## TATARS OF THE CRIMEA

## Their Struggle for Survival

Original Studies from North America,
Unofficial and Official Documents
from Czarist and Soviet Sources

**Edward Allworth, Editor** 

### CENTRAL ASIA BOOK SERIES

**Duke University Press** Durham and London 1988

© 1988 Duke University Press All rights reserved Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞ Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Tatars of the Crimea.

(Central Asia book series)

Based on a colloquium held October 9, 1986, Columbia University, and sponsored by the university's Center for the Study of Central Asia.

Bibliography: p. Includes index.

1. Crimean Tatars—Civil rights—Congresses.

2. Human rights—Soviet Union—Congresses.

I. Allworth, Edward. II. Columbia University. Center for the Study of Central Asia. III. Series. DK508.9.K78T37 1987 323.4'0947 87-33186 ISBN 0-8223-0758-8

#### Contents

Central Asia Book Series ix Foreword xi

I The Crimean Tatar Case, Edward Allworth 3

### Part I Generating Group Leadership

- II Ismail Gaspirali, Model Leader for Asia, Alan W. Fisher 11
- III The Elders of the New National Movement: Recollections, Ayshe Seytmuratova 27
- IV Mustafa Jemilev, His Character and Convictions, Ludmilla Alexeyeva 51
- V Documents: "Conversation with the Esteemed Ismail Bey,"
  Mahmud Khoja Behbudiy 70; "Ismail Bey Gasprinski, 1851–
  1914," from Shura 72; "A Record of the Trial of Il'ya Gabay
  and Mustafa Jemilev in the City of Tashkent, 12–19 January
  1970;" samizdat 99; ". . . Defense Speech of Mustafa Jemilev
  (1970)," samizdat 107; "Edict on Citizens of Tatar Nationality
  Who Lived in Crimea—5 September 1967," Presidium, USSR
  Supreme Soviet 145; [Official Memorandum regarding Ayshe
  Seytmuratova] 146

### Part II Government and Party Actions— Group Responses

- VI Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (Gaspirali), the Discourse of Modernism, and the Russians, Edward J. Lazzerini 149
- VII Mass Exile, Ethnocide, Group Derogation—Anomaly or Norm in Soviet Nationality Policies?, Edward Allworth 170
- VIII The Crimean Tatar Drive for Repatriation: Some Comparisons with Other Movements of Dissent in the USSR,
  Peter Reddaway 194
- Documents: "Russian-Oriental Relations," Ismail Bey IX Gaspirali 202; "Law on the Reorganization of the Crimean ASSR into the Crimean District," Izvestiia 216; "Letter to A. Sakharov . . . ," Mustafa Jemilev 217; "To All Muslims!" Mustafa Jemilev 218; "Information. On the Meeting of [Crimean Tatar] Representatives of Action Committees . . . ," samizdat 218; "Declaration-1984, to the Politburo . . . CPSU," Crimean Tatars of Krasnodar Krai 220; "The Institution of Another Criminal Case against Mustafa Jemilev (1984). New Searches in Uzbekistan," samizdat 229; "Publications against Participants in the National Movement, in the Uzbekistan Press," samizdat 232; "The Latest 'Open Letter' of Rollan Kadyev," samizdat 234; "Jeppar Akimov," samizdat 237; "Information Bulletin No. 2, I:1, On Native Soil . . . ," samizdat 239; "Bekir Osmanov," samizdat 241; "Report from Moscow. Crimean Tatar Representatives in Moscow," samizdat 243; "The New 'Case' against Aleksandr Lavut," samizdat 244; "Searches in Moscow Concerning the Affairs of Grigory Aleksandrov," samizdat 245

## Part III Sustaining Nationality Group Identity

- X Symbols: The National Anthem and Patriotic Songs by Three
   Poets, Seyit Ahmet Kirimca 249
- XI Rituals: Artistic, Cultural, and Social Activities,Riza Gülüm 262

- XII Structures: The Importance of Family—A Personal Memoir,
  Mübeyyin Batu Altan 275; Personal Letters: "Letter from
  Mustafa Jemilev . . . to Fikret Yurter . . . (1978)" 281;
  "Letter from Mustafa Jemilev to his niece . . . (1980)" 282;
  "Letter from Mustafa Jemilev . . . to Fikret Yurter . . .
  (1981)" 284; "Letter from a Crimean Tatar in the USSR to
  Relatives . . . (1966)" 285
- XIII Documents: "Letter to the General Secretary, Islamic Conference, on the Death of the Father of Former Political Prisoner, Mustafa Jemilev . . . ," samizdat 287; "The Sixth Trial . . . Speech for the Defense of Mustafa Jemilev in Tashkent Municipal Court . . . (1984)," samizdat 292; "The Last Word," Mustafa Jemilev (samizdat) 336; "Resumption of Forcible Evictions," samizdat 339; "List of Crimean Tatars Living in the Kirov and Belogorsk Raions of the Crimea," samizdat 341; "Report from Uzbekistan. Around Mubarek and Baharistan," samizdat 343; "Pressure on Graduating Students of Tatlit," samizdat 346; "The New Censorship of Uzlit," samizdat 353; "The Trial of Iurii Osmanov," samizdat 354

Bibliography of Recent Publications in English 357

Notes 361

Index 387

### Tatars of the Crimea

The Tatars, an Islamic people native to the Crimea in the Soviet Union, burst into world consciousness in the summer of 1987 when large numbers of them tested *glasnost* by demonstrating in Red Square, protesting eviction from their homeland during World War II. To Stalin and his regime, the Tatars had been collaborators with the Nazis; but the Tatars claim that an entire people was made to suffer for the crimes of a few, and the real reason for their resettlement was to populate the strategic Crimean area with ethnic Russians.

Since the 1944 deportation—in which large numbers died—Tatars have long sought to return to the Crimea from what they consider exile and detention in Uzbekistan. The contributors to this volume consider the issues involved in the case, analyze recent developments, and offer important personal witness to the events.

Edward A. Allworth is Professor of Turco-Soviet Studies, Head of the Center for the Study of Central Asia and the Division of Central Asian Studies, and Director of the Program on Soviet Nationality Problems, all at Columbia University. He also serves as Editor of the Central Asia Book Series for Duke University Press, in which this is the third volume.

#### Also from Duke

### Among the Afghans

Arthur Bonner

"This book, with its dramatic narrative and its useful accounts of Afghan history, will remain an outstanding resource." —Kirkus Reviews

"A well-researched, balanced, and compassionate account of the war. . . . Mr. Bonner is an objective observer who pursues the facts with vigor." —New York Times Book Review

### Afghanistan and the Soviet Union

New and expanded edition Henry S. Bradsher

"Those who want a full analysis of the problems of Afghanistan should turn to Bradsher; all in all, it is the best general account available."—Times Literary Supplement

"Excellent. . . . Bradsher's journalistic skills and familiarity with the countries involved are amply displayed in this well-written book."

—American Political Science Review

"As a general history, Bradsher's book is unlikely to be bettered. It is painstakingly thorough, clearly expounded, and eminently sane."

—New York Review of Books

"Essential reading and reference."-Wall Street Journal

# Return to Kashgar (/

"In August 1929 Jarring left Stockholm for a journey to Kashgar, where he remained into the following year, studying the eastern Turki language, and the life and culture of the region. Almost fifty years later, in 1978, Jarring returned. . . . [This] is a charming account of both visits.

"Jarring writes with the low-key warmth and objectivity of the veteran diplomat. . . . [His] deep knowledge of Xinjian is everywhere evident in telling and thoroughly informed observation."—Slavic Review