - on March 12, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin had a conversation with Mustafa Dzhemilev. After this conversation, M. Dzhemilev said that Vladimir Putin did not deny the presence of the Russian military in Crimea and stated that the declaration of independent Ukraine in December 1991 did not comply with the norms providing for the procedure for secession from the USSR. According to Dzhemilev, V. Putin also said that he had given orders to avoid excesses with the Crimean Tatars. However, these attempts could not radically change the position of the Mejlis and especially Dzhemilev himself. Moreover, M. Dzhemilev tried to make efforts in the international arena to internationalize the Crimean crisis. Two days after the conversation with V. Putin, the Crimean Tatar leader visited NATO headquarters and held meetings with representatives of the missions of member countries and the foreign policy service of the European Union. He called on American and European politicians to introduce a peacekeeping mission to Crimea (in the format of UN troops), and also to ignore the results of the people's will. On March 17, M. Dzhemilev met with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan in Izmir and also considered the possibility for official Ankara to intervene in the Crimean crisis. However, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, expressing his concern, refrained from making firm promises and guarantees. Despite the difficulties, the Russian authorities continued the course of establishing dialogue with the Crimean Tatars and winning them over to their side. Already on March 18, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin stated in his address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: “The Crimean Tatars have returned to their land. “I believe that all necessary political and legislative 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.”

During the Crimean referendum, interethnic excesses were avoided, and there was no consolidation of the Crimean Tatars around the Mejlis. The question of the real participation of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimean referendum of 2014 is debatable. According to M. Dzhemilev, no more than 1% of Crimean Tatars took part in the voting, and in the Bakhchisarai region no voting stations were opened at all. According to the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Crimea (from February to June 2014) Rustam Temirgaliev, 40% of the Crimean Tatar population participated in the vote, 25% supported the entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation. M. Dzhemilev’s statistics are extremely doubtful, especially for cities with a mixed population. Experts from the Moscow Bureau of Human Rights observed the voting process in the Bakhchisarai region. The

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polling stations were open. Some of them actually had low turnout. There were provocative anonymous leaflets calling for a boycott of the elections. It is also worth taking into account the different positions that ordinary Crimean Tatars previously occupied during the Ukrainian elections. Consequently, it is incorrect to unequivocally assess the political views of the entire ethnic group of Crimean Tatars. The very preparation for the expression of will showed the presence of different views and approaches even within the Mejlis. A number of prominent figures in this structure (Remzi Ilyasov, Zaur Smirnov) expressed opposition to confrontation and readiness to cooperate. Even Mejlis activists are tired of his commitment to unilateral support for Kyiv and his unwillingness to accept new realities. After the results of the national referendum on the status of Crimea were announced, their recognition by Russia and the inclusion of the peninsula (in the form of two constituent entities of the Russian Federation) into Russia, a “transition period” was declared until January 1, 2015. During this time, it is planned to resolve the basic issues of integration of the new region in the economic, financial, credit and legal system of the Russian Federation, in its system of government bodies, as well as solve the problems of fulfilling military obligations and performing military service.

The integration of the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian society turned out to be one of the priorities of the Russian authorities almost from the very beginning of Crimea’s entry into Russia. Lentun Bezaziev, a deputy of several councils of the highest representative body of the autonomy, was included in the constitutional commission for developing the provisions of the Basic Law of the Republic of Crimea as part of the Russian Federation, in 2010-2014. Chairman of the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatars under the President of Ukraine. The Constitution of Crimea (adopted on April 11, 2014) in the preamble enshrined the concept of “multinational people of the Republic of Crimea”, and in Article 10 it proclaimed the Crimean Tatar language, along with Russian and Ukrainian, as the “state language” of this subject. This constitutional norm provides grounds for the further adoption of appropriate legal acts for its development and ensuring full linguistic equality. Subsequently, already in the fall of 2014, according to the plan of priority measures, the State Council (Parliament) of the Republic of Crimea is developing laws of the Republic of Crimea “On the functioning of languages in the Republic of Crimea” and “On education in the Republic of Crimea”. On April 21, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a decree “On measures for the rehabilitation of the Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Crimean Tatar and German peoples and state support for their revival and development.” According to the text of the document, it is planned to develop a separate program for the

