

**Human rights in Ukrainian SSR: Crimean Tatars experience  
(second half of 1960 - the end of 80-ies of 20<sup>th</sup> century)**

**Abstract:** It is discussed and analyzed the process of the return of the Crimean Tatars after the publication of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On citizens of Tatar nationality, who lived in the Crimea," in 1967. There is paid close attention to the counter party, government and law enforcement bodies of the Crimean region of USSR, the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, the adoption of regulatory legal acts at the federal and national levels, aimed at restricting civil rights and discrimination against Crimean Tatars on the basis of their ethnicity.

**Keywords:** the Crimean Tatars; human rights; the discrimination; the Crimea region; the Ukrainian SSR; the court; the prosecutor's office; the police, the KGB.

On May 18, 1944 the Crimean Tatars were deported by Stalin's regime in the remote areas of the Soviet Union - Central Asian republics and autonomous republics and regions of the RSFSR. From 1944 to 1956 the exiles were living under the regime of special settlements.

The period from 1956 to 1967 is characterized by increase of confrontation between the government and exiles.

On September 5, 1967 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued the Decree "On citizens of Tatar nationality, who lived in Crimea." The

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Decree emphasized that "citizens of Tatar nationality who previously lived in Crimea and members of their families have the right, like all citizens of the USSR, to live on the whole territory of the Soviet Union in compliance with the current legislation on employment and the passport regime" [17. p. 104 - 105].

After publication of the Decree the first settlers flooded back into Crimea. Following the instructions, the Party and government authorities of Crimean region of the Ukrainian SSR, had taken all measures to prevent the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland.

By that time the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was among few Soviet republics which were members of the United Nations, and had the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 as a recommendation for the rights and freedoms of man and citizen.

The return of Crimean Tatars, the violation of their civil and political rights as a result of counteraction of the KGB, soviet, party, judicial and law enforcement agencies in accordance with legislation in force, have never been the subject to scientific understanding, except historical works, in the political and legal aspects.

While in the middle of the 1960s, only 15-20 Crimeans were registered in Crimea, by the November 15, 1969 the number of returnees living in the region increased to 2365, of which 867 people had been registered by the authorities [4]. The rest were denied, due to violations of the sale, the sanitary norms and the lack of adequate living space.

In compliance with Civil Code of the Ukrainian SSR, real estate buying and selling were treated as written contract in written form (Art. 44). Such a deal could be made by the parties in the notary's office or in the village council [1].

Village Council of People's Deputies were monitoring implementation of the rules of the passport system and conducted registration and deregistration of citizens as were required by the act of the Ukrainian SSR on July 2, 1968 "On the village council of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR".

It should be noted that during this period the state organized so-called “organized recruitment” resettlements, by which within 10 years, from 1968 to 1977, 2958 Crimean Tatars moved to Crimea. In information notes authorities were not concealing the goal of “organized recruitment” - bringing down a wave of mass repatriation.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR as of May 1, 1973 6874 Crimean Tatar people were living in the Ukrainian SSR in total, of whom 251 were not registered. Directly in Crimean region By January 1, 1974 3,500 of Crimean Tatars were living immediate in Crimea, including 1,100 people who arrived independently [19, p. 186, 198; 187].

It must be emphasized that the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the United Nations, was ratified by Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on September 18, 1973, which granted the right of self-determination and freedom of movement to peoples and individuals.

To prevent unplanned arrival the Bureau of Crimean Regional Committee of the Party on February 22, 1974 adopted a resolution "On additional measures to improve the passport regulations in the region." By this time 66 families or 316 people were living in Crimea without registration. The total number of citizens, who arrived in Crimea before 1974 spontaneously, was about 206 families (1196 persons) [19, p. 185].

Despite the fact, that by the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of January 9, 1974 "On the repeal of legislative acts of the USSR in connection with the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the lifting of restrictions for the choice of residence provided in the past for certain categories of citizens", certain legislative acts of the Soviet Union became invalid [18, p. 335 - 336], including Article 2 of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 13 July 1954, whereby for escaping from places of deportation, exiles were condemned to 3 years in labor camp, and Article 2 of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 28 April 1956, forbidding returning to

the place they were expelled from, on August 28, 1974 the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted the resolution no. 678 "On rules of registration of citizens", which significantly complicated the procedure of registration for Crimean Tatars in Crimea, since norm of living space was established in accordance with current legislation [18, p. 339-342].

