

CHRISTINA DIETL, KHRYSTYNA FOSTYAK,
THOMAS SCHULTE-UMBERG, OLHA UHRYN,
NOREEN VAN ELK (EDS.)

WAR IN UKRAINE

THEOLOGICAL, ETHICAL AND HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS

Aschendorff Verlag

Christina Dietl – Khrystyna Fostyak – Thomas Schulte-Umberg –
Olha Uhryn – Noreen van Elk (Eds.)
War in Ukraine.
Theological, Ethical and Historical Reflections

War in Ukraine

Theological, Ethical and Historical Reflections

Christina Dietl – Khrystyna Fostyak –
Thomas Schulte-Umberg – Olha Uhryn –
Noreen van Elk (Eds.)

Aschendorff Verlag

Münster
2025







Cover:
Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG

Text:
© Christina Dietl, Khrystyna Fostyak, Thomas Schulte-Umberg, Olha Uhryn, Noreen van Elk

Publiziert von
Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG
Soester Straße 13
D-48155 Münster

E-Mail: buchverlag@aschendorff-buchverlag.de
www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de

ISBN 978-3-402-25096-9 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-402-25097-6 (E-Book PDF)
DOI https://doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-25097-6



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No-Derivatives 4.0 (CC BY-NC-ND) which means that the text may be used for non-commercial purposes, provided credit is given to the author. For details go to http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
To create an adaptation, translation, or derivative of the original work and for commercial use, further permission is required.
Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 7
Christina Dietl, Khrystyna Fostyak, Thomas Schulte-Umberg, Olha Uhryn and Noreen van Elk (Eds.)
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25100-3

A Logical Experiment in Politics: Second Scholasticism in Creating Russian Imperialism 13
Volodymyr Shelukhin
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25101-0

The Tools of Modern Russian Colonization: The Case of the Bakhchysarai Khan's Palace 30
Elmira Ablialimova-Chyihoz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25102-7

Central and Eastern Europe in the Age of the First World War: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Containment 44
Dmytro Bondarenko
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25103-4

The Idea of a Federation of Poland and Ukraine in the Light of the Correspondence of the Greek Catholic Priest Prelate Tyt Voinarovsky with the Polish Diplomat Jan Stanisław Łoś 58
Paulina Byzdra-Kusz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25104-1

The Gender Aspect of Political Rhetoric and its Origins: The Case of Ukraine 71
Mariana Myrosh
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25105-8

New Icons of War: Religious Motifs in Ukrainian Digital Popular Art During the Russo-Ukrainian War 89
Alina Mozolevska
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25106-5

Religion as a Key Front of Russian Aggression Against Ukraine 110
Maksym Vasin
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25107-2

Muslims in the Struggle for the Ukrainian Cause and Statehood 128
Andrii Zhyvachivskyi
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25108-9

Certain Aspects of Church-State Dynamics: Legal Naming Issues within Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War 148
Mechyslav Yanauer
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25109-6

Patriarch Bartholomew's Position Towards the War Against Ukraine 164
Patrice Hrimle
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25110-2

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Russo-Ukrainian War 175
Kateryna Budz
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25111-9

Europeans Lost in Translation 189
Roman Sigov
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25112-6

Friends or Foes? Religious Organizations and European Institutions in the Face of Russia's War on Ukraine 200
Iuliia Korniichuk
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25113-3

Punish Russian War Crimes Already Now! 213
Oleksandra Matviichuk
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25118-8

List of Contributors 216
List of Editors 219

War in Ukraine
DOI 10.17438/978-3-402-25108-9

Muslims in the Struggle for the Ukrainian Cause and Statehood

Andrii Zhyvachivskyi

The present article intends to show the continuity of joint military campaigns between Muslims, foremost Crimean Tatars, Ottomans, and Ukrainian armies and represents an uncommon approach to understanding this specific topic. From the 11th century onwards, dukes from Kyiv and other Rus' leaders recruited various Turkic peoples. Together with the Polovtsi, the Kyivan Rus resisted the Mongol invasion in the Kalka battle. This and many other cases mentioned in the article indicate that the cooperation of Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, Christians and Muslims on the territory of modern Ukraine is a lasting tradition rather than a sporadic coincidence. Therefore, the presence of Chechen and Crimean Tatar battalions in the Ukrainian army at the time of the Russian aggression since 2014 and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022 is a continuation of the thousand-year-old tradition of involving the Turkic and Muslim inhabitants in the struggle for the Ukrainian cause and state. Islam has had a valuable influence on Ukrainian identity, which was formed mainly by Orthodox and Catholic Christian traditions. This study intends to close a gap in the existing literature and needs to be followed up by a more in-depth investigation.

1. Introduction

In the Russian war against Ukraine since 2014 and the large-scale invasion since February 24, 2022, the Crimean Tatars, Ukrainian Muslims, were among the first victims of Russian aggression. One such victim was Reshat Ametov[1], who was tortured and killed by Russians. Ukrainians retain stereotypes of Crimean

1 Cf. Carl Schreck/Olena Removska, Snatched in Plain Sight: No Justice in Crimean Tatar's Slaying Five Years after Russian Annexation (19 March 2019). URL: https://www.rferl.org/a/snatched-in-plain-sight-no-justice-in-crimean-tatar-s-slaying-five-

Tatars and Turks as enemies. The memory of the sea raids of the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans into Ukrainian territories are kept alive in Ukrainian folk songs called *dumy*.[2] The portrayal of Crimean Tatars as bloodthirsty man-hunters is also a product of Soviet propaganda which followed the deportation of the Crimean Tatar population from Crimea in 1944. Nevertheless, if we go *ad fontes*, we see evidence not only of raids and wars between Ukrainians and Muslims, especially Crimean Tatars and Ottomans, but also of cooperation and friendship from the very early ages to the present time.

There is a historical tradition of joint warfare between Ukrainian Christians and Muslims. Starting from the 11th century, the dukes (kniazi) of Rus' enlisted various Turkic peoples, such as Pechenegs, Torks, Berendei, and Kovui, Chorni Klobuky (meaning "black hats"), Polovtsi (Kumans). Even though at that time the predominant religion of the Turkic peoples was animism, a significant portion were Muslims. Their internecine wars often attracted nomadic troops to their side. Together with the Polovtsi, the Rus' resisted the Mongol invasion at Battle of the Kalka River in 1223.

In the 14th to 15th centuries, after the rapid advances and conquests of the Ottomans on the Balkan Peninsula and in other Balkan territories, the appearance of the Crimean Khanate in Crimea and the invasion of the Hungarian Kingdom in the North near Mohacs, the Ukrainians found themselves sharing a border with Muslim countries – some scholars called it the "Great Frontier".[3] For centuries thereafter, Ukrainians lived in close contact with two Muslim states: the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate.[4] Even though

---

years-after-russian-annexation/29821534.html. All internet links in this article were last accessed on 5 April 2024.

