THE ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF FORMERLY DEPORTED CRIMEAN
TATARS IN UKRAINE: EVALUATION OF THE GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMME
IMPACT IN 2002

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Paper for the 12th NISPAcee Annual Conference:
Central and Eastern European countries inside and outside the European Union: Avoiding a
new divide

Vilnius, Lithuania, May 13-15, 2004

Working Group on Democratic Governance of Multiethnic Communities

1 The author would like to express his appreciation to Olga Vlasenko, the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration for her assistance.
Abstract

Three programmes which are directed to adaptation, integration, resettlement of the repatriates of formerly deported Crimean Tatar People were adopted by the Government of Ukraine during 2002. “The Programme on the adaptation and integration into Ukrainian society of deported Crimean Tatars, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” and “The Programme for the resettlement of deported Crimean Tatars and those of other nationalities who returned to the Autonomous Republic of Crimea for permanent residence, for the period up to the year 2005” will be examined.

Unfortunately, realization level of activities of these programmes is 50-80%. The activities execution of the programmes for formerly deported ethnic minorities of Crimea are constantly coming down for last three years whereas when year-on-year increase of Ukrainian economic indicators is 5-6%.

At present, there are several social and economical problems which demand immediate management:

- Unemployment - 51% of Crimean Tatars, who are able to work, do not have permanent job;
- Lack of engineering and social infrastructures of Crimean Tatar settlements;
- High level of sickness rate among Crimean Tatars, especially among children of repatriates;
- Lack of opportunities for receiving compulsory secondary education on the mother tongue;
- Lack of provision of ethnic and cultural needs of Crimean Tatars.

These problems can be explained by various reasons. Namely:

- These programmes which are directed toward management of Crimean Tatar People issues are not priority governmental programmes;
- Irregular financing of the programmes by the State budget of Ukraine and local budgets;
- Insufficient participation of Crimean Tatar representative on decision-making process;
- Unreadiness of local public and municipal servants to management of ethnic diversity.

The President of Ukraine noted at last meeting of Council of representatives of Crimean Tatar people, the Office of the President of Ukraine in 2002: "We have much more potential for solution of repatriates issues then efforts which were made by our government officials."

Background information

The Crimea is really a unique region of Ukraine in geographical, climatic, geological and historical respects. It inhabited by people of various ethnic origins with their own languages, cultures, traditions and history
The history of Crimea has left many knotty questions and problems. One of them inherited from the recent past is of forced deportation of Crimean Tatars and persons of other ethnic origin in the forties of the last century. It was neither created by Ukrainian People, nor by the Ukrainian Government.

Nowadays more than 270 thousand Crimean Tatars and other formerly deported persons (FDP) have returned to the Crimea. However the measures adopted by Ukrainian Government for accommodation of the repatriates are insufficient: only about half of repatriates have permanent dwelling and permanent jobs; in more of 300 places of compact settlement of repatriates engineering and social infrastructure is either minimal or does not exist.

The most acute and urgent problems are:

- Unemployment: only 46.9 per cent of Crimean Tatars have permanent jobs. Unemployment level among Crimean Tatars is three times higher than average level in the Crimea. The most critical situation (as percentage of unemployed) is in Bakhchisaray region - 51, Saky region - 60.3, Leninskiy region - 56.6, Yalta - 59.4, Feodosiya - 53.6, Sudak - 58.8;
- engineering and social infrastructure in places of compact settlement is in poor condition: 48.8 per cent of Crimean Tatars do not have habitation of their own; electricity supply is 75 per cent of the required; water pipe network is 27 per cent; demand for gas is satisfied only by 3 per cent: sewerage and heating systems are practically absent; roads and communications are in very bad state;
- medical services are insufficient both in quantity and in quality while analyses of the dynamics of grave diseases morbidity shows that Crimean Tatars form the major part of “risk group of them”: sick rate of peripheral nervous system diseases and that of bone and muscular system is three times higher than the average level, morbidity of cancer cases is 1.5 higher than the average index.

Taking into account the poor state of the economy the Government of Ukraine defined the following priorities in repatriates accommodation:

1. proper financing of arrangements related to repatriation and accommodation of FDP;
2. completion of housing, social, infrastructure and cultural construction works started in previous years;
3. provision of the repatriates with housing, including granting credits on favorable terms; participation of FDP in privatization of the State enterprises;
4. provision of FDP with land plots;
5. provision of FDP with jobs.

