The Crimean Tatars From Soviet Genocide To Putin's Conquest

WINNER OF THE 2017 NATIONAL BOOK AWARD IN NONFICTION FINALIST FOR THE NATIONAL BOOK CRITICS CIRCLE AWARDS WINNER OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY'S HELEN BERNESTEIN BOOK AWARD NAMED A BEST BOOK OF 2017 BY THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW, LOS ANGELES TIMES, WASHINGTON POST, BOSTON GLOBE, SEATTLE TIMES, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, NEWSWEEK, PASTE, and POP SUGAR The essential journalist and bestselling biographer of Vladimir Putin reveals how, in the space of a generation, Russia surrendered to a more virulent and invincible new strain of autocracy. Award-winning journalist Masha Gessen's understanding of the events and forces that have wrecked Russia in recent times is unparalleled. In The Future Is History, Gessen follows the lives of four people born at what promised to be the dawn of democracy. Each of them came of age with unprecedented expectations, some as the children and grandchildren of the very architects of the new Russia, each with newfound aspirations of their own—as entrepreneurs, activists, thinkers, and writers, sexual and social beings. Gessen charts their paths against the machinations of the regime that would crush them all, and against the war it waged on understanding itself, which ensured the unobstructed reemergence of the old Soviet order in the form of today's terrifying and seemingly unstoppable mafia state. Powerful and urgent, The Future Is History is a cautionary tale for our time and for all time.

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An authoritative introduction to the Crimean peninsula, This Blessed Land is the first book in English to trace the vast history of Crimea from pre-historic times to the present. The Russian annexation of the Crimea in March 2014 focused the world's attention on the Peninsula in ways not seen since the Crimean War. Thousands of Crimean Tatars clashed with pro-Russian militia men in Simferopol, while Moscow has in turn stoked fears of jihadi terrorism among the overwhelmingly Muslim Tatars as retrospective justification for its invasion. The key thread in this book is the Crimean Tatars' changing relationship with their Vatan (homeland) and how this interaction with their natal territory changed under the Ottoman Sultans, Russian Tsars, Soviet Commissars, post-Soviet Ukrainian authorities and now Putin's Russia. Taking as its starting point the 1783 Russian conquest of the independent Tatar state known as the Crimean Khante, Williams explains how the peninsula's native population, with ethnic roots among the Goths, Kipchak Turks, and Mongols, was scattered across the Ottoman Empire. He also traces their later emigration and the radical transformation of this conservative tribal-religious group into a modern, politically mobilized, secular nation under Soviet rule. Stalin's genocidal deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944 to Uzbekistan and their almost messianic return to their cherished 'Green Isle' in the 1990s are examined in detail, while the author's archival investigations are bolstered by his field research among the Crimean Tatar exiles in Uzbekistan and in their samozakhvat (self-seized) squatter camps and settlements in the Crimea. Taking as its starting point the 1783 Russian conquest of the independent Tatar state known as the Crimean Khante, this book explains how the peninsula's native population, with ethnic roots among the Goths, Kipchak Turks, and Mongols, was scattered across the Ottoman Empire. It also traces their later emigration and the radical transformation of this conservative tribal-religious group into a modern, politically mobilized, secular nation under Soviet rule. The Crimean War, or the Eastern War, as the Russians called it, razed the countryside and cities of Crimea, leaving a devastated nation in its wake. The most costly war fought on Russian soil, losses exceeded even those of the Napoleonic War nearly half a century before. Sustained by civilians, the conflict collapsed only when the violence had finally exhausted Crimean land and labor. Crimea in War and Transformation is the first exploration of the civilian experience during the Crimean War to appear in English. With limited options, the people of Crimea shaped their own destinies during the war. Whereas some chose to donate or to sell their agricultural produce to Russian and Allied armies, others resisted requisition. Many families welcomed soldiers into their homes, and in Sevastopol, locals helped build critical batteries, parapets and other defenses. Local Russian and Greek nationalists turned to religious patriotism and enlisted in community militias to fight a holy war for tsar and country. Some Crimean Tatars actively collaborated with the enemy, while others remained steadfastly loyal to the tsar. At the apex of violence, hungry soldiers and desperate officials scapegoated Crimea's native Muslim population, leading to a deadly population transfer. Unable to eke out survival in a hostile and war torn land, nearly 200,000 Crimean Tartars were driven from their homeland to the Ottoman Empire. Those inhabitants who remained—Tartars, Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians, German colonists, Jews, and others—participated in the largest war recovery program yet sponsored by the Russian government. Drawing from a wide body of published and unpublished material, including untapped archives, testimonies, and secret police files from Russia, Ukraine and Crimea, Mara Kozelsky details in readable and vivid prose the toll of war on the Crimean people from mobilization through recovery. This volume provides the most up-to-date analysis of the ethnic cleansing of the Crimean Tatars, their exile in Central Asia and their struggle to return to the Crimean homeland. It also traces the formation of this diaspora nation from Mongol times to the collapse of the Soviet Union. A theme which emerges through the work is the gradual construction of the Crimea as a national homeland by its indigenous Tatar population. It ends with a discussion of the post-Soviet repatriation of the Crimean Tatars to their Russified homeland and the social, emotional and identity problems involved. A detailed academic treatise of the history of nationality in Tatarstan. The book demonstrates how state collapse and national revival influenced the divergence of worldviews among ex-Soviet people in Tatarstan, where a political movement for sovereignty (1986-2000) had significant social effects, most saliently, by increasing the domains where people speak the Tatar language and circulating ideas associated with Tatar culture. Also addresses the question of how Russian Muslims experience quotidian life in the post-Soviet period. The only book-length ethnography in English on...
Tatars, Russia’s second most populous nation, and also the largest Muslim community in the Federation, offers a major contribution to our understanding of how and why nations form and how and why they matter – and the limits of their influence, in the Tatar case.