2 *Dumy* – lyrical folk songs sung by Cossack bards (*kobzari*) about historical events and heroic deeds of the Cossacks.

3 Cf. William H. McNeill, Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800, Chicago – London 1964, 47–64; Viktor Brekhunenko, Козаки на степовому кордоні Європи [The Cossacks at Europe's Steppe Frontier], Kyiv 2011; idem, Українські козаки та мусульманські сусіди: транскордонна міграція та взаємодія (XVI – 1-а пол. XVII ст.) [Ukrainian Cossacks and Muslim Neighbors: Cross-Border Migration and Interaction (16th – 1st half of the 17th centuries)], in: Volodimir Melnik et al. (eds.),Türkiye ve Ukrayna İlişkileri: Dünü ve Bugünü, Istanbul 2015, 227–239.

4 Cf. Mihnea Berindei/Gilles Veinstein, La présense ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en Mer d'Azov dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle, in: Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique 20/3–4 (1979) 399–465; Oleksandr Halenko, Економічне життя в Османському Надчорномор'ї: між царством ісламу та краєм війни [Economic Life in the Ottoman Black Sea Basin between the Kingdom of Islam and the Country of War], in: Volodymyr Lytvyn (ed.), Економічна історія України [Economical His-

the Cossack period is better known for the Ukrainian confrontation with the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire, there are many examples of military campaigns by Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania there were many Tatars in the Grand Duke's service[5] where the historical evidence suggests they met and had the opportunity to cooperate with Ukrainians.

2. Cooperation with Crimean Tatars and Ottomans during the Cossack Period

Evidence of military cooperation between Crimean Tatars and Cossacks can be dated back to 1521 when Khan Mehmed I Giray fought alongside Ostafiy Dashkevych[6] in his military campaign against Muscovy.[7] A few years later, Dashkevych also supported Islam I Giray[8] in his struggle for the Crimean throne against the Ottoman protégé Saadet I Giray.[9] In the 1550s, the famous founder of Zaporozhian Sich, Dmytro Bayda-Vyshnevetskyi, spent several years in the service of the Ottoman Sultan.[10]

---

tory of Ukraine], vol. 1, Kyiv 2011, 471–481, 474; idem, Студії над повідомленнями Хроніки Наїми з історії України [Studies on the Reports of Naima's Chronicle on the History of Ukraine], in: Mustafa Nayima, Гюсейнові городи у витягу історій із Заходу та Сходу (Повідомлення про Україну) [Hussein's Cities in the Excerpt of Stories from the West and the East (Report on Ukraine)], Kyiv 2016, 194–263.

5 Cf. Borys Cherkas, Україна в політичних відносинах Великого князівства Литовського з Кримським ханатом (1515–1540) [Ukraine in the Political Relations of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Crimean Khanate (1515–1540)], Kyiv 2006, 43–58.

6 Ostafiy Dashkevych (Dashkovych) – Cossack chief, starosta (mayor) of Cherkasy in the 16th century.

7 Cf. Cherkas, Україна в політичних відносинах, 136–139, footnote 560; Taras Chukhlib, Як черкаський староста Остафій Дашкович проти Московії воював? [How did the Starosta of Cherkasy Ostafiy Dashkevych Fight against Moscow?], in: Valeriy Smoliy (ed.), Перелом: Війна Росії проти України: у часових пластах і просторах минувшини [The Turning Point: Russia's War Against Ukraine: in the Time Layers and Spaces of the Past], vol. 3, Kyiv 2023, 69–71.

8 Islam I Giray – Crimean khan in 1532.

9 Saadet I Giray – Crimean khan in 1524–32. See: Borys Cherkas, Політична криза в Кримському ханстві і боротьба Іслам-Ґірея за владу в 10–30-х роках XVI ст. [The Political Crisis in the Crimean Khanate and the Struggle of Islam-Girey for Power in the 10–30s of the 16th Century], in: Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі [Ukraine in Central-Eastern Europe], Kyiv 2000, 97–118, 107–109.

10 Cf. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Un condottiere lithuanien du XVIe siècle, le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la *seč'* zaporogue d'après les archives ottomanes, in:

In 1596, because of the intrigues of Grand Vizier Chigalzade Sinan Pasha and because the Khan Gazi II Giray did not join the Sultan in his campaign against Hungary, the Sultan issued a decree on the resignation of Gazi II Giray and the election of the new khan Feth Giray.[11] However the resigned Khan did not want to relinquish his position. Having learnt from the mistake of Mehmed II Giray who had lost the struggle for the throne, the Khan sought external support, in particular from Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Khan Gazi Giray sent the Cossacks "a letter through his servant in which he asked us to join him in the campaign against the Turks and promised us soldiers".[12] This was the first attempt of a Tatar-Cossack union. Eventually, Chigalzade was removed from his post, and Gazi II Giray as able to keep his position on the throne.

In 1623, Mehmed III Giray was appointed as the Crimean khan, and Shahin Giray became the new kalga[13]. However, the Khan's refusal to participate in the campaign against the Persian front resulted in the Sultan issuing a decree deposing Mehmed III Giray. Consequently, in 1624, Djanibek Giray became the new khan. However, the brothers decided not to obey the decree and fight for their throne. Cossacks helped the brothers. According to Hrushevs'kyi, the Cossacks were shipwrecked and cast ashore in Crimea, where they were taken captive. Shahin Giray asked them to join him in his war against the Turks.[14] However, Brekhunenko thinks that the Cossacks' actions were coordinated and, at the invitation of the Kalga, they went to Kefe where the future of the

---

Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique 10 (1969) 258–279, 266–267.

11 Cf. Carl M. Kortepeter, Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus, New York – London 1972, 150.

12 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD). – Extranea IX Polen. – №59 – vol. 89. This document was published in: Viktor Brehunenko/Mirosław Nagielski (eds.), Дванадцять листів гетьманів Війська Запорозького XVI – 1-ї пол. XVII ст. з польських рукописних зібрань [Twelve Letters of the Hetmans of the Zaporozhian Army of the 16th – first half of the 17th Centuries from Polish Manuscript Collections], in: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Український Археографічний Щорічник [Ukrainian Archaeographic Yearbook], issue 8–9, vol. 11/12, Kyiv – New York 2004, 425–452, 440–441 . Own translation; cf. Oleksa Hayvoronskyi, Повелители двух материков [The Rulers of Two Continents], in 2 vols., vol. 1, Kyiv – Bakhchysaray 2007, 334.

13 *Kalga* – a position reserved solely for members of the Giray dynasty. The kalga served as the first co-regent of the Crimean Khanate. He was responsible for administering the right wing of the Khanate and acted as the military commander of the right wing of the Tatar army.

14 Cf. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Історія України-Руси [History of Ukraine Rus'], vol. 7, Kyiv 1995, 513.