The research task consists in evaluation of impact degree of the Ukrainian Governmental programme “Programme on the adaptation and integration of deported Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” under conditions of absence of a clear
and comprehensive public policy of restoration of the rights of the formerly deported Crimean Tatar people and other ethnic minorities.

Chapter 1: Aspects of adaptation and integration process of Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society: current situation

• The goals of governmental policy are adaptation and integration of formerly deported Crimean Tatars, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Germans into Ukrainian society, revival of their cultures and education, overcoming all forms of xenophobia and discrimination, harmonization of interethnic relationship, improvement of social and economic situation in the ARC.

The Governmental programme’s activities are directed at Crimean Tatar People and other formerly deported ethnic groups.

• “The Programme on the adaptation and integration of deported Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” was approved by the Resolution № 29 of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine, 10/01/2002 for effective administration on the social and humanitarian sphere. This programme provides for series of measures at the expenses of certain ministries and departments of Ukraine.

To experts’ opinion, creation of the Council of representatives of Crimean Tatar people, the Office of the President of Ukraine as deliberative body, in many respects, assisted to energization of actions of the Ukrainian Government and the government of the ARC. Realization of the Presidential instructions given after meetings of this Council let improve management of many issues of the repatriates. The Council of Ministries of the ARC has reached 20 Resolutions and 10 Orders for execution these instructions only for last two years.

The Republican budget of 2003 provided for 15 million Hryvnyas to social-economic and ethnic-cultural needs of repatriates. On the whole the State budget of 2003 provided for 43 million Hryvnyas.

• The realization of public policy on the management of ethnic diversity sphere is entrusted with the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration (SCNM) as central governmental body. The SCNM ensures interaction of central and local executive power bodies for activities’ guaranteeing of rights of FDP.

According to own competence, the SCNM is the main body of charge of budgetary resources for FDP programmes and it is controlling use of these resources by the subordinate bodies.

One of the principal executor of the programmes is the Council of Ministries of the ARC which realizes fulfilment of the governmental measures thorough its own structures. As every local authority the Council of Ministries of the ARC is interested in as many as possible receipts from the capital. Therefore, it actively lobbies these interests in the Parliament and the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine.
The most interested actors are the Mejlis of Crimean Tatar people, the elective representative body of Crimean Tatars and NGOs of Crimean Tatars. Thanks to its energetic actions and pressure on the authority the Government has to react.

- “The Programme on the adaptation and integration of deported Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” provides for series of measures to harmonization of interethnic relationships in the ARC, sociological research for concrete definition of FDP needs on social and humanitarian spheres, certain activities for creating of new work places, programme of summer rest and recovery of repatriates children, PR campaign of the FDP issues.

The Programme also provides for printing school supplies and literature in the Crimean Tatar language and languages of other ethnic minorities, aid for cultural institutions, local television and publishing house, programmes of retraining and raising the level of skills for teachers.

Unfortunately, the Programme does not provide for any training programme on management of ethnic diversity for servants of public bodies and local government.

The lack of state sector attention is made up the deficiency by non-governmental sector’s activities. The Crimean Tatar NGOs form the most powerful part of Crimea in a quantitative sense and as to real work. The Crimean Tatar public movement is considerable and indicative social phenomena on the territory of Ukraine. Crimean Tatars were obliged to develop own public organizations under conditions of budget funds’ deficit and insufficient attention from the direction of the state. On the one hand, this was dictated by aspiration to make up the inertia of the Government in the certain fields of public life, on the other hand, it is necessary to put pressure upon the authority. The activity of Crimean Tatar NGOs has multitude of aspects. At the whole, it is directed to adaptation and integration of FDP into the Ukrainian society. There are human rights protection, legal redress, assistance to education in mother tongue, social work including activities for children and youth, cultural and enlightener activity, etc.

The different curriculums for public officials on managing ethic diversity, propagation of the developed democratic countries experience among them, assistance of creation of tolerance and equal rights’ society are realized by several NGOs – “Krymskotatarska initsiativa” (the Crimean Tatar initiative), the Foundation on Human Rights and Naturalization “Spryynnya” (the Assistance), the Sevastopol Human Rights Group, the Centre of Information and Documentation of Crimean Tatars, “Maarifci” (the Educational activist). In many respects, this public work is realized thanks to the grants of Soros Foundations, the Institute of Democracy in East Europe, the Canadian Bureau for International Education, USAID, the Embassies of USA and Canada, UNHCR, UNDP, etc.