In Crimean region standard living space per person was set as 13.5 square meters per person. For example, in Moscow, standard living space per person was 10 square meters. At the same time the total space of resettlement houses, built by the state in rural areas of Crimea for migrants from the European part of the USSR, did not exceed 40 square meters. The practice of rejecting of registration showed that these rules were basically related only to Crimean Tatars.

At this time the number of Crimean Tatars living in the area without registration was 798. According to the note of the head of the passport office of Department of Internal Affairs of Crimean Executive Committee police colonel F. Y. Gaydamak 10 people of this category of citizens were prosecuted by the police authorities due to Art. 296 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, 394 reports were drew up and sent to the administrative commissions and 191 written undertaking not to leave the place were taken.

47 of purchases and sales of houses were declared invalid by Crimea Courts. In addition, the police authorities were entrusted with completely unusual duties. District police officers were to identify houses for sale in entrusted areas. As a result of conducted work, police bodies of Crimean region registered 525 houses [20, p. 129 - 130].

According to the documents of persons who put their houses for sale, district policemen were personally warning about compulsory registration of sale in the village council or a notary's office. In practice, it was announced that the sale of real estate to Crimean Tatars is inadmissible and there is an administrative responsibility for it. It was given an unequivocal instruction: "Do not sale houses to Tatars."

To limit the return to their homeland, together with Crimean Executive Committee the Republican Soviet and Party authorities were instructed by Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, to consider the possibility of a gradual, starting from June, registration of 66 Tatar families, who had moved to the region individually and purchased a house.

However, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean Regional Executive Committee were charged to take measures, which in the future would preclude the possibility of spontaneous resettlements of citizens of Crimean Tatar nationality, focusing attention of executive committees of township and village councils of deputies of workers to prevent cases of illegal acquisition of houses on rights of individual ownership.

On March 5 - 6, 1974, to prevent the "autonomists" designs to transfer slanderous information abroad, meeting of managerial and operational staff of KGB of Crimean, Kherson and Zaporizhia regions was held by the KGB under Council of Ministers of the USSR. Additionally, in the first half of April a group of responsible and operative workers of KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's Office Ukrainian SSR was sent to Crimean region to take together with the regional party committee and the Executive Committee the necessary measures to prevent the protest of Crimean Tatars on May 18 [19, p. 185 - 186].

The following year, the situation had not changed. In June 1975 the number of families without registration in Crimean region reached 72 (333 persons). 21 families of this were involved in the criminal and 171 face administrative liability. Also, 79 private transactions of purchase and sale of houses by Crimean Tatars, who arrived spontaneously, were declared invalid by courts. The total number of Crimean Tatars who resettled in Crimea individually was 2432 people, including 179 families (812 people) who settled in a house with a "violation of the rules," and living without registration [5].

In this regard, on November 27, 1975 Secretary of Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine N. Kirichenko, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Regional Council of People's Deputies T. Chemodurov and deputy chairman of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR of Crimean region N. Troyak by examining the situation in this regard in accordance with the request of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine and taking into account that Crimea is an all-union resort, border area and there were a significant number of a very important military units and enterprises on its territory, as well as taking into account a large numbers of aliens, submitted proposals:

- extend the regulation number 321 of March 19, 1963 of Council of Ministers of the USSR "On Partial Amendment of the order of registration of citizens for permanent residence in the resort areas of the south" to the entire territory of Crimean region;

- in respect of some of the most active instigators of living without a registration in illegally acquired households, to take measures to expel them from Crimea to the former places of residence, by providing compensation for the cost of the purchased houses through dedicated funds;

- request relevant Soviet and Party authorities in the major places of residence of citizens of Tatar nationality, in accordance with the requirements of paragraph 2 of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet / September 1967/ to take further educational and deterrent measures aimed at restricting unauthorized resettlement of these people in Crimea. To held the same works in Kherson, Zaporozhye and other regions of Ukraine;

- taking into account the large concentration of "autonomists" in some regions of the region and the need to enhance the operational work to curb antisocial behavior on their part, by the KGB capabilities to create an apparatus of the KGB in the Belogorsk region. In addition, we consider it expedient to create bodies of

the KGB in Leninsky, Sovietsky, Pervomaiskoe and Chernomorskoe regions, with a similar situation [6].