economic development of Crimea until 2020, taking into account measures aimed at the national, cultural and spiritual revival of these peoples. It is planned to allocate 10 billion 805 million rubles for its implementation. Already before October 2014, 450 million rubles out of 800 planned for this year were allocated from the federal budget for the resettlement of deported ethnic groups. Thus, the Russian government has drawn another line under the legacy of Stalin’s national policy. This gave the Crimean Tatar people the right to receive benefits and other preferences provided for by the Law of the Russian Federation “On the rehabilitation of victims of political repression.” In April-May 2014, representatives of the Crimean Tatar movement entered the republican government of Crimea. Remzi Ilyasov received the post of Deputy Chairman of the Republican State Council, and Zaur Smirnov headed the Committee on Nationalities Affairs. For some time the position was acting. Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Crimea was Lenur Islyamov, then he was replaced by the head of the public organization “Generation Crimea” Ruslan Balbek. On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, Russian President Vladimir Putin held a meeting in Sochi on May 16, 2014 with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community. Issues of practical implementation of the decree of the head of state on the rehabilitation and integration of the Crimean Tatars were discussed. During the conversation, foreign policy factors were discussed, as well as their impact on the Crimean Tatar movement. Thus, according to Ruslan Balbek (later Deputy Prime Minister of the republic), Representatives of the Mejlis should stop playing the role of someone else’s tool, and “get involved with their people.” Thanks to the fact that Crimea, as a subject of the Russian Federation, received the right to adopt its own laws, today the authorities of the republic are trying to legislatively regulate the land problem. For more than two decades, this issue has been one of the most difficult and dangerous challenges for the entire population of the peninsula. The draft law of the Republic of Crimea “On the regulation of issues related to unauthorized occupation of land on the territory of the Republic of Crimea” is in the process of preparation (at the beginning of October 2014). Another already adopted and current Law of the Republic of Crimea “On the peculiarities of property and land relations in the territory of the Republic of Crimea” provides for some benefits for representatives of repressed peoples. Thus, it is planned to provide a one-time free plot of land to those in need for the construction of an individual residential building. During the “transition period”, the days of the Islamic religious holidays Kurban Bayram and Uraza Bayram became days off not only for Muslim believers in Crimea, but also for the entire population of the peninsula, which was perceived by

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ordinary people as a sign of respect for their faith, history and traditions. However, the situation in Crimea after its entry into Russia should not be described as a continuous series of integration successes. On March 29, 2014, the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people at its extraordinary session decided to begin the creation of “national-territorial autonomy” in Crimea and instructed the Mejlis to enter into relations with international organizations (UN, Council of Europe, EU, OSCE, Organization of Islamic Cooperation), parliaments and by state governments on all issues of ensuring the right of the Crimean Tatar people to self-determination. At the same time, Refat Chubarov stated that with this document, the Kurultai did not recognize the “annexation of Crimea” and the loss of the territory of the peninsula by Ukraine, and also suggested that the Crimean Tatars could hold a national referendum to confirm their desire to have autonomy. But in which specific state this autonomy would be was not explained, nor were recipes proposed (at least theoretically) for the peaceful return of Crimea to the “united Ukraine”. Shortly after this, Mustafa Dzhemilev reported that the Crimean Tatars were not yet going to announce a referendum on the status of the peninsula, explaining this by “the difficult political situation and international isolation.” After this, a turn was made towards cooperation with the Russian authorities. The Mejlis advocated the delegation of its representatives to the power structures of the Republic of Crimea. However, this line was also accompanied by numerous public reservations about non-recognition of the results of the March referendum and changes in the status of Crimea after the results of the expression of will were announced. And already on the last day of April 2014, the Chairman of the Republican State Council Vladimir Konstantinov said, that the Crimean authorities are unable to establish a constructive partnership with the Mejlis on issues of representation in government bodies. The factor that intensified the confrontation between the authorities and the Mejlis was the delivery of the Act of Notification of Not Permitting Entry into the Russian Federation for a period until April 19, 2019 to Mustafa Dzhemilev. He, however, made several unsuccessful attempts to penetrate the peninsula in early May 2014. All these events became a reason for increased criticism of Russia from official Kyiv, Ukrainian and Western media. On May 3, Crimean prosecutor Natalya Poklonskaya prepared a public appeal in which she qualified the actions of the Mejlis as extremist. Soon the first court rulings were made in cases of mass protests in support of M. Dzhemilev.

On May 16, 2014, Sergei Aksenov (at that time the acting head of the republican government) banned mass rallies in Crimea until June 6 under the pretext of preventing incidents in connection with the civil conflict in southeastern Ukraine. This decision was made almost on the same day as the landmark meeting

of Russian President Vladimir Putin with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community and two days before the events dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people. Aksenov’s May decision contributed to the deterioration of relations between the Crimean authorities and the Mejlis. It is worth noting that the leaders of this Crimean Tatar structure, after the decision of the head of the government of the republic, began to appeal to Russian laws. On July 4, 2014, the chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, deputy of the State Council of the Republic of Crimea, Refat Chubarov, was banned from entering the territory of Crimea, and on August 9, the adviser to the chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, Ismet Yuksel. On June 26, 2014, it was prohibited to hold a festive event dedicated to the Day of the Crimean Tatar Flag, which traditionally took place in the central square of Simferopol for several years in a row. The Mejlis was denied permission to hold a traditional requiem action on August 23, dedicated to the Pan-European Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Nazism and Stalinism (Russia has an extremely negative attitude towards attempts to identify these political phenomena). On June 24, 2014, FSB officers conducted a search in a madrasah in the village of Kolchugino, Simferopol region of Crimea. Subsequently, searches under the pretext of searching for prohibited Islamic literature were carried out in mosques, madrassas, national schools, schools with predominantly Crimean Tatar students, and a university. The latter’s calls for a boycott of the elections on September 14, 2014 also played a role in the growing contradictions between the authorities and the Mejlis. This campaign for the election of deputies to the State Council and local authorities had symbolic significance not only for the peninsula, but also for the Russian Federation as a whole, because it was the first election campaign in Crimea as part of Russia. Meanwhile, the leadership of the Mejlis regarded it as an “imitation.” Such actions of the Mejlis, according to Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea Remzi Ilyasov, should be regarded as “a contrived problem created for the purpose of manipulating public opinion, discrediting the democratic institution of elections, leading to hostility and other manifestations of national intolerance in society.” On September 5, 2014, a search was carried out in the house of the chairman of the Nizhnegorsky regional Mejlis, Mustafa Salman, and on September 16, searches were carried out with the seizure of computer equipment in the apartment of Mejlis member Eskender Bariev, chairman of the Belogorsk regional Mejlis, Mustafa Asaba. On the same day, representatives of security forces conducted a search at the Mejlis office in Simferopol. In September, the property of the Mejlis in Simferopol was seized, and members of the so-called “People’s Parliament” were forced to leave the building, which they occupied for a