- Target group, on which is directed governmental programmes activities, is formerly deported Crimean Tatar people as well as Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans.
• The immediate executors of governmental programmes are servants of ministries and committees of the Council of Ministries of the ARC and local state administrations and institutions of local government in Crimea. They just immediately work with the representatives of FDP. They are as connecting link between the central government and the population. The local public servants accumulate requirements of beneficiaries that then they settle as suggestions for the governmental programmes.

The functions of elaboration of project proposal of governmental programmes, drafts of legal acts as well as the functions of control for performance of governmental decisions are entrusted on the officials from the centre.

• The studied Programme performance takes place under complex conditions of economics and society transformation in Ukraine. Under such conditions the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine experiences a difficulty with financing social and humanitarian issues. According to expert’s assessment, at least $3 billion are needed for settlement of Crimean Tatars; maximum estimates achieve $20 billion (2 million sq. m of housing alone need to be provided). The state is presently unable to allocate such funds. Moreover, the Ukrainian governmental actions for solution of FDP problems are criticized by parties of left doctrine, first of all, by communists. They regard the governmental activities as violation of equal rights principle for all nationalities in Ukraine.

Pro-Russian organizations, who are mouthpieces of interests of Crimean Russian-speaking population, also excoriate the central government activities.

Unsettled budget relations between the Centre and the ARC also provoke tensions between the two entities, complicate the political and socio-economic situation in the autonomy.

• The Government of Ukraine stresses that Ukraine is a single State which supports the process of repatriation and resettlement of FDP. The rest of CIS countries, actually, keep away from financing of FDP programmes. The Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine pays attention that it allocated 778 million Hryvnyas for solution of repatriates’ issues for last ten years. Three governmental programmes for FDP were approved by the Ukrainian Government in 2002 alone. At the same time, level of these programmes execution is criticized by both the Crimean Tatar representative body – Milliy Mejlis and plain Crimean Tatars. The data of sociological research, which was made by Centre for research of population of Ukraine, “The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, is the evidence of this opinion. The main reason for the existence of two different perceptions in the respondents’ opinions is the government’s lack of assistance in resettlement of formerly deported Crimean Tatars. Two thirds of the participants of survey (67,6 %) have such opinion. More than half of the participants in the survey (52,3 %) believe, that FDP should be given more attention because they are the least socially defended and the financially poorest inhabitants of Crimea.
Chapter 2: Circumstances and practice of implementation of the governmental programme on adaptation and integration of Crimean Tatars

2.1 The issues of legislative regulation of the formerly deported Crimean Tatar people repatriation process

Ethnic policy, as any another public policy, influences appreciably to substance of public and administrative relations since it determines the principal goals of state on the sphere of ethnic life of society. We have dealings with complicated combination of common and specific which rides by the features of multicultural milieu, interethnic and ethnic political relations. Public administration will be effective when not only its goals but practice will meet standard of milieu, national ideals and aspirations of people.

The problem of adaptation and integration of formerly deported Crimean Tatars and other FDP is a multifold problem and demands the comprehensive, grounded method.

Above all, legislative base is necessary for successful management regarding the FDP issues. The Ukrainian authorities were repeatedly criticized by both the Crimean Tatar leaders and European and international organizations for the delay with adoption a legislative act of legal regulation of repatriation process. At last, after long discussion in the Government and the Verkhovna Rada committees, the Ukrainian Parliament has approved the CMU’s bill of restoration of FDP rights as a result of the first reading this year. The Parliament preferred this declarative (per se) bill than more elaborate bill of Crimean Tatar leaders, MPs Mustafa Jemilev and Refat Chubarov. However, this is the first endeavour of legislative control for FDP issues by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for 12 years of sovereignty. Hence, it has real progress, taking into account that the left block of the Parliament blockaded any attempt to put such a bill to discussion during two convocation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

Unfortunately, normative and legal acts of central executive powers on management of ethnic diversity are often late, they do not have time to real processes of our society. Ukrainian noted scientist and MP Dr. Mykola Shulga stresses: “Consequence of such situation is that power does not have a strategy for Crimean Tatar issue solution. It shows own weakness on this point. Of course, it can tell that power has adopted several tens of acts concerning Crimean Tatar problems. But, this fact demonstrates the Government reaction to Crimean Tatars’ pressure upon power rather than its readiness to management of the Crimean Tatar issues.”