All activities that have been undertaken aimed to legislative consolidation at the state level of ethnic segregation of Crimean Tatars.

However, the measures taken against Crimean Tatars were ineffective. According to the memorandum of the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine as of July 1, 1976 1078 families or 6010 Crimean Tatars were living in Crimean region, including 3820 adults and 2190 children [20, p. 219 - 220, 230].

Judicial practice was showing that law enforcement authorities were applying Articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, Art. 185 – unauthorized return of a person to the area where it is forbidden for him to live or not leaving of a person who is assigned to the expulsion. Punishment – exile, from two to five years. Art. 187.1 - for a dissemination of false fabrications discrediting the Soviet state and social system specified imprisonment up to three years or a fine of up to 300 rubles. Art. 188, 188.1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR specified resistance to authority or police employee [2].

Only in 1976, 26 Crimeans were prosecuted by law enforcement agencies and 343 were hold administratively liable, 75 purchase of houses were declared invalid [20, p. 230].

By this time, the number of Crimean Tatars who arrived spontaneously exceeded the number of those who arrived in an organized manner.

In order to curb the flow of repatriate against resettled Crimean Tatars and theirs family members without registration in execution of the land legislation and the Decree of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet of September 21, 1970 "On the norms of cattle housing in the private property of citizens non collective farms members", prosecution authorities carried an inspection in Leninskiy, Belogorsk, Sovetsky, Kirovsky, Pervomaiskiy, Saki, Simferopol regions on the basis of which the legislative execution on the homestead land and cattle housing standards in the

personal property of non working citizens living without a registration were generalized.

The inspection found that on the territory of these regions on 30 August 1976 without a registration were living 264 families that purchased houses privately without proper authorization, began to use homestead lands, attached to these households. It also has been found, that some managers employed citizens of Tatar nationality without registration. Violation of homestead lands legislation found in Lenin, Kirov, Day, Saki and Simferopol regions.

On detection of violations of the law during the inspection prosecutors of Leninsky, Belogorsk, Kirov Soviet, Pervomaisky and Saki regions made submissions to the executive committees of the regions Soviets [7].

Independent return of Crimean Tatars in Crimea increased significantly in 1977. This was due to the international Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki in 1975 and, in particular, the preparation and adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR in 1977, and Constitutions of the Union Republics in 1978.

As a result of a new flow of repatriates, in October 1977, 8190 of Crimean Tatars were living in Crimean region, including 1788 without a registration [16. LL. 9-10]. During 10 months of 1977 alone, 1590 of Crimeans arrived in the region. In December 1977, local authorities were forced to register 300 families. However, more than 2098 Crimeans had not been registered. 24 of them were prosecuted and 120 purchase of houses were declared invalid [24, p.182- 183]

The legal nihilism of the party and the soviet leaders represented by the Secretary of Crimean Regional Party N. K. Kirichenko and chairman of the executive committee of the Regional Council of People's Deputies T. Chemodurov had been reflected in a petition to the leaders of the Ukrainian SSR on deportation of Crimean Tatars to the former place of residence, with the use of administrative measures, that is to, taking into account local specificity, establish in Crimea such an order of eviction of anti-social elements from the region, which was provided

by paragraph 3 of resolution of number 658/211 of Council of Ministers of the USSR of 15 August 1966 "on strengthening the passport regime in Moscow, Leningrad and cities of Moscow region."

Crimean authorities also recommended to extend the area of regulation of resolution number 720 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of September 8, 1969 "On measures to strengthen the passport regime and restriction on registration in Sevastopol" [9].

It is important to emphasize that the resolution of the Council of Ministers of number 658/211 of August 15, 1966 "On strengthening the passport regime in Moscow, Leningrad and cities of Moscow region," it was the right of the police authorities to cancel the temporary registration and evict citizens seen in misconduct, participating in meetings or street processions. Also, the police authorities were given the right to evict beggars, vagrants, persistent violators of passport regime to their permanent place of residence, as well as disables and old peoples, who had no family and a permanent residence in homes for the disabled and the old people.

This resolution could not be applied against Crimean Tatars, arriving in Crimea for permanent residence with their families. Such were the conclusions of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, Ministry of Justice of the USSR [22, p. 51 - 52].

At this juncture, Crimean authorities held meeting with the first secretaries of region committees, chairmen of region executive committees, regional leaders of administrative agencies, which identified united actions against persons residing without a registration in houses purchased through private bargains, and measures to prevent such violations in the future.