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decade and a half. However, according to Sergei Aksenov, the searches were caused by the fact that, according to available information, in the offices of the Mejlis and in the madrasah there were publications with extremist content prohibited by Russian law. At the same time, during a meeting with the Chairman of the Council of Muftis of Russia Ravil Gainutdin (September 9, 2014), Sergei Aksenov said: "We will not allow either the security forces or any other government officials to violate the level of correctness and morality even when carrying out some investigative actions. "I promise for my part that the authorities will do everything possible to ensure that such cases do not happen again." He also added that the authorities of the republic have found mutual understanding with the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea, and all further actions will be coordinated. "We agreed on constant interaction," he said. "There is no danger for Muslims in Crimea." Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea R. Ilyasov speaks of the need for more fine-tuning in working with various Crimean Tatar organizations: "The behavior of employees during searches must be respectful, justified, with the presentation of reasons. This should be done especially politely and correctly in the presence of young and minor children. Better yet, if necessary and possible, such events should preferably be held with the participation of the public. In this difficult period that we are all experiencing together in Crimea, it is necessary to very subtly and flexibly carry out certain actions, we think, and events carried out by law enforcement agencies, so that, God forbid, we do not hurt or offend anyone, no matter who they are. neither was. Today we owe it to each other to say good things and give each other hope." He believes: "Politics involves mutual concessions and compromise options, if, of course, you follow a civilized path. The policy of confrontation, as a rule, leads to disastrous results." The famous Russian orientalist Alexei Malashenko warns (against the backdrop of mistakes that have already taken place in the North Caucasus) against excesses in terms of harsh persecution of the opposition: "Experience shows that as soon as relations between Muslims worsen, religious radicalism begins to manifest itself." And there is a danger, in his opinion, of getting a small, "but very active group of Muslims who are extremely hostile towards Russia." Mustafa Dzhemilev, speaking on October 2, 2014 at PACE, said that, according to his data, after the annexation of Crimea to Russia, 18 Crimean Tatars disappeared without a trace. Four Crimean activists were reported missing in May - Leonid Korzh, Timur Shaimardanov, Vasily Chernysh and Seyran Zinedinov. He broadcast his opinion about the involvement of Russian special services in these incidents. The head of the Central Election Commission of the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people, Zaira Smedlyaeva, also spoke in early October about the disappearance of 23-year-old

Eskender Apselyamov. On October 7, 2014, 25-year-old Edem Asanov, who disappeared on September 29, was found dead in an abandoned sanatorium in Yevpatoriya. The press connected what happened to him with the case of director Oleg Sentsov, who is accused of planning terrorist attacks in Crimea. At the same time, his relatives opposed the politicization of this tragedy. "This is a family grief, but it has nothing to do with politics or crime. We have no complaints against the investigator, the investigation, or the law enforcement officers," said Edem Asanov's uncle. According to the chairman of the regional Mejlis of the Saki region, Eskender Belyalov, there is no reason to believe that Edem was killed. "I participated in the search from the first day, after Eden was found, I communicated with investigators. Yesterday a forensic examination showed that it was a non-violent death. In addition, there is a suicide letter. I cannot say what was in it, but it is clear from the letter that it was his choice. He did it himself," said E. Belyalov. Kidnappings and other excesses became the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights under the President of the Russian Federation on October 14, 2014. This discussion with the participation of the head of the Russian state, in which sensitive issues were publicly raised, shows that today there are no "forbidden problems" regarding the Crimean Tatars, although critics in Kyiv and the West say so. In his speech, Council member, journalist and historian Nikolai Svanidze focused on negative stories in the field of interethnic relations in Crimea. According to N. Svanidze, the decision on the rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people "actually they do not need it," but the "Russian state" needs it. Continuing his thought, he also emphasized that instead of a real dialogue, there is an "imitation" of it, the authorities rely on discriminatory policies (examples were given of restrictions on public events for the 70th anniversary of the deportation), and kidnappings are also practiced. Russian President V. Putin reacted to N. Svanidze's remark. At the same time, the head of state gave a detailed argument for all the above points of criticism. "As for the 70th anniversary events, I cannot completely agree with you. Still, these events were coordinated with public organizations of the Crimean Tatars. Someone wanted to hold such rather tough events, someone did not agree, but in general an agreement was reached with them that these events would be held, they would be held in places of compact residence. And so they did. And people took part in these events," stated the head of state. V. Putin also drew attention to the fact that the position of the entire people cannot be identified with one group or structure (even an influential one): "Except for those who consider themselves representatives of the Crimean Tatars, but actually set themselves some other goals, There are people, they have been involved in human rights issues for a long