Crimean throne was decided.[15] Despite the presence of the Sultan's fleet which was hosted by Grand Admiral Redjep Pasha in Kefe, the Cossacks undertook two significant marine campaigns against Istanbul, burning down some areas in the capital. As a result, the Kapudan Pasha was forced to return to the capital with his fleet, leaving Crimea.[16] After the battle, Shahin Giray wrote to the Polish king: "God bless those 300 Cossacks who came to help us and joined us …"[17] Mehmed Giray and Shahin Giray were successful in their attack and destroyed the Ottoman camp, forcing Djanibek Giray and Redjep Pasha to flee by ship to Varna, and the Kalga together with his army entered Kefe.[18] The inhabitants of Kefe supported the Tatar victory, as can be seen from a description of the event from one of the local Armenian priests: "Thanks to the omnipotent God – the King of Kings, that He had mercy and strengthened the forces of the kalga Shahin Giray Sultan and the khan Mehmed Giray, whose reign in the Solhat region and the city of Kefe brought prosperity and peace, love and reconciliation".[19] According to Russian envoys, the victory can be partially attributed to the Cossack participation in the battle.[20] After this victory, the Sultan ordered the decree appointing Mehmed Giray as khan, and Kefe returned back to Ottoman authority.

Despite this victory, the brothers' political position was insecure, therefore in the summer/autumn of 1624, Shahin Giray conducted negotiations with the Cossacks.[21] Subsequently, on December 24, 1624 the first Cossack-Crimean agreement was signed, which ratified a mutual assistance scheme as a provision to any threats to the defense of either party.[22] "If an adversary appears to the hetman, the Cossack captains, the Cossack chieftains and to the whole Cossack army, I, Shahin Giray, shall help them together with all beys and mirzas imme-

15 Cf. Brekhunenko, Козаки на степовому, 428.

16 Cf. Hrushevsky, Історія України-Руси, vol. 7, 513–515.

17 Seweryn Gołębiowski, Szahin Giraj i Kozacy, in: Biblioteka Warszawska 2 (1852) 1–27, 19. Own translation.

18 Cf. Aleksey Novoselski, Борьба Московского государства с татарами в 1й пол. XVII в. [Struggle of the Moscow State with the Tatars in the Early 17th Century], Moscow – Leningrad 1948, 112–113.

19 Edmund Schütz, Eine Armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae 29/2 (1975) 133–186, 144–145. Own translation.

20 Cf. Novoselski, Борьба, 113.

21 Cf. Brekhunenko, Козаки на степовому, 429.

22 Cf. ibidem, 432.

diately after I am notified about it. In case an adversary appears to me they shall help me after being notified, as set forth by the oath letters."[23]
In 1628, during a time when Istanbul underwent a purge of rebellious vassals, a local war broke out between the Khan and the Kalga on one side and the Chief of the Budjak Horde Kantemir on the other. The conflict was a result of the brothers' refusal to participate in the Persian war and Djanibek's promise that after his return the Tatars would immediately go to Iran.[24] Meanwhile, Kantemir, who led the Budjak Horde, besieged Bakhchisaray where Mehmed and Shahin Girays, along with their supporters, had locked themselves in the city, as most of the mirzas and beys had left their khan and sought for Djanibek's comeback. The brothers found themselves in a deadlock, but Zaporozhians came to their rescue and defeated the army of Kantemir near the river Alma near Bakhchisaray. Hetman Petro Doroshenko died in that battle.[25] Consequently, Kantemir fled with the surviving soldiers to Kefe. When Shahin Giray received the news that the beylerbey (governor-general) of Kefe, Mehmed Pasha, had allowed Kantemir into Kefe, he was surprised and enraged, given his good relations with the governor.[26]

The brothers went together with the Cossacks to Kefe. There was a battle near Kefe in which Kantemir was once again completely defeated and many Budjak mirzas were taken into captivity, including Kantemir's son who was killed near the walls of Kefe in front of his father.[27] Kefe was besieged for nearly three to four weeks[28] but the city wasn't taken solely because Mehmed didn't want to conquer it. The historical evidence suggests that he thought that after conquering the city he wouldn't have the chance to rehabilitate before Porta. Finally, the Ottoman navy appeared, headed by the Ottoman Grand Admiral

23 Yuriy Mytsyk, Кілька документів до історії козацько-татарського союзу 1625 року та православної церкви в Україні [A Few Documents on the History of the Cossack-Tatar Union in 1625 and the History of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine], in: Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України 4 (1998), 143–144. Own translation; cf. Hrushevsky, Історія України-Руси, vol. 7, 517.

24 Cf. Bogdan Baranowski, Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629, Łódź 1948, 77; Novoselski, Борьба, 119.

25 Cf. Ukrainne sprawy: przyczynek do dziejów polskich, tatarskich i tureckich XVII wieku, ed. by Stanisław Przyłęcki, Lviv 1842, 8; Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 120–122.

26 Cf. Emiddio Dortelli D'Ascoli, Описание Чернаго моря и Татаріи 1634 [Description of the Black Sea and Tataria 1634], ed. by Alexandre Berthier-Delagard, in: Записки Одесскаго общества истории и древностей 24 (1902) 89–180, 110.

27 Cf. Ukrainne sprawy, 8.

28 Cf. Baranowski, Polska a Tatarszczyzna, 83.

and the new Khan.[29] On June 30th, most of the leaders of the Crimean army deserted the brothers' camp and went to Kefe to worship the new khan, Djanibek Giray. The brothers had almost no army left, only the Cossacks remained. Khan Mehmed Giray fled and the Kalga, along with the Cossacks, was able to escape from Crimea and go to Zaporozhian Sich. The disobedience of the Girays was suppressed by the Ottomans and the Khans' fate was decided in Kefe once again. As a consequence of the support of Warsaw and the help of the Cossacks, the brothers attempted to claim the throne in June 1629, but they were defeated. Mehmed III Giray was killed by the Cossacks and Shahin Giray fled to Iran.[30] The most protracted conflict between the Crimean Girays and the Ottoman Porte ended cataclysmically for the Crimean Girays, but it laid a foundation for further cooperation between the Zaporozhian Cossacks, from which the Cossacks admittedly benefited more than the Crimeans.

In 1635, after the dismissal of Khan Djanibek Giray, the son of Gazi II Giray – Inayet Giray – became the new khan. Two of his brothers, Hüsam and Saadet Girays, were appointed kalga and nureddin[31] respectively. Istanbul mistakenly presumed greater loyalty from and controllability of the new khan. On the contrary, he openly refused to campaign against Iran and started to strengthen his power.[32] It must be admitted that Inayet Giray's refusal to taking part in the campaign against Iran was a consequence of the refusal of the leaders of the Crimean clans who feared Kantemir's assault against Crimea. The Crimean nobility was not satisfied because their Crimean warriors did not receive any reward for their military service. To the surprise of the Khan, the Beylerbey of Kefe, Ibrahim Pasha, refused to give away the agreed share of the income of the Kefe province intended to finance the Crimean khans. The Khan decided to free himself from Ottoman dependence.[33] In 1636–1637, his policy was similar to the policy of Mehmed and Shahin Girays. The khanate

29 Cf. Orders (hüküm) no. 101 [119], 102 [120], 103 [121], 104 [122] 105 [123], see: 83 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1036–1037/ 1626–1628). Özet-Traskrispsiyon-İndeks, Ankara 2001, 69–74.