Notary and police employees were instructed during the first half of 1977 to check with contracting parties required documents for the acts of buying and selling houses, and, if they were available, arrange the sale and registration in accordance with the established procedure and with the consent of the executive

committees. To curb speculative purchasing in order to obtain illegal profits on the sale of houses. In the absence of the necessary documents granting the right to purchase and sale house, consider the case in national courts and ensure exact execution of the decisions taken. To not allow arbitrary interpretation of the legal issues in this case and oblige the prosecutors in cases of dispute to give them full explanations. Require directors of state farms and kolkhoz chairmen promptly consider applications of citizens who buys houses to use plots of land and applying for a job in the farms and to issue, on the basis of specific conditions, certificate or decisions to these cases.

District departments of police were instructed on matters of registration and re-registration of citizens to follow current regulations strictly, to take decisions on these matters within their competence, to give full explanations to the applicants. For information about the arrival of the containers with things of the resettled Crimean Tatars, the soviet and party authorities at all levels had established close ties with the police field departments.

The KGB was instructed to take effective measures to restrict and end inflammatory activity of the "leaders" on the territory of the region, and to gather information and their signatures on letters and statements [10].

In addition, the Secretary of Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Kirichenko N. on April 21, 1977 applied to the Central Committee with a request to establish a regional branch of the KGB in Lenin, Soviet, Pervomaiskoe and the Chornomorske regions, since there were no offices of the KGB, and existing divisions of the KGB were geographically remote, thus it hampered timely identification and prevention of negative processes in the environment of Crimean Tatars.

As a result of the measures for 1976 - 1977 on the "worst offenders" of a passport regime it was drawn up 541 record of evidence, 82 of the purchasing were declared invalid. For violation of the passport regime 29 people were brought to criminal responsibility and 343 to administrative.

Part of Crimean Tatars, who came spontaneously, was forcibly sent by law enforcement agencies outside the region. In accordance with the housing legislation, stipulated "violation of the rules of socialist community", the eviction was carried out by a decision of the judicial authorities or a prosecutor without providing alternative accommodation. The legal standards set by the Soviet law on liability of officials, or local authorities as well as law enforcement agencies for damages to property, health of family members, including minors, did not concern Crimean Tatars. Altogether, in 22 cases in the region, the police enforced the eviction, including the destruction of purchased houses by construction machinery.

From 1967 to January 1, 1977 Crimean courts convicted 69 Crimeans for violating the passport regime under Art. 196 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR [21, p. 147, 150]. This article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was providing imprisonment up to one year or corrective labor for the same period [2].

Articles 186 and 187.p.1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR were widely used against Crimeans. In addition, in 1976, for unauthorized seizure of land – 2, for unauthorized return from the places of deportation – 2, for resisting police employees - 1, for illegal possession of weapons – 1, people were prosecuted [11].

Despite the fact that the Labour Code of the Ukrainian SSR, in particular Article. 2 proclaimed the right to work, that is, guaranteed employment in accordance with its quantity and quality, as well as the right to choose a profession, occupation, and the right for state social insurance, benefits for children, pensions, Crimean Tatars, due to absence of registration were deprived of these rights.

A smaller part of Crimean Tatars, who arrived spontaneously, yet was registered. Generally, they were members of the CPSU, the participants of the Great Patriotic War, former partisans and members of underground movement.

The main ground for registration was primarily party membership card of the CPSU, and only then certificate of the participant of the Great Patriotic War. Hero of Soviet Union pilot A. I. Reshid was registered after a written threat of self-

immolation to Chief Marshal of Aviation Vershinin [12]. Z. Abdullayeva and her three children were registered in 1978 after four years of living without a registration, two years of suspended sentence, suspended, and the self-immolation of her spouse M. Mamut with fatal outcome, who had done two years of sentence [13].

The presence of persons with disabilities or those of minors in the families of Crimean Tatars was not enough for registration.

In connection with situation, a significant part of the repatriates, due to punitive actions and discrimination on ethnic grounds by the Soviet authorities and the security forces, was forced to leave the territory of Crimean region. The most persistent, without registration, automatically had been deprived of such rights as the exercise of civil registration, to perform notary acts in accordance with current legislation, to receive various types of certificates and documents in local government, to participate in the citizens' assemblies.