This book explains the unexpected mobilization of the Crimean Tatar diaspora in recent decades through an exploration of the exile experiences of the Crimean Tatars in Central Asia, Middle East, Eastern Europe, and North America. This book adds to the growing literature on diaspora case studies and is essential reading for researchers and students of diasporas, migration, ethnicity, nationalism, transnationalism, identity formation and social movements. Moreover, this book is relevant both for specialists in Crimean Tatar Studies and for the larger fields of Communist, Post-Communist, Middle Eastern, European, and American studies.

Examines the situation of the Crimean Tatars since the breakup of the USSR and of their continuing struggle to find peace and acceptance in a homeland.

In the early morning hours of May 18, 1944 the Russian army, under orders from Stalin, deported the entire Crimean Tatar population from their historical homeland. Given only fifteen minutes to gather their belongings, they were herded into cattle cars bound for Soviet Central Asia. Although the official Soviet record was cleansed of this affair and the name of their ethnic group was erased from all records and official documents, Crimean Tatars did not assimilate with other groups or disappear. This is an ethnographic study of the negotiation of social memory and the role this had in the growth of a national repatriation movement among the Crimean Tatars. It examines the recollections of the Crimean Tatars, the techniques by which they are produced and transmitted and the formation of a remarkably uniform social memory in light of their dispersion throughout Central Asia. Through the lens of social memory, the book covers not only the deportation and life in the diaspora but the process by which the children and grandchildren of the deportees ‘returned’ and anchored themselves in the Crimean Peninsula, a place they had never visited.

Regional diversity such as Ukraine's often embodies potential for friction and conflict, in particular when it involves territorialized ethnicity and divergent historical experiences. Political elites interested in stability and conflict prevention must find ways either to accommodate or control this diversity. In the early to mid-1990s, the Western media, policymakers, and academics alike warned that Crimea was a potential centre of unrest in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's dissolution. However, large-scale conflict in Crimea did not materialise, and Kyiv has managed to integrate the peninsula into the new Ukrainian polity. This book explores the factors that led to the largely peaceful transition and places the situation in the larger context of conflict-prevention studies, explaining this critical case in which conflict did not erupt despite a structural predisposition to ethnic, regional, and even international enmity.