30 Cf. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century), Leiden 2011, 139.

31 *Nureddin* – the second co-regent of the khan after the kalga, the administrator of the left, the so-called western part of the khanate and the commander of the left, less numerous wing of his troops.

32 Cf. Vasiliy Smyrnov, Крымское ханство под верховенством Оттманской Порты до начала XVIII века [The Crimean Khanate under Supremacy of the Ottoman Porte until the Beginning of the XVIIIth Century], St. Petersburg 1887, 510–514.

33 Cf. Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 202; Alexandre Bennigsen et al. (eds.), Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı, Paris 1978, 147.

had threats from the south, the Ottoman Kefe, and from the north, the Budjak Horde, headed by Kantemir. For that reason, guided by his personal experience and that of his father, the Khan sought the help of his allies.

In 1636, messengers were sent to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and Warsaw.[34] The Khan decided to act quickly. At first, he wanted to capture Kefe and, later, beat Kantemir. Kefe was conquered by a quick attack without a battle. The local citizens handed over the governor of Kefe Bychakchy İbrahim Pasha, Kadi Hamit Efendi and other leaders of Kefe to the Khan. Later they were killed by the Kalga. Inayet left his own governor in Kefe.[35] Inayet Giray attempted to negotiate with Kantemir but his request was refused. So, he received assistance from the Zaporozhian Cossacks and went to Budjak.[36] His raid was successful; Kantemir fled to Istanbul and the victory of Inayet was complete. Other leaders of the Budjak Horde were submissive to the khan, who then ordered them to move to Crimea. The Khan quickly returned to Crimea, so the Budjak Tatars were convoyed by the kalga and the nurreddin. However, on their way to the Crimean Peninsula, the Budjak mirzas betrayed them and killed Hüssam and Saadet Girays. So, the presumed successful campaign for the Khan reversed into a failure because of the arrogance of Inayet Giray and the Kalga.[37] After his brothers' death Inayet Giray did not have any power or a way to resist his new position. After the new Khan Bahadyr Giray arrived in Kefe, Inayet went to Istanbul where he was killed by Sultan Murad IV.[38]

The most powerful and famous alliance between Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Khan Islam III Giray was concluded in 1648. Until recently, only the treason of Islam III was considered when describing the balance of power in Eastern Europe. The role of the Crimean Khanate and its desire to prevent an imbalance of power is now also understood as a significant factor in the geo-political status of Eastern Europe at the time. Furthermore, without the support of the Tatar cavalry, it is unlikely the Cossacks would have been successful against the Polish forces. Crimean involvement was decisive in the formation of the Cossack state. Together with the Crimean Tatars, the Cossacks fought and won several battles. Even after the well know treason in Berestechko, the two sides continued to be allies until 1654, when Khmelnytskyi betrayed

34 Cf. Brekhunenko, Козаки на степовому, 443.

35 Cf. Novoselskyi, Борьба, 247–248; Smirnov, Крымское ханство, 513; Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 204–205; Schütz, Eine armenische Chronik, 155.

36 Cf. Brekhunenko, Козаки на степовому, 443; Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 248.

37 Cf. Novoselski, Борьба, 248–249; Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 213.

38 Cf. Smyrnov, Крымское ханство, 520; Hayvoronskyi, Повелители, vol. 2, 16.

the Crimean Khanate and became an ally of Muscovy. At the beginning of his uprising, Khmelnytskyi attempted to make an agreement with Ottoman Porte.[39]

The next case of cooperation between Cossacks and Tatars occurred during the hetmanship of Ivan Vyhovskyi in 1658, when, together with his ally Mehmed IV Giray, he defeated the Muscovian army near Konotop.[40] The first protectorate for Ukraine by the Ottoman Empire was established during the rule of Hetman Petro Doroshenko (1669–1676).[41] Later, the son of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Yuriy Khmelnytskyi, ruled a part of Ukraine under the Ottoman protectorate as "Duke of Rus-Ukraine"[42] and the quasi-state of "Khans'ka Ukrayina" (ukr. Ханська Україна) under the protectorate of the Ottoman Empire, and then of the Crimean Khanate which existed for several decades.[43]

A further example of collaboration between Ukrainian Muslims and their neighbors, the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate, occurred after the decisive Battle of Poltava (1709) during the Great Northern War. The defeat of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his ally King Charles XII of Sweden forced the rulers into exile in the Ottoman Empire. One of the oldest constitutions in the world – The Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk – was written in the Ottoman Empire.[44]

After this, Khmelnytskyi first sought to acquire the protectorate of the Ottoman Empire. And later, after the defeat near Poltava, Ivan Mazepa lived out

39 Cf. Omelyan Pritsak, Союз Хмельницького з Туреччиною 1648 року [Khmelnytsky's Alliance with Turkey in 1648], in: Записки НТШ 156 (1948) 143–164; for German translation see: idem, Das erste Türkisch-Ukrainische Bündnis (1648), in: Oriens 6 (1953) 266–298; idem, Ще раз про союз Богдана Хмельницького з Туреччиною, in: Український Археорграфічний Щорічник (нова едиція) 2 (1993) 177–192; Serhii Plokhy, The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine, New York 2015, 101–103.

40 Cf. Plokhy, The Gates of Europe, 111–112; Nayima, Гюсейнові городи, 178–184.

41 Cf. Oleksandr Sereda, Османсько-українська дипломатія в документах XVII-XVIII ст. [Ottoman-Ukrainian Diplomacy in Documents of the 17th–18th Centuries], Kyiv – Istanbul, 39–44; Plokhy, The Gates of Europe, 116–117.

42 Cf. Taras Chukhlib, Козаки і монархи. Міжнародні відносини ранньомодерної Української держави 1648–1721 рр. [The Cossacks and the Monarchs. Foreign Relations of Early Modern Ukrainian State 1648–1721], Kyiv 2009, 256–269.