Despite the presence of the Regulations on Religious Associations in the Ukrainian SSR of 1976, Crimean Tatars were not allowed or restricted in rights of registration, organization and activities of religious associations, to have prayer houses and places of worship and to conduct religious rites.

By unofficial ban secondary and higher educational institutions were made unavailable for Crimean Tatar youth. The three universities of Crimean region - Medical Institute, the Pedagogical Institute and the Institute of Agriculture were not a single Crimean Tatar student.

It is worth to mention such open forms of discrimination of Crimean Tatars as turning off lights, water, denial of registration of marriage, issuing certificate of birth of the child, denial of admission to preschool, registration of vehicles, and even an obstacle in the funeral of the deceased.

In accordance with the doctrine of the Soviet Peoples' Friendship and internationalism in the segregation policy of government media was involved indirectly. For media and research Party instructions was the directive - "History of

Crimea - without Crimean Tatars." In Crimean region, where every year millions of Soviet citizens were coming for recreation, this task was also carried out by museums, exhibitions and guides, which were presenting Crimean Tatars as invaders, traitors and betrayers. In everyday life minds of local population were implemented hostile attitude to Crimeans

In the next year of 1978, 133 families (about 600 people) had arrived in Crimean region. In total, 9896 people were living at this period in Crimea, of which 3,100 people or 667 families without a registration [23, p. 275].

This situation had led to the fact that Crimean authorities had been forced to apply to the higher Party authorities and ask for an early solution of all issues relating to the accommodation of Crimean Tatars in Crimea. In their appeals it was emphasized that the work carried out, as well as judicial and penal measures, due to collective opposition of Crimean Tatars, were ineffective [23, p. 275].

As a preventive measure, on August 15, 1978 Council of Ministers of the USSR issues a decree no. 700 "On additional measures to strengthen the passport regime in Crimean region," which was providing eviction by the administrative bodies of all persons who arrived in an unorganized manner, and were living without a registration. On September 30, 1978 Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR had also adopted a resolution "On additional measures to strengthen the passport regime in Crimean region" [18, p. 360, 362].

On the basis of made decisions, in 1978 for violating passport rules under Art. 196 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR 38 Crimeans were prosecuted, convicted for resistance to militia workers under Art. 188.1- 21 person, 12 person were fined by the People's Courts of region, 22 person were sentenced to 10-15 days for disobedience, in respect of 1150 Crimeans staying without registration were drawn up administrative reports. The commission of executive committees also fined 396 and warned 744 persons. Also, 148 submissions were sent by prosecutors to courts to bring an action for invalidation of purchasing of real estate [21, p. 178].

The Party authorities demanded the local police department, government and administrative authorities to consider and implement concerted actions to prevent arrived families from illegal purchasing and sale of houses and settling in them. Department of Justice was instructed to take measures to execute judicial decision on invalidation of purchasing of houses, as well as sentences of convicted persons for violating passport regulations. The police was instructed to provide strong assistance in the execution of sentences. Prosecutor's office was to strengthen the supervision over the implementation of judicial decisions. Executive committees, agencies of internal affairs had to strengthen the control over the maintenance of passport regulations; to take decisive action against individuals who were willfully violating the passport regime. Increase the level of responsibility of village councils.

It was recommended to Party Committees, respond immediately to cases of employment of persons without registration by economic managers, providing them living spaces or land for construction, using of collective and state land for vegetable gardens and pastures. All the heads of administrative, party and government bodies at all levels of the region had been warned about the personal responsibility for overall law and order situation. [14].

On May 19, 1979 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine issued instructions for Crimean Regional Committee, which recommended the unconditional implementation of decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU of October 26, 1972 "On certain categories of people displaced in the past from the places of residence in other regions of the USSR", the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP of November 14, 1972 and Council of Ministers of the USSR of February 25, 1972 no.94-5. Made decisions were also aimed at stiffening a registration and employment [15]

Ex facte the impression is that activities taken by the administrative bodies of Crimean region in connection to the arrived Crimean Tatars, are legal and fair: the passport regime, a resort area and a border zone. However, it is appropriate to cite

the official statistics. Between 1970-1978 migration growth in the region amounted to 222 300 people and natural 146900. Cases of prosecution of people of other nationalities for violation of the passport regime, as well as purchase of house people of other nationalities are almost unknown.