2.2 The issues of public control increase at the governmental programme’s execution

One of the best of ways to interethnic accord is constant dialogue between the authorities and public organizations of Crimean Tatars which should be promoted. Such a dialogue should take place on all levels: on the top, with the participation of the President of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada and the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine; on regional level, with the participation of the leadership of the Verkhovna Rada and the Council of Ministries of the ARC; on the local level, involving local councils, state administrations and self-government bodies.
The creation of the Council of Crimean Tatar people representatives, the Office of the President of Ukraine as deliberative body, assisted to energization of constructive dialogue between executive powers and the representative body and NGOs of Crimean Tatar people and it got complete character. At a later time, such bodies were created under local state administrations by the Resolution № 187 of the Council of Ministries of the ARC, 13/06/2000.

- The bringing in college of the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration MP Mustafa Jemilev, the Head of Mejlis of Crimean Tatar people and MP, academician Ivan Kuras, the director of the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine became following step of executive powers towards provision of transparency of power. The of transparency provision issue of funds allocation mechanism for the governmental programmes is keeping very urgent question on the conditions of acute budget deficit. NGOs can not always control with effectiveness activities of executive power bodies, especially, on the local level.

The new Constitution of the ARC (1998) practically excluded Crimean Tatars from participation in social and political life. They are virtually not represented in the Verkhovna Rada of the ARC of 1998-2002 (the quote of guaranteed representation of Crimean Tatar in the Verkhovna Rada of the ARC was abolished in 1998) and strongly under represented in the institutions of executive power and in the bodies of local self-government.

The quote for a guaranteed representation in bodies of government (as representative, as executive) on the basis of nationality is not provided by effective legislation of Ukraine. However it would further be solved under norms and practice of international community, including the recommendations of the Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life.

Although, there is the Order of the President of Ukraine of involving of Crimean Tatar youth to public service and National Conference “Youth of National Minorities and Indigenous Peoples. The Issues of Involving Crimean Tatar Youth and Another Formerly Deported Citizens to Public Service” was held in 2003 in Sevastopol, there is no real mechanism for specialists of repatriates to the central governmental bodies. For now, the Government only declares regarding the possibility of involving of repatriates to decision-making process.

The adoption of a new law of election on proportional basis was perceived by the Crimean Tatar social and political circles as positive step towards political structurization of the society, which allows to guarantee the representation of Crimean Tatars in local self-government and the Verkhovna Rada of the ARC. At the same time, the Crimean elite actively opposes to adoption of this law because it perceives the threat for own clannish, first of all, economic interests.

As the positive fact it can mark that 2003 is first year of 12 years of the Ukrainian independence when the Government financed measures of the programmes of adaptation, integration and resettlement of FDP in full.
2.3 The issues of interrelations between the Centre and the autonomy

The grand problem lies in insufficient regimentation of relations between the Centre and the autonomy. At first sight, the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration has enough large powers on the sphere of management of ethnic diversity. The SCNM is the central governmental body under the Statute, it assures the realization of public policy on the spheres of interethnic relationships, the rights of ethnic minorities, the Ukrainian Diaspora and migration on all territory of Ukraine. The SCNM realizes own powers directly and through the certain units at the local level. But, this certain units do not subordinate to it. For example, the second important body on ethnic diversity management, namely, the Republican Committee for Nationalities and Formerly Deported Citizens (RCNFDC) of the Council of Ministries of the ARC and its units are accountable to the central governmental body only with framework of use of the state budget funds. The interrelations between the SCNM and the RCNFDC are built on the basis of annual contract of use of budget funds. At that, the body of charge of public means is exactly the SCNM. Other than that, the RCNFDC works independently. The Statute of the Republican Committee envisages that on the RCNFDC is entrusted only function of interaction with the SCNM. And so, at the time of the implementation of public ethnic policy by the executive powers, they have different opinions between interpretations of the Centre and at the local level. This situation restricts the sphere of the SCNM impact and creates the prerequisites for neglect of it as the central governmental body.


On the whole, “the Programme on the adaptation and integration of deported Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” has declarative character. This governmental programme embraces few specific targets to the executors. Basically, the programme provides for assistance to certain trends in policy of FDP adaptation and integration. The pretentiousness of the programme is stressed by several considerable failings of implementation methods.

Firstly, the Government did not appoint the responsible body which has to co-ordinate the actions of several ministries and departments and the Council of Ministries of the ARC.

Secondly, the Government of Ukraine did not determine the control mechanism for fulfilment of activities under the programme by the executive power.