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time, protecting the interests of the Crimean Tatars. They retain Ukrainian citizenship, they are deputies of the Rada, they take part in international events on behalf of Ukraine somewhere in third countries, and at the same time they claim to protect the interests of people who live in Crimea and have accepted Russian citizenship". According to V. Putin, there is no reason for someone to monopolize the right to represent the interests of an entire people and "speculate on their past." The President of the Russian Federation emphasized the validity of the act of rehabilitation and its importance for ordinary Crimean Tatars: "This is also important for people, they do not want to feel like some kind of criminals, they want society to apologize to them, and the act of rehabilitation has such meaning, in including this apology to them. Although we did not take part in the decisions that were made then, nevertheless, we are here today, and we have the right to do this, and we must do it, and we did it." At the same time, the head of state expressed concern about the problem of kidnappings: "It is not clear who is doing this. Who does this? Why do they do this? This is completely incomprehensible to me. The only thing that is clear and clear to me is that we will do something that has never been done before for the Crimean Tatars. One of the most important problems for them is the legalization of their property and rights to land. This is the key issue and we are doing it." The ultimate goal of Russian policy in Crimea, according to V. Putin, is to restore order and establish the rule of law, which was not the case earlier when Crimea was part of Ukraine. An important thesis of the President of the Russian Federation was the idea that there are "by no means idle problems" on the peninsula. In fact, one should not exclude the possibility of an escalation of the ethnic conflict in Crimea as a result of external influence using the Islamic factor with the support of international network structures that already have their representatives in the Black Sea basin. This is confirmed by the fact that in recent years in Crimea there has been an intensification of radical Islamist movements, such as Wahhabism, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Hizbut Tahrir party. The last party, after Crimea became part of the Russian Federation, found itself outside the legal framework due to the entry into force of Russian legislation prohibiting the functioning of this religious party in the country. However, despite this, this religious movement has not lost its influence on its supporters (mainly in the rural and youth segments). On November 17, 2014, the well-known human rights organization Human Rights Watch published a 37-page report with the "telling title" "Derogation from rights: abuses in Crimea." The report cited facts of intimidation and oppression of those who opposed Russia's actions in Crimea, primarily the Crimean Tatars. The human rights activists' report was based on 42 interviews with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community, activists, journalists, lawyers and

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other residents of Crimea, Kyiv, Lvov and Moscow. However, according to the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Crimean Parliament Lyudmila Lubina, the Human Rights Watch material seems extremely biased. According to her estimates, More than 800 people are listed as missing in the lists of Crimean law enforcement agencies, only 18 of them are representatives of the Crimean Tatar people. “This is about 2%, six to seven times less than the share of Crimean Tatars in the population of Crimea. Although, of course, every such case is a tragedy, and we monitor every situation,” Lubina yawned. Alexander Zhuravsky, director of the Department of State Policy in the Sphere of Interethnic Relations of the Ministry of Regional Development of Russia, commented on the situation in a similar way (November 19, 2014): "When I was recently in Simferopol, this issue was discussed. They gave absolutely provocative examples of misinformation. A person died, and they distort the essence of this phenomenon and prescribe some kind of ethnic cleansing. On November 21, the Crimean Field Mission for Human Rights (CFM, created in March 2014) reported that during the day at the Simferopol market, unknown persons in camouflage detained more than 100 people. According to KPM information, the arrests were carried out by people in civilian clothes, accompanied by machine gunners wearing masks and dark brown uniforms without identification marks. They introduced themselves as employees of the Department for Combating Extremism of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs. On November 25, 2014, the press service of the Office of the Investigative Committee of Russia for Crimea stated that on October 10, the investigative department for Sudak received a statement from the Chairman of the Sudak City Mejlis F. Aliyev that there were unknown masked men on the road between Sudak and Grushevka near the Prival cafe Several people of Crimean Tatar nationality were kidnapped. Investigative authorities conducted an investigation into the fact. During the inspection, it was established that no violations of the law were recorded in this territory during the specified period of time. All persons without exception were interrogated, both those who reported the crime and those who were its witnesses, whose testimony contradicted each other and indicated that they had not seen any illegal actions. Taking into account the words of the Head of Crimea S. Aksenov that the abductions of Crimean Tatars in the region are not of a mass nature, The Moscow Bureau for Human Rights, however, sent an appeal to the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation, Yuri Chaika, demanding that he take personal control of the investigation into the abductions of Crimean citizens. On December 2, 2014, the Mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Ukraine, Said Ismagilov, in an interview with the Ukrainian commercial channel BTB, stated