Passport regime was stiffened in Uzbekistan, where Crimeans for various reasons were not allowed to end registration as residents, especially if they intend to move to Crimea. Decree of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic of April 25, 1978 №221 (not published in the press) was forbidding to end registrations of Crimean Tatars, who had no reference from the future place of residence and the presence of employment and housing there [16, p. 336 - 337].

It should be noticed that, in spite of the propaganda at the state level of atheism in the USSR, Crimean Tatars and Uzbeks were Sunni Muslims, and their languages were related. Ethno-cultural contacts between Crimeans and Uzbeks were quite close. These factors at some extent affected the loyalty of the Uzbek authorities in relation to Crimean Tatars. Violations of the rights of Crimean Tatars in the Uzbek SSR were not so aggressive. This once again proves that the violation of civil rights of Crimean Tatars in the USSR had a regional dimension. On the other hand discrimination of Crimeans on ethnic grounds - is just one of the permanent stages in the history of segregation of the people after the deportation.

Authorities managed to bring down a wave of resettlement of Crimean Tatars by March of 1979. By this time, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR in Crimean region consolidated 10220 of Crimean Tatar people, of which 3299 had not been registered [20, p. 240, 255].

Crimean Tatars and minor family members, being restricted in their rights, for many years without a registration have not been able to get a job, were forced to take odd jobs. For example, in April 1982 among those who had no registration, there were 9 participants of the Great Patriotic War, 17 persons awarded with orders and medals of the USSR, 13 members of the CPSU [22, p. 95].

Measures undertaken by the government of the Ukrainian SSR were not constructive, violated human rights and therefore were not aimed at solving problems.

The new flow of repatriates began in 1986. While in 1987, 661 families arrived in the region, for the first three months of 1988 - 843. In March of 1988 there were more than 17 thousand Crimean Tatars in total, 1124 people of them without a registration. As a response, the Soviet authorities tried to revive the organization of the resettlement of Crimean Tatars by organized recruitment methods of 1960 - 1970-ies. For example, in 1988, it was supposed to resettle 300 families.

Resistance of the Soviet authorities on the return of Crimean Tatars continued in subsequent years. On June 7, 1988 the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP developed an action plan to neutralize antisocial behavior on the part of Crimean Tatars, in accordance with which the Internal Affairs, the KGB and the prosecutor of the region were instructed "to block all the ways of enter the Tatars in Crimea, Zaporizhia and Kherson regions by road, rail, air transport, ferry", "to ask for permission to bring internal troops in Crimea, Zaporizhia and Kherson regions" "to communicate with the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and the Krasnodar Region on the obstruction of departure of Crimean Tartar families in Crimean region" [22, p. 152].

Ethnic segregation policy of Crimean Tatars continued in the independent Ukraine in more sophisticated forms.

In matters of counteraction to the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, the Party and government bodies were coordinating functions of law enforcement agencies. An important instrument of ethnic segregation policy was law enforcement agencies, tactics and methods of which were violating the constitutional rights of Crimean Tatars. There were no effective mechanisms and legal institutions to protect the rights of citizens in the state. Under these circumstances, Crimeans were forced to appeal to the international community and

human rights organizations. Actions taken by the Party and the Soviet apparatus and law enforcement agencies of the Ukrainian SSR against the return of Crimeans to their homeland, with the use of current legislation were ethnically motivated, were clearly discriminatory and were reflecting the essence of the tradition of the legal discourse - "every law has a loophole" and represented legalized lawlessness.

Violations of civil and political rights of Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian SSR on ethnic grounds were authorized and systemic in nature, without any right of victims to an elementary protection.

Counteractions of the authorities, aimed at the violation of the civil rights showed that against the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland primarily acted top party and soviet leaders of the Ukrainian SSR, who were appealing to the center and seeking to coordinate in this regard their actions with the leaders of the USSR and the Uzbek SSR.

All this provides grounds to conclude that the political and legal practice of counteracting of the Ukrainian authorities against Crimean Tatars in the recent past, proves that the modern Ukrainian elite, with established legal norms such as "national minorities", "Unitarianism", and with the absence of a category in the Ukrainian legal environment as a "cultural-national autonomy" is not ready for a national-territorial autonomy of Crimean Tatars. The current Ukrainian government rhetoric about Crimeans and their national-territorial autonomy is nothing but another political maneuver.

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