43 Ibidem, 383–393. Own translation.

44 Cf. Пилип Орлик: життя, політика, тексти: матеріали Міжнар. наук. конф. "Ad fontes" до 300-річчя Бендерської Конституції 1710 р. [Pylyp Orlyk: Life, Politics, Texts: Materials of the International Scientific Conference "Ad fontes" Dedicated to the 300th Anniversary of the Bender Constitution of 1710], ed. by Natalia Yakovenko, Kyiv 2010.

his last days on the territory of the Ottomans.[45] Pylyp Orlyk led two campaigns against Muscovy in 1711 and 1713 with a Crimean army, but both campaigns were unsuccessful. Until his death in 1742, Hetman Orlyk spent the last years of his life in exile in the territory of the Ottoman Empire.[46] A last case of Ottoman-Cossack cooperation is the existence of the Zadunayska Sich (Transdanubian Sich) under Ottoman rule for almost half a century.[47]

To conclude, there are many examples of cooperation and joint campaigns between the Cossacks, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. We may confidently surmise a long and strong tradition of cooperation between Ukrainians and their Muslim neighbors.[48] As a consequence of the occupation of almost all Ukrainian land by the Russian Empire and the Russian distortion of information through the production and distribution of propaganda, Ukrainians expressed negative stereotypes about Crimean Tatars and Turks, which erased the truth. Additionally, because Turkey was a member of the NATO when the Crimean Tatars were deported in 1944, Soviet historians were pressured and incentivized by the Soviet regime to portray the Russians positively and the Turks and Crimean Tatars negatively in their writing. This is why, in general, Ukrainian society knows little about the participation of Muslims in the war for Ukrainian independence, and this often causes surprise. Over the past 10 years, since the Russian attack on Ukraine in February 2014, questions, such as "Why did the Crimean Tatars not fight for Ukraine?" and "Do the Crimean Tatars support Ukraine?" often appear in public spaces and forums. But they are fighting! Many Crimean Tatars have relatives in occupied Crimea, so they

45 Cf. Oleksander Ohloblyn, Гетьман Іван Мазепа та його доба [Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era], ed. by Liubomyr Vynar, New York 2001, chapter 10.

46 There are few documents about financial maintenance of Hetman Orlyk by Ottoman government. For more see Sereda, Османсько-українська дипломатія, 102–162.

47 Cf. Olena Bachynska, Задунайська Січ [Danubian Sich], in: Valeriy Smoliy (ed.) Енциклопедія історії України [Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine], Kyiv 2005, vol. 3, 195–196, 195; eadem, Дунайське козацьке військо. 1828–1868 pp. [The Danube Cossack Army. 1828–1868], Odesa 1998; eadem, Османські фортеці Буджака на межі XVIII–XIX ст.: залоги й їхній склад [Ottoman Fortresses of Budzhak at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Outposts and Their Structure], Odesa 2013; Taras Chukhlib, Забуті козаки. Історія козацтва після зруйнування Запорізької Січі: 1775–1905 [The Forgotten Cossacks. The History of the Cossacks after the Destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich: 1775–1905], Kyiv 2015.

48 Cf. Andrii Zhyvachivskyi, Крим в останній чверті XV – 1-й пол. XVII сторіччя: татарсько-османські протиріччя й козаки [Crimea in the Last Quarter of the 15th to the First Half of the 17th Centuries: Tatar-Ottoman Contradictions and the Cossacks], in: Український Альманах 2016, 191–199.

remain quiet about their participation in the war against Russia for the security of their families. A long tradition of cooperation was destroyed by Russian aggression and the lack of the statehood of the Cossack polities (Hetmanshchyna, Zaporizhian Sich) and the Crimean Khanate. So, both Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians became subjects of the Russian Empire, where it was difficult to develop but also to protect their own national identities, because Russian subjects were mandated to be loyal to God, the Sovereign and the Fatherland, which later changed to Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality.[49]

3. Muslim Soldiers in Ukrainian Military Units in the 20th Century

The wars and atrocities of the 20th century offered an opportunity for many nations to create or rebuild their states. Among those nations were Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, Azerbaijanis and other nations. Some Muslims fought alongside the Ukrainian army against the Bolsheviks. In February 1918, a Muslim battalion aided the Ukrainian People's Army (UNR) and played an active role in the liberation of Kamianets-Podilskyi from the Bolsheviks. The conflict began on February 28, 1918 when the Ukrainian People's Republic troops began to approach Kamianets-Podilskyi. In the morning, the conspirators arrested the battalion commander and seized a warehouse of weapons and uniforms. Mullah Sadykov gathered the fighters and informed them about the dissolution of the "soldier's council". He called on the soldiers to fight for Ukraine, assuring them that this was the only way they would be able to get home. Two Tatar companies stormed the two bridges across the Smotrych River leading to the city center. The Bolsheviks fiercely resisted. In the end, under the cover of machine gun fire, the Muslims captured the crossings. Muslims who fought in the Ukrainian Army were called "Askery."[50]

During World War II many Tatars, Azerbaijanis and Uzbeks were fighting in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (ukr. Українська Повстанська Армія).[51]

49 Cf. Serhii Plokhy, The Russo-Ukrainian War. The Return of History, New York 2023, 10.

50 *Asker* – from the Turkish or Crimean Tatar language means soldier, warrior. For more see Maksym Omelchenko, Мусульмани в боях за незалежність України: сьогодні та сто років тому [Muslims in the Fight for Ukraine's Independence: Today and a Hundred Years Ago] (31 May 2022). URL: https://novynarnia.com/2022/05/31/musulmany-v-boyah-za-nezalezhnist-ukrayiny-sogodni-ta-sto-rokiv-tomu/.

51 Cf. Oleh Stetsyshyn, Бандерівський Інтернаціонал. Грузини, росіяни, євреї [Banderivskyi International: Georgians, Russians, Jews], Lviv 2015, 66–76, 105–128.

4. Crimean Tatars as Indigenous People of Independent Ukraine and Their Struggle for the Ukrainian Statehood

Ukraine became an independent country in 1991. Around 77 % of the population were ethnically Ukrainian and the remaining 23 % were from other nations. As a result of their deportation in 1944, only 0,5 % of the population consisted of Crimean Tatars who had returned to their motherland Crimea starting in 1989.[52] Ukraine had not paid attention to the problems of the Crimean Tatars and minimally supported them. Personal relationships between dissidents and prisoners of the Soviet regime of Viacheslav Chornovil and Mustafa Dzhemilev enabled the Crimean Tatar community to have representatives in the Ukrainian parliament. Mustafa Dzhemilev is one of the few Crimean Tatar citizens of Ukraine who has been a deputy of the Verkhovna Rada continuously since 1998. Refat Chubarov was the deputy of the Verkhovna Rada from 1998 to 2007 and from 2015 to 2019. In general, Crimean Tatars and their representative body did not impact Ukrainian policy or Ukrainian governments. In addition to the presidential neglect of the concerns of the Crimean Tatars, they were perceived as a threat to Crimean stability.[53] Unfortunately, Ukrainian central authorities saw the Crimean Peninsula solely as a summer destination and pretended not to see Russian propaganda and Russian influence on the internal life there. As we already know from the events of 10 years ago, the consequences of this irresponsibility were detrimental for the Ukrainian state and the Crimean Peninsula in particular. The Russo-Ukrainian war began with the occupation of Crimea by Russian troops in 2014.[54]

The first group that demonstrated against Russian aggression were a thousand Crimean Tatars on February 26, 2014. In 2020, February 26 was declared

52 Cf. Andrii Zhyvachivskyi, Кримські татари: повернення з небуття. До сімдесятиріччя депортації народу [Crimean Tatars: Return from Oblivion: On the 70th Anniversary of the Deportation of a Nation], in: Український Альманах 2014, 125–134.