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that the situation of Muslims in Crimea is much worse than in the territories of the self-proclaimed people's republics of Donbass. Representatives of the Russian Muslim clergy have a different opinion. Thus, according to the leader of the CMR (Russian Mufti Council), the Crimean Tatars understood that the Russian Federation "does a lot so that we, Muslims, develop spiritually and morally." He also emphasized that the Crimean Tatars are concerned that over the past two decades they have not been rehabilitated. At the same time, they did not create conditions for living normally, and not like aliens: "Now it is understood that the Crimean Tatar people will be rehabilitated," said the chairman of the SMR. Unfortunately, many representatives of the Russian liberal community do not take into account a number of positive facts that took place after Crimea became part of the Russian Federation. One of these is the process of repatriation to the homeland, which has not frozen, but, on the contrary, has intensified. Thus, according to the head of the Chairman of the State Committee for Interethnic Relations of Crimea, Zaur Smirnov (Crimean Tatar), about 50 more Crimean Tatar families returned from Central Asia after the change of jurisdiction of Crimea. Crimean Tatars take an active part in the population census (the All-Ukrainian census took place in 2001, the statistics require updating). "Entire residential areas come to our committee asking why there are no census takers, and we draw the attention of Crimean Statistics to the problems that have arisen," Zaur Smirnov told reporters in October 2014. All this, despite the existing contradictions, leaves significant space for dialogue. In September 2014, the All-Crimean Conference "On the situation of the Crimean Tatar people at the present stage in Crimea" was held, which proposed ways for the successful integration of new citizens of the Russian Federation. Representatives of the Mejlis, as well as figures from science, art, and education took part in it. Remzi Ilyasov stated: "The address of the All-Crimean Conference notes that demonstrative self-isolation and confrontation will lead to negative consequences, first of all, for the Crimean Tatar people. And therefore, in this fateful period, entering into power and active joint work in matters of building up the people will be the key to their security, well-being and development in their historical homeland - in Crimea." On November 25, 2014, on the air of the "Brave Hearts" program, M. Dzhemilev spoke about the need for Crimean Tatar youths of military age to ignore conscription notices into the Russian army, while understanding the possible consequences of such a refusal: "It is clear that the Crimean Tatars will not serve in Russian army. And since they will refuse the draft, then they face imprisonment." As a result, he showed his fellow tribesmen an "alternative" - leaving for the territory of Ukraine: "Probably, we will have to create some kind of settlements somewhere on the border with Crimea,

in the Kherson region. And men, of course, will be in the Ukrainian army." He did not forget to note such a fact as the participation of 450 representatives of the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian National Guard. It is obvious that such calls strengthen phobias and suspicion within Crimea and contribute to the formation of an atmosphere of distrust towards Russian citizens of Crimean Tatar nationality. Shortly before the visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin (it took place on December 1, 2014) to Turkey, Dzhemilev met with the head of the Turkish Republic, Recep Erdogan, and offered to support sanctions against Moscow. Thus, the topic of Crimea and Ukraine is artificially heated up and brought into the focus of Turkish public and political discussion. On December 10, 2014, representatives of the Central Office of the Crimean Tatar Culture and Mutual Assistance Society in Turkey held a protest at the Russian Embassy in Ankara. During this action, they held portraits of V. Putin, in which his image was stylized as Adolf Hitler. The protesters chanted: "Murderer Putin, get out of Crimea," "Deportation, genocide continues," "Crimean Tatars will not surrender. protection of the Crimean Tatars, on Human Rights Day (traditionally they took place on December 10). "For a number of years, events have traditionally been held, mainly a rally dedicated to the problems that faced the Crimean Tatar people. And traditionally, we adopted the resolution as an appeal to the authorities with a call to solve the problems of the Crimean Tatars. This year the situation has changed somewhat. This began on May 18 (Day of Remembrance for Victims of Deportation). On June 26 (Crimean Tatar National Flag Day) and after, they stopped allowing us to hold any public events at all, refusing them under various pretexts. As a result, they made it clear to us that this year on December 10 in the central square, as on any other date, the Mejlis will not be allowed to gather and organize a mass event. I think it makes no sense to explain why," said Deputy Chairman of the Mejlis Nariman Jelal. To date, Ankara has shown restraint in relation to the Crimean issue (which contrasts with its activity in the regions of the post-Soviet space with a Turkic population in the early 1990s). However, attempts to drag a powerful Eurasian power into a conflict with Moscow are extremely dangerous. On December 9, 2014, the conference "Ukraine as a test for European solidarity" was held in Brussels at the European Parliament, which was held under the patronage of the President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz. During this forum, Refat Chubarov made a speech. He called on parliamentarians to "protect the Crimean Tatars from persecution" and show solidarity with them. However, it is possible that in the near future a strong counterweight to the Mejlis will appear in Crimea, focused on cooperation with the Russian and Crimean regional authorities and integration into the Russian Federation. Remzi Ilyasov announced the creation of