Thirdly, the Government of Ukraine does not provide for purposeful budget financing of the programme. The ministries and departments have to find funds to programme activities at the own budgets. Therefore, financing is fulfilled on “residual” principle or totally is not financed.

Fourthly, any deep scientific research of the process of repatriation of Crimean Tatars in Ukraine was not conducted by the Ukrainian Government for 12 years. The single sociological research was conducted by request of UNHCR in 2000 and it has strictly specialized character.
In the society as a whole and in its social–political units, a profound understanding of that issue has not yet been reached. The importance of its settlement for further strengthening of interethnic harmony in Ukraine, for overcoming the tragic legacy of totalitarian policy, for the solidarity of different nationalities, and for restoration and development of a civil society in Ukraine is not yet recognized. The lack of a comprehensive public policy for the restoration of the rights of formerly deported Crimean Tatar people and national minorities, neglecting legal interests and rights of formerly deported persons, lead to the distrust of governmental bodies and to the increased social– economical and political tension in certain regions and in the country as a whole.

On expert’s opinion, the Crimean Tatar issue is one of the most acute problems that requires immediate solution. The reason for this is that of the 280 000 formerly deported persons who returned to Ukraine, 270 000 are Crimean Tatars. Besides, only Crimean Tatars were deported in 1944 as a whole nation.

At the same time, this programme has a favourable significance. The adoption of the present programme stimulated elaboration and adoption of the Programme of resettlement and social and cultural development of formerly deported citizens in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea during the period of 2003-2005 at the expenses of budget of the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea. The programme of the Ukrainian Government was assumed as a basis for the programme of the ARC. The local programme, at the whole not bad, has more specific character and it is supported by financial resources. The Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of the ARC provided for the concrete control mechanism for fulfilment of this programme.

The governmental programme also gives certain possibility to Crimean Tatar public to use it as an instrument of lobbying for repatriates’ interests on the social and humanitarian sphere.

Though, the programme in many respects embraces vague wordings of tasks for different ministries and state committees, nevertheless, it compels to account the needs of Crimean Tatar people in plans of their work.

Unfortunately, the Government of Ukraine is not enough focuses attention to provision of detailed coverage of public policy implementation on resettlement and social and cultural development of Crimean Tatars. On the whole, an informational campaign for creation of widespread public opinion concerning necessity of the restoration of historical justice with respect to FDP is conducted neither in Crimea nor in Ukraine.

In many respects, such situation is begot by lack of system for certain education and training of public servants at the national and local levels on the ethnic and social diversity management. Public officials often do not understand the cultural, educational, religious needs of representatives of different ethnic groups.

The local administrations often try to separate the repatriates’ issues from the rest of population’s issues. The local officials strive to readdress any appeals of inhabitants-Crimean Tatars to higher echelon, right up to the capital. It is necessary to work on issues of social and cultural needs and public utilities for repatriates at the local level.
Several facts illustrate existence of unwillingness of Crimean local administrations: Simferopol with 40,000 Crimean Tatar segment of urban population does not have a single school with teaching in the Crimean Tatar language; during 2002-2003 Alushta town administration complied only 8 requests of Crimean Tatars to individual housing plot from 3,500 entered written requests.

After analysis of “the Programme on the adaptation and integration of deported Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society, and also those of other nationalities, as well as the rebirth and development of their culture and education” there can be made a conclusion that its effectiveness is extremely low. The influence of this programme to solution of the Crimean Tatars’ issues on the social and humanitarian sphere is rather small. The single specific point of the programme for conducting of sociological research with aim of concrete definition and taking into account of requirements of formerly deported Crimean Tatar people and other ethnic minorities on the social and humanitarian sphere did not implement.

The Advisory Committee of the Council of Europe on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and European Commission against Racism and Intolerance gave their opinion on Ukraine in 2002 to the effect that the Ukrainian Government, on the whole, does not fulfil own commitments provided European Convention in respect of the Crimean Tatar people and other formerly deported ethnic groups.

As a whole, one should recognize that a level of the reintegration of formerly deported Crimean Tatars on the peninsula today is low, because not all of repatriates (and those also in an incomplete measure) can use advantages of social, psychological, legal and material safety.

The President of Ukraine L. Kuchma noted at last meeting of the Council of representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, the Office of the President of Ukraine in 2002: "We have much more potential for solution of repatriates' issues then efforts which were made by our government officials".
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