53 Cf. Petro Kraliuk/Svitlana Fylypchuk, Українсько-кримськотатарські відносини у XX ст.: ґенеза і сучасний стан [Ukrainian-Crimean Tatar Relations in the 20th Century: Genesis and Current State], in: European Philosophical and Historical Discourse 4/3 (2018) 51–60, 58.

54 Cf. Gergana Dimova/Andreas Umland, Introduction. Perspectives on Russia's Annexation of Crimea: Empirical and Theoretical Explorations, in: Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society 8/1 (2022) 1–12.

a Day of Resistance to Occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol.[55]

As previously mentioned, the first victim of the Russo-Ukrainian war was the Crimean Tatar Reshat Ametov. On March 3, 2014 at 7:30 a. m., Reshat Ametov left his home. His relatives did not know his intentions; they were only aware that he took a passport with him and a card to receive money for the birth of a child and assumed, among other things, that he was going to the military commissary. His wife called him at noon after he had failed to contact the family for a concerning length of time, but his mobile phone was turned off. It later became known that he participated in a peaceful protest against the occupation of Crimea by Russian troops on Lenin Square in Simferopol. He stayed for an hour and a half in front of the Council of Ministers of Crimea building, which was captured by Russian special forces a few days earlier. He answered the questions of journalists who approached him, but his protest was predominantly silent. On March 15, Ametov was found dead in the village of Zemlyanychne, Bilogirsk district, 60 kilometers from Simferopol. There were numerous signs of torture on the man's body: his head was tied with tape, his eyes were gouged out and handcuffs lay next to him. The cause of death was a stab wound to the eye area.[56] On March 2, 2018, President Poroshenko awarded the Golden Star of the hero of Ukraine to the brother of the deceased.[57]

The Crimean Tatars did not support the occupation of Crimea by Russia and did not participate in an illegitimate referendum on March 16, 2014.[58] Since 2014, hundreds of Crimean Tatars in Crimea were arrested and put in jail for their loyalty to Ukraine. The majority of these political prisoners are still in jail.

---

55 Cf. Президент України запроваджує 26 лютого День спротиву окупації Криму та Севастополя [The President of Ukraine Proclaims the Day of Resistance to the Occupation of Crimea and Sevastopol on February 26] (26 February 2020). URL: https://www.president.gov.ua/news/prezident-ukrayini-zaprovadzhuye-26-lyutogo-den-sprotivu-oku-59957.

56 Cf. Mariya Tokmak, Перша жертва окупації і воєнний злочин Путіна [The First Victim of Occupation and Putin's War Crime] (2 September 2019). URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/reshat-ametov-rozsliduvannya/30137885.html.

57 Cf. President of Ukraine Granted the Golden Star of Hero of Ukraine for Reshat Ametov to his Brother (2 March 2018). URL: https://ppu.gov.ua/en/press-center/president-of-ukraine-granted-the-golden-star-of-hero-of-ukraine-reshat-ametov-to-his-brother/.

58 Cf. Golos Ameriki, МЗС Британії назвало 5 причин, чому "референдум" в Криму був незаконним [The British Foreign Ministry Gave 5 Reasons why the "Referendum" in Crimea Was Illegal] (20 March 2018). URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/29110589.html.

Some prisoners were released thanks to the international community and, in particular, the mediation of the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.[59] As of 2023, more than 200 Crimean Tatars are in Russian prisons.[60] Among them was the First Deputy Chairman of the Mejlis (highest executive-representative body) of the Crimean Tatar People, Nariman Dzelyal.[61]

5. Crimean Tatars as Representatives in Ukrainian Authorities

It is surprising that Ukrainians, who have fought for centuries to liberate themselves from under the rule of other nations, did not recognize a group of people with similar aspirations. The Declaration of Independence of Ukraine was legally ratified in 1991 but, due to the Russian invasion of Crimea and Donbas, its acknowledgment required a great change for the country. It was only in the face of the momentous and tragic events of the Russian occupation of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and Crimea that Ukrainians solidified their national identity and formed a resolute commitment to defending their hard-won independence. This decision extended to protecting the rights of all Ukrainian citizens, irrespective of their religious or ethnic background. As the titular nation of the country, the Ukrainians felt responsible for all citizens of Ukraine and, in particular, the indigenous which are, besides the Crimean Tatars, the Karaims (Karaites) and the Krymchaks. Decisions which Crimean Tatars had been waiting for two decades were made in a short time in 2014, most likely as a response to Russian aggression, but only later the recognition

59 Cf. RFE/RL's Crimea.Realities, Crimean Tatars Leaders 'Freed', Fly to Turkey (25 October 2017). URL: https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-crimea-tatar-leaders-chiygozumerov-released/28815211.html.

60 Cf. RFE/RL's Crimea.Realities, More Crimean Tatars Handed Lengthy Prison Terms in Russia (11 January 2023). URL: https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-crimean-tatars-hizbut-tahrir/32218700.html; У Криму за період окупації переслідувань з політичних міркувань зазнала 301 особа – правозахисники [In Crimea, 301 Human Rights Defenders Have Been Persecuted for Political Reasons During the Occupation] (3 November 2023). URL: https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-crimea/3782169-u-krimu-za-period-okupacii-peresliduvan-z-politicnih-mirkuvan-zaznala-301-osoba-pravozahisniki.html.

61 For more on Nariman Dzelyal see https://qtmm.org/en/leaders/dzhelyalov-nariman/. He was released on 28 June 2024 after three years of captivity. Cf. The President Met with Nariman Dzhelyal, Released from Russian Captivity (29 June 2024). URL: https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/prezident-zustrivsya-zi-zvilnenim-iz-rosijskogo-polonu-narim-91889.

of Crimean Tatars, Karaims (Karaites) and Krymchaks as indigenous people of Ukraine was understood as neccesary. For the first time, on March 20, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine called for a decree "About the Statement of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Guaranteeing the Rights of the Crimean Tatar People as Part of the Ukrainian State"[62]. In addition to recognizing the Crimean Tatars as an indigenous people of Ukraine, the Ukrainian parliament recognized the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people as the authorized representative of the indigenous people for relations with the central government of Ukraine.[63] Only after 23 years of Ukrainian independence, the Mejlis entered the legal field of the state. On November 12, 2015, the Verkhovna Rada adopted a resolution recognizing the genocide of the Crimean Tatar people in 1944 and established an official day of remembrance for the victims of the genocide on May 18th.[64] And, finally, after only 30 years of Ukrainian Independence, in July 2021 the Ukrainian parliament adopted a historic law regarding the indigenous peoples of Ukraine.[65] According to this law, Crimean Tatars, Karaites and Krymchaks are defined as the indigenous people of Ukraine.[66] The recognition of indigenous people in Ukraine was twenty years late and represents a necessary perceptual shift and desire of the Ukrainian state to return occupied territory.