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the Kyrym movement on October 20, 2014. Its representative offices may appear not only on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula, but also in several “continental” regions of Russia. At the first stage we are talking about ten subjects of the Russian Federation. The new movement, according to Ilyasov, will make it possible to more effectively solve the problems that the Crimean Tatars have been facing over the past decades. “The creation of the movement was caused by the fact that the representative body of the Crimean Tatar people, the Mejlis, got bogged down in discussions to no avail,” he emphasized. According to him, the new social movement is not being created in the format of strict opposition to the existing forms of consolidation and self-government of the Crimean Tatars - the Kurultai and the Mejlis. The founding congress to create it is scheduled for mid-December. Before this, potential supporters and activists of the newly created organization will hold local meetings at which delegates will be determined. At the congress itself, it is planned to consider proposals for the creation of a Concept for the development of the Crimean Tatar people and their culture, including the education and functioning of the language, until 2020. Along with this, there is significant potential for social influence of the Milli Firka organization, an alternative to the Mejlis, and a number of public organizations, among which the Sebat organization can be called the most active. Cooperation with a part of the Crimean Tatars, who had experience of constructive cooperation with government bodies and held major positions in the Crimean parliament and government over the years, also seems interesting. The last of them in June 2014 created a new public organization “Kyrym Birligi” (Unity of Crimea). In October 2014, this association took the initiative to hold elections of new delegates to the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people during the year. According to its leader Seytumer Nemetullaev, the re-election of Kurultai delegates will take place within the framework of Russian law. Social activists are waiting for the results of the population census to obtain data on the number of voters. The Kyrym Birligi initiative was supported by the head of the Federation of Crimean Tatar Derneks (associations) of Turkey, Unver Sel. “The Crimean Tatar people should not follow the mistakes of the old leaders of the Mejlis and must create a new body and a new Kurultai,” he noted. On November 30, 2014, the Public Council of the Crimean Tatar People, created on the initiative of “Kyrym Birligi,” sent an appeal to the presidents of Russia and Turkey, Vladimir Putin and Recep Erdogan, in which they expressed confidence that no one would be able to quarrel between the peoples of the two countries.that in the near future a strong counterbalance to the Mejlis will appear in Crimea, focused on cooperation with the Russian and Crimean regional authorities and integration into the Russian Federation. Remzi Ilyasov announced the creation of

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one would be able to quarrel between the peoples of the two countries." "Yes, there are difficulties, but these are difficulties of the transition period, so we, representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, created a Public Council, which is designed to promote the creative development of our people as part of the Russian Federation. We will develop our culture, traditions, help our people settle in their historical homeland and create favorable conditions for the successful development of the entire Crimea. We are ready to fully support the Russian authorities on the path of prosperity for Crimea and Russia," the document says. In this situation, the Russian government at all levels may have constructive partners who are ready not only to interact, but also to correct the mistakes made by political and administrative structures during the "transition period."

Conclusion

Crimea in 2014 became the most important argument for Russian positioning in the international arena. Russia, having decided to support the people's will on the peninsula, was able not only to protect its national interests in the Black Sea region, but also to prove that it is an independent subject of world politics, ready to defend its approaches to the world order. However, consolidating these successes in the short and long term depends on a high-quality and effective solution to the problems of development of Crimea and Sevastopol. And among the top priorities in this direction is the development of the idea of Russian civic identity among the Crimean population, the harmonization of interethnic relations and the integration of the Crimean Tatars, who have historically difficult relations with the Russian state. To successfully solve these problems, the following measures are proposed, namely:

1. Encouraging socio-political Crimean Tatar organizations focused on integration with Russia, supporting Eurasian integration and involvement in all-Russian social processes. In addition to party structures, attention should be paid to supporting non-governmental organizations. At the same time, it is important to pay attention to publishing, media and educational projects. In the conditions of information confrontation with the West, there is an urgent need for our own Crimean Tatar "voices", capable of qualitatively opposing and promoting the pro-Russian point of view, while having some distance from the authorities and autonomy from their tutelage.
2. Minimizing the "exclusivity" of the Crimean Tatar issue. At the level of rhetoric, Vladimir Putin has already succeeded in this, integrating issues of the tragic history or problematic present of the Crimean Tatars into the general context of the return and restoration of Crimea. But today a system of practical measures in this direction is required - not in the sense of hushing up the problems of the Crimean Tatar

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population, but in terms of solving its pressing issues as an integral part of all-Crimean and all-Russian tasks. Commissions should be created for the rehabilitation of both the Crimean Tatars and all those who were subjected to Stalinist repressions in Crimea. A similar approach is associated with solving land relations. It is extremely important to develop the Concept of National Policy of the Republic of Crimea, which should pay attention to all ethnic communities of the peninsula.

3. Development of dialogue between Crimean Tatars and representatives of Tatarstan, which has proven itself positively during the preparation for the referendum. Work in this direction should be continued and interaction between representatives of other constituent entities of the Russian Federation and Crimea should be encouraged. Representatives of the Volga region Islam (Spiritual Administration of Muslims) would be extremely useful as consultants for building religious policy in the Islamic direction.

4. Avoiding the practice of applying the “principle of collective responsibility” in the actions of security forces and law enforcement officers. Also, when covering incidents and court decisions, attention should be focused not on membership in the Mejlis or religious affiliation, but on the personal offense or extremist actions of a particular citizen. It is necessary to avoid situations in which certain harsh actions of the authorities will be perceived by the population as actions against the Crimean Tatars (the top of the Mejlis uses such rhetoric for their own purposes).