Another significant event was the creation of an international diplomatic tool for the reoccupation of Crimea called the "Crimea Platform".[67] Since 2014, representatives of the Crimean Tatars have been part of Ukrainian delegations at the UN, NATO, the Council of Europe, the PACE, the OSCE, the EU Parliament, etc. Crimean Tatars occupy a special place in the Ukrainian-Turkish cooperation and no meetings between the presidents, prime ministers and

62 Постанова Верховної Ради України "Про Заяву Верховної Радий України щодо гарантії прав кримськотатарського народу у складі української держави" [Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine "On the Statement of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Guaranteeing the Rights of the Crimean Tatar People as Part of the Ukrainian State"] (20 March 2014). URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20210624205243/https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1140-18#Text. Own translation.

63 Cf. ibidem.

64 Cf. Постанова Верховної Ради України "Про визнання геноциду кримськотатарського народу" [Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine "On the Recognition of the Genocide of the Crimean Tatar People"] (12 November 2015). URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/792-19#Text.

65 Cf. Закон України "Про корінні народи України" [The Law of Ukraine "On Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine"] (1 July 2021). URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1616-20#Text.

66 Cf. ibidem.

67 Crimea Platform. URL: https://crimea-platform.org/en/about/.

foreign ministers of Ukraine and Turkey took place without Mustafa Dzhemilev, Refat Chubarov or other representatives of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people. Unfortunately, there are still some problems which have not yet been resolved. In 2017, a working group called The Constitutional Commission was created to develop proposals for improving the Constitution of Ukraine for the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol. Representatives of the Crimean Tatars wanted to revise the 10th Article of the Ukrainian Constitution to create cultural and territorial autonomy. Similarly, the Mejlis prepared the "Law on the Status of the Crimean Tatar People." Neither of these proposals have been adopted yet.[68]

For the last nine years, many Crimean Tatars have held various high-ranking government positions. Currently, Crimean Tatars hold the following positions: Tamila Tasheva occupies the position of the representative of The Mission of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea,[69] Emine Dzheparova is the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,[70] Edem Adamanov is a Deputy General Manager at the State Enterprise "Medical Procurement of Ukraine",[71] Alim Aliev is a Deputy Director of the Ukrainian Institute.[72] And for the first time since Ukraine became independent, Crimean Tatar and Muslim Rustem Umerov occupies the role of a minister. Rustem Umerov became Minister of Defense of Ukraine during the full-scale attack on Ukraine by the Russian Federation.[73] Arsen Zhumadilov, who has held several different positions of authority in Ukraine, became a General Director of the State Rear Operator of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine on October

68 Cf. Dilyaver Osmanov, Кримські татари й Україна: робота над помилками [Crimean Tatars and Ukraine: Working on Mistakes] (13 August 2014). URL: https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/JI00235A?an=2; Проект No 1205: Закон України "Про статус кримськотатарського народу в Україні" [The Law on the Status of Crimean Tatar People in Ukraine] (29 August 2019). URL: http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=66511; Проект No 4433: Закон України "Про статус кримськотатарського народу" [The Law on the Status of Crimean Tatar People] (13 March 2014). URL: https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/JG3F500A.

69 Cf. Представництво Президента в Автономній Республіці Крим [The Mission of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea]. URL: https://ppu.gov.ua/.

70 For more on Emine Dzhaparova see https://www.chesno.org/politician/158106.

71 For more on Edem Adamanov see https://medzakupivli.com/en/biohrafii-2/391-adamanov-edem-bekirovych-eng.

72 For more on Alim Aliev see https://ui.org.ua/en/team-2/.

73 For more on Rustem Umerov see https://www.mil.gov.ua/ministry/kerivnicztvo/kerivnicztvo-ministerstva-oboroni-ukraini/umerov-rustem-enverovich.html.

30, 2023.[74] Mustafa Dzhemilev, unofficially known as "a leader of the Crimean Tatar nation", is a deputy of the Ukrainian parliament and enjoys an excellent reputation as the most powerful Crimean Tatar politician in Ukraine and in the world.

6. Muslim Military Units in the Ukrainian Army

Since the beginning of the Russo-Ukrainian war, the representatives of Muslim nations, who have wanted to support Ukraine and join the fight, started to create special military units. Unlike the unilateral annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, the armed conflict that erupted in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine between pro-Russian separatists and the Ukrainian army witnessed the emergence of volunteer military formations. These formations included several notable regiments and battalions, such as the Dnipro-1 Regiment, the Kharkiv Police Battalion, the Sich Battalion, the Donbas Battalion, and the Azov Battalion, the Pravyi Sector Battalion and others.[75] In the same year two volunteer battalions of Chechen Muslims emerged: the Chechen peacekeeping Djokhar Dudaev Battalion and the Sheikh Mansur Battalion.[76] They are still fighting in the war. The combatants are all volunteers and most of them are veterans of the Russian-Chechenian wars in the 1990s.

a) Dzhokhar Dudayev Chechen Peacekeeping Battalion

The Dzhokhar Dudayev Battalion, named after the first president of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, became the first Chechen battalion to fight on the

74 Cf. Міністр оборони підписав наказ про призначення досвідченого менеджера Арсена Жумаділова Гендиректором Державного оператора тилу [Minister of Defense Signs Order to Appoint Experienced Manager Arsen Zhumadilov as Director General of the State Logistics Operator] (1 November 2023). URL: https://www.mil.gov.ua/news/2023/11/01/ministr-oboroni-pidpisav-nakaz-pro-priznachennya-dosvidchenogo-menedzhera-arsena-zhumadilova-gendirektorom-derzhavnogo-operatora-tilu/; see also Sofiya Sereda, Керівник Держоператора тилу Жумаділов: "Якщо Міноборони і далі самостійно виконуватиме держазакупівлі, ми прийдемо до тих самих скандалів і проблем" [Head of the State Logistics Operator Zhumadilov: "If the Ministry of Defense Continues to Carry out Public Procurement on Its Own, We Will Come to the Same Scandals and Problems"] (2 November 2023). URL: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2023/11/2/7426797/.

75 Cf. Kateryna Hladka et al. (eds.), Добробати [Ukrainian Volunteer Battalions], Charkiv 2017.

76 Cf. Sheikh Mansur Battalion's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/groups/216095100558237/.

Ukrainian side against the Russians in 2014.[77] The majority of this unit consists of Chechens, but also Ukrainians, Russians, Ingush, Azerbaijanis, Tatars and representatives of other nations belong to it. The first commander of the Dzhokhar Dudayev Battalion was Isa Munayev, who died for the freedom and independence of Ukraine.[78] The second commander of the battalion became Adam Osmayev.[79] Soldiers of the battalion were fighting in the battles of Illovaysk, Debaltseve and, in 2022, in the battles for Kyiv, Kharkiv, Izium and Bakhmut.

b) Sheikh Mansur Chechen Peacekeeping Battalion

The battalion was created in October 2014 in Denmark. It was founded by the organization "Free Caucasus". This battalion became the second battalion, after the battalion named after Dzhokhar Dudayev, to receive the approval and support of the Ukrainian authorities. The battalion is named in honour of Sheikh Mansur who was a Chechen military commander and religious leader and who fought against the expansion of the Russian Empire in the 18th century.[80]

The President of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, Akhmed Zakayev, once mentioned that five Chechen battalions fight for Ukraine.[81] There is limited information about the other three Chechen battalions: the Imam Shamil

77 Cf. На Донбасі воює батальйон імені Джохара Дудаєва [Dzhokhar Dudayev's Battalion is Fighting in Donbas] (25 October 2014). URL: https://24tv.ua/odesa/na_donbasi_voyuye_batalyon_imeni_dzhohara_dudayeva_n501074.