5. From previous denunciations of Crimean Tatar collaborationism, it is necessary to move on to a discussion of positive examples (the popularization of characters such as Akhmet Khan Sultan), the actions of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and the partisan movement; the modern generation needs to be reminded of the experience of cohabitation of different peoples of Crimea in Tsarist Russia and the USSR (1783-1991). It is proposed to establish prizes for talented students, graduate students and even schoolchildren associated with names of Crimean Tatar origin (Akhmet Khan Sultan, twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, etc.), and award them not only to Crimean Tatars, but also to other residents of the Republic Crimea.

6. Establishing international contacts with the Crimean Tatar diaspora in Turkey, the Middle East, Europe, and the USA. Additional legitimization of Russian actions in Crimea and promotion of the image of Russia as a homeland for all its peoples and citizens is urgently needed at the international level.

7. Organizing the conscription of Crimean Tatar youth into the ranks of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation within the framework of the “transition period” is an extremely important task.

8. Optimization of competition between the Caucasian muftiates and those spiritual centers controlled by immigrants from Tatarstan. In Russian

Crimea, there is already an extremely important process of determining who and from which Russian muftiates will take a kind of patronage over Crimean Muslims. To this end, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive, practically oriented study of the religious situation in Crimea, find a dialogue partner within the Crimean Tatar community itself, and very finely regulate the attempts of the Russian muftiates to influence the Crimean situation.

9. Extension of the “transition period” to prevent protest sentiments among the population of Crimea on issues such as re-issuance of passports, property rights and other things, which in case of dissatisfaction of citizens can be used for mobilization on an ethnic basis.

10. Implementation of a consistent and speedy language and educational policy in Crimea, according to which all declarations on the support and development of the Crimean Tatar language and other languages of Crimea could be translated into practice.

On March 18, Crimea will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the reunification of the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol with Russia. This decision was made following the results of a general Crimean referendum held on March 16, 2014, in which almost 97% of the population supported reunification with the Russian Federation. Not only Russian residents of Crimea, but also representatives of all nationalities living on the peninsula spoke in favor of joining Russia. Meanwhile, the Crimean Tatar issue to this day remains the main reason for political speculation on the part of Ukraine and attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. FAN looked into what support measures in the field of socio-economic development were implemented over seven years for representatives of national autonomies in Russian Crimea. The entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation was marked by a radical change in the state’s attitude towards representatives of peoples deported from the territory of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic during Soviet times. By decree of President Vladimir Putin, 04/21/2015 was declared the Day of Revival of the Rehabilitated Peoples of Crimea. To implement the provisions of the Decree, 14 legislative and regulatory acts were adopted in Crimea. The unfoundedness of political claims on the part of Ukraine all these years was confirmed to the FAN correspondent by representatives of the Crimean Tatar people themselves. Thus, the chairman of the Regional National-Cultural Autonomy of the Crimean Tatars of the Republic of Crimea, Eyvaz Umerov, believes that a new era of revival of the Crimean Tatars in their homeland is associated with the return to their native harbor. historical homeland. As a Crimean Tatar, a resident of the Simferopol district Emir, told FAN (he asked not to give his last name), he often hears from Ukraine, especially from representatives of the “Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People” 1 (banned on the

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territory of the Russian Federation) in Kiev, that the Crimean the Tatars are in Crimea as if they were in a ghetto; they are supposedly being held here by force, their rights are being violated, they are being oppressed and not given life. However, according to him, this is far from true, this is deception and provocations on the part of Kyiv. Many Crimean Tatars were able to receive much more rights, opportunities to learn their language, and legalized housing precisely after 2014.

He says he regrets that he himself, even in 2014, first left for Ukraine, believing the promises of a good life and being afraid of supposed “repression” from the new government. Having lived there for several years, the man says, he realized that the ghetto for his people was in Ukraine - no one was waiting for them there and no one was going to help them. Recently, thanks to government support, he and his family received documents proving his rights to the land. Now they are planning to build a house. He admits that he tried to occupy this land back in Ukraine, but only recently received it legally. In general, to date, about 5,000 Crimeans have been able to obtain extracts from the register and have become full owners of the land that was once occupied in the “protest fields.” The main driver in the field of socio-economic development was the State Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted in 2015 to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia “The Republic of Crimea - a territory of interethnic harmony.” The details of its implementation were told to a FAN correspondent at the State Committee for Interethnic Relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Thus, last year alone, more than 620 families received their housing, and 600 people were provided with one-time financial assistance to complete the construction of individual housing for a total amount of more than 104 million rubles. As part of the direction “Ensuring Interethnic Unity,” the Federal Targeted Program created 520 places in preschool educational institutions in areas of compact residence of citizens from among the rehabilitated peoples of Crimea. This year it is planned to put 36 apartments into operation and create another 520 places in kindergartens in Simferopol and the Simferopol region. Meanwhile, the echoes of Ukrainian policy towards the Crimean Tatars are still evident, says Ruslan Eminov, a member of the Council of Elders of the Crimean Tatar people “Namus”. According to him, for now the old policy of Ukraine can be traced in Crimea, in which the Crimean Tatars are assigned the role of a diaspora. And this leaves a certain imprint on the entire policy pursued towards the Crimean Tatar people. For many years he actively promoted the idea of reunifying Crimea with Russia, met the Crimean Spring and was awarded a medal for the return of Crimea. Ruslan Eminov connects hopes for a true restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar population with the

recognition of the Crimean Tatar people as a separate nation formed on the territory of the Crimean peninsula, and the implementation of the Russian Federation law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples in relation to it. Earlier, FAN talked about the statement of the leader of the “Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People” (banned on the territory of the Russian Federation) Refat Chubarov that the lack of water in the Republic of Crimea is perceived by the Crimean Tatars as a factor that allegedly restrains Russians from settling the peninsula. Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 was a brutal blow to the Crimean Tatars, a Muslim minority who returned to their ancestral homeland in 1989 after being deported. Three years have passed and the European Union opposes the next package of anti-Russian sanctions adopted by the US Congress in July. And German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel even said that the EU could turn a blind eye to the controversial status of Crimea. The leaders of Ukraine, usually very sensitive to signals about anti-Russian sanctions and the status of Crimea, which was Ukrainian, remain silent, which causes considerable surprise. But Crimean Tatars loudly condemned the EU's actions. Prominent Crimean Tatar activist and owner of the Crimean Tatar TV channel ATR Lenur Islyamov sharply criticized Gabriel for his “message in defense of Putin” and said that if necessary, Crimean Tatars would fight for the return of Crimea to Ukraine. This story is long. We addressed this issue in our article in the American Journal of Political Science. Crimean Tatars are still quite hostile towards the Russian annexation of Crimea. We noted that part of the reason for this hostility lies in the persistent memory of those events that occurred more than 70 years ago. In May 1944, the Soviet authorities without much deliberation deported 200 thousand Crimean Tatars to Central Asia for collaborating with the Nazis during the war. As in other cases, everyone without exception was subject to deportation - even Red Army officers of Crimean Tatar nationality. Families were not allowed to take personal belongings with them, and the long trip to Central Asia in cattle cars was the last for many. According to some estimates, from 20 to 46% of the Crimean Tatar population died on the way and in the first year of life in exile. The main causes of death were disease and hunger. In 1989, as the Soviet Union was heading toward collapse, Crimean Tatars were allowed to return to Crimea and their ancestral homes. Approximately 280 thousand people returned. Although every Crimean Tatar family experienced the horrors of deportation, some families lost more relatives in the first year of exile due to harsh living conditions. We analyzed the consequences experienced by the children and grandchildren of survivors of the loss of family members. At the end of 2014, shortly after the annexation of Crimea by Russia, we interviewed three generations of respondents in 300 Crimean Tatar families who had

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| GIF (Australia) | = 0.564 | ESJI (KZ) | = 8.771 | IBI (India) | = 4.260 |
| JIF | = 1.500 | SJIF (Morocco) | = 7.184 | OAJI (USA) | = 0.350 |

returned to Crimea. In the survey we included those who survived the 1944 deportation, their children who were born in exile, as well as their grandchildren who were born at the beginning of the 21st century and did not live under the Soviet Union. Because some deportation survivors lost more relatives than others, we were able to assess the impact of the loss of additional family members on grandchildren's political leanings, attitudes, and behavior. Two points are especially important here, namely:

firstly, there are serious reasons to believe that the number of relatives who died during deportation does not in any way affect the political preferences and moods of the grandchildren who participated in the survey. Because of this, we are more confident that the differences between families are a result of how much they were affected;

secondly, the grandchildren of survivors who participated in our survey matured after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, they have no direct experience of life in the USSR under Soviet rule. This helped us avoid one major problem of figuring out what opinions and beliefs are transmitted within families based on people's personal experiences.

We have found that the effects of violence in families are surprisingly powerful. The more relatives died during the brutal deportation, the more the generation of grandchildren considers the Crimean Tatars victims. And in Russia they more often see a constant threat. Our research also showed that young

Crimean Tatars, whose families suffered more, are more likely and more active in politics. They voted more actively in the referendum on the annexation of Crimea to Russia in early 2014 and in local elections held that same year. But in these elections they demonstrated their opposition to Russia, voting against annexation, and then against the Russian ruling party. We found out what exactly is passed on from generation to generation. These include memories of victims, heightened perceptions of threat, and strong in-group attachments. This identity was formed in families through communication (sometimes in conversations about what the family experienced), and now it influences how the descendants of deportees react to political events, how they decide who to vote for, and whether to vote at all. Our research has shown that the memory of suffering in families is very strong and passes from generation to generation. The strong anti-Russian sentiment among today's Crimean Tatar youth is at least in part a direct result of the persecution of their family members that took place more than 70 years ago. Overall, these findings help explain why reconciliation between the descendants of victims and the descendants of those who persecuted them is often impossible. The victims themselves have passed away, but their relatives remember the violence inflicted on them, and those generations who did not directly experience the suffering of deportation still feel victimized.

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