78 Cf. Yuriy Butusov, Іса Мунаєв – герой Ічкерії, який загинув за свободу та незалежність України [Isa Munayev – a Hero of Ichkeria Who Died for the Freedom and Independence of Ukraine] (2 February 2020). URL: https://glavcom.ua/columns/yuriybutusov/isa-munajev-geroy-ichkeriji-yakiy-zaginuv-za-svobodu-ta-nezalezhnist-ukrajini-656844.html.

79 Cf. Новим командиром "дудаєвців" в АТО став "вбивця" Путіна [Putin's "Assassin" Becomes New Commander of Dudayev's Forces in ATO] (2 February 2015). URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20171229112220/https://espreso.tv/news/2015/02/03/novym_komandyrom_quotdudayevcivquot_v_ato_stav_quotvbyvcya_putinaquot.

80 Cf. Чеченский батальон имени Шейха Мансура [Sheikh Mansur's Chechen Battalion] (5 May 2017). URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20170505051948/http://golosichkerii.com/index.php/v-mire/503-batalon-shejkha-mansura-nabiraet-dobrovoltsev; "Вільний Кавказ" створив батальйон добровольців імені Шейха Мансура ["Free Caucasus" Created a Battalion of Volunteers Named after Sheikh Mansur] (26 October 2014). URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20160529001404/http://gre4ka.info/suspilstvo/14085-vilnyi-kavkaz-stvoryv-batalion-dobrovoltsiv-imeni-sheikha-mansura.

81 Cf. Закаєв: в Україні відновлюються збройні сили Чеченської Республіки Ічкерія [Zakayev: the Armed Forces of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria are Being Restored

Battalion, the Hamzat Helayev Battalion and the Separate Special Purpose Battalion of the Ministry of Defense of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. There was an attempt to create a Crimean Tatar battalion "Krym"[82] in 2014 and the "Noman Çelebicihan Battalion" in 2016.[83] The special unit "Crimea", which operates as a part of the Defense Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine (HUR MO) was created in 2022.[84]

c) Ukrainian Military Volunteer Battalion "Turan"

In November 2022, a volunteer battalion of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups from the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Russian Federation "Turan" was formed, consisting of Azerbaijanis, Kyrgyz and even Chinese Uighurs.[85] The battalion is headed by a refugee from Kyrgyzstan named Almaz Kudabek.[86]

---

in Ukraine] (24 October 2022). URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-zakaev-zbroyni-syly-ichkeria/32097677.html.

82 Cf. Мустафа Джемілєв обговорив із Порошенком створення кримськотатарського батальйону [Mustafa Dzhemilev Discussed the Creation of the Crimean Tatar Battalion with Poroshenko] (13 November 2014). URL: https://ua.krymr.com/a/26689551.html.

83 Cf. Татари вже наполовину сформували свій батальйон, який звільнятиме Крим [The Tatars have Already Half-Formed Their Battalion, which Will Liberate the Crimea] (18 January 2016). URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20161130111216/http://www.depo.ua/ukr/politics/tatari-vzhe-napolovinu-sformuvali-sviy-batalyon-yakiy-zvilnyatime-18012016140700; З'явилися фото батальйону імені Номана Челебеджіхана [Pictures of the Battalion Named after Noman Chelebejikhan Appeared] (5 February 2016). URL: https://islam.in.ua/ua/novyny-u-krayini/zyavylysya-foto-batalyonu-imeni-nomana-chelebidzhihana.

84 Cf. Склад українського підрозділу "Крим" у лавах ГУР постійно зростає [The Composition of the Ukrainian Unit "Crimea" in the Ranks of the HUR MO is Constantly Growing] (28 December 2022). URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-krym-spetspidrozdil-rozvidka/32196127.html.

85 Cf. Oleksiy Tarasov, "Росіян можна не боятися, їх треба бити". Інтерв'ю з ватажком першого батальйону тюркомовних народів, які борються проти Путіна та Кадирова ["You Don't Have to be Afraid of Russians, You Have to Beat Them." Interview with the Leader of the First Battalion of Turkic-Speaking Peoples Fighting against Putin and Kadyrov] (5 December 2022). URL: https://nv.ua/ukr/ukraine/events/batalyon-tyurkomovnih-narodiv-turan-proti-putina-ta-kadirova-almaz-kudabek-novini-ukrajini-50288581.html; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CkDZGCZjhU.

86 Cf. Кто он гражданин Кыргизстана, который создал в Украине тюрский батальон "Туран" [Who is the Citizen of Kyrgystan who Created the "Turan" Turk Battalion in Ukraine?] (22 November 2022). URL: https://www.asiaplustj.info/ru/

There are around two to three thousand Muslims in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, with five imam-chaplains to give religious and spiritual support to the Muslim warriors of the Ukrainian Army.[87]

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, the cooperation of Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, Turks, Christians and Muslims on the lands of modern Ukraine is a permanent tradition, rather than a series of sporadic incidents. At the time of the Russian aggression in 2014 and the full-scale invasion in 2022, the presence of different Muslim military units on the Ukrainian side and Crimean Tatar battalions and units in the Ukrainian army is a continuation of a thousand-year-old Ukrainian tradition of fighting alongside Turkic and Muslim nations in the struggle for the Ukrainian cause and the Ukrainian state.

Since 2014, Ukrainian Muslim indigenous people, the Crimean Tatars, play an active role in the Ukrainian political realm. Some of them hold important positions in the Ukrainian government and promote the implementation of European and NATO standards into the Ukrainian state system.

The Ukrainian identity was formed to a great extent on Orthodoxy and Catholicism, whereby the contribution of Islamic culture considerably enriched it. This issue requires further research.

news/world/20221122/kto-on-grazhdanin-kirgizstana-kotorii-sozdal-v-ukraine-tyurkskii-batalon-turan.

87 Cf. Taras Levchenko, З духовного лідера у військові: чому муфтій мусульман України Саід Ісмагілов пішов на фронт? [From a Spiritual Leader to the Military: Why Did the Mufti of Muslims of Ukraine Said Ismagilov Go to the Front?] (31 August 2022). URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/said-ismahilov-muftiy-na-viyni/32012479.html.