"Resisting Ethnic Cleansing: Crimean Tatars Against and Within the Soviet Union, 1944-1991," examines Stalin's multifaceted ethnic cleansing of the Crimean Peninsula and how the region's largest ethnic group, Crimean Tatars, created a decades-long protest movement to resist each aspect of Stalin's policy. First, I argue that Stalin's deportation and exile of Crimean Tatars amounted to a bureaucratic genocide: a Soviet iteration on state violence that used inefficiency, irresponsibility, confusion, and loyalty to the system to destroy the national and class "enemies" of the Soviet Union. Second, this study emphasizes how ethnic cleansing in Crimea was extraordinary in the way Soviet power transformed Crimea after the deportations. From 1944 to 1954, this transformation created a "new Russian Crimea" through policies of mass settlement, land redistribution, and renaming geographic locations and rewriting history. Third, having revealed the full extent Stalin's project, I explore how Crimean Tatars created the largest protest movement in the postwar Soviet Union. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Crimean Tatar activists and everyday citizens established contacts with Soviet dissidents and Western human rights activists to create a transnational protest movement. Through this network, a small, repressed nation demanded specific changes from what was one of the world's most complex state bureaucracies and framed their arguments within the international language of protest and human rights. They accomplished their main goal, and returned to Crimea as the Soviet Union collapsed. Overall, this project highlights how activists can incorporate the ideas and language of post-Nuremberg human rights into practical actions and how ordinary citizens can work simultaneously within and outside of a system to resist a repressive police state.

Examines the challenges and opportunities of the Crimean peninsula within the newly independent country of Ukraine and in light of the strong separatist movement. The nine studies are from an international conference in Kiev, Ukraine, in October 1994. Among the topics are the socioeconomic situation, interethnic relations, Ukrainian presidential and parliamentary elections, the importance of Crimea to Ukraine, the balance of power in the Black Sea, and US security interests in Crimea. Includes a detailed chronology and appendes texts of 11 important documents. Published in conjunction with the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Paper edition (unseen), $22.95. Annotation copyright by Book News, Inc., Portland, OR

The Turkic Languages examines the modern languages within this wide-ranging language family and gives an historical overview of their development. The first part covers generalities, providing an introduction to the grammatical traditions, subgrouping and writing systems of this language family. The latter part of the book focuses on descriptions of the individual languages themselves. Each language description gives an overview of the language followed by detail on phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis and dialects. The language chapters are similarly structured to enable the reader to access and compare information easily. Each chapter represents a self-contained article written by a recognised expert in the field. Suggestions are made for the most useful sources of further reading and the work is comprehensively indexed.

The publisher of this book was a man who was born in 1938, in a free and democratic country (Estonia), with Estonian identity and citizenship. That all was amended in 1940 by Russian Empire as a result of the occupation of a sovereign country. The book was written with help of leading specialists of that time and with an attempt to stay neutral, almost as
bystanders. The purpose was to describe cultures and ethnic groups of people who have suffered or have been eradicated under the power of "Russian Empire." Oppression of neighbors has taken place for over 500 years, and continues even today with Russian Federation changing daily into more totalitarian and dangerous state in an attempt to restore its former glory. Also Russian Federation is the only surviving colonial country in the world, from whose clutches have fled only a few nations, who gained sovereignty. Still this is not an complete view of the Empire, because the 84 nations covered in this book is only a third of more than 200 nations and cultures, whose fate is evanesce and disappearance into the larger Russian population by aggressive social politics. This relentless process is irreparable loss to world cultural heritage, diversity and democratic freedoms. On the other hand, it is also a loss to these nations economy, because the aggressor ravages and robs natural resources while destroying the environment. The idea of the book the author, publisher and financier a Thomas Niemann.

Grand Prize Winner, Banff Mountain Festival Book Competition The relationship between man and horse on the Eurasian steppe gave rise to a succession of rich nomadic cultures. Among them were the Mongols of the thirteenth century – a small tribe, which, under the charismatic leadership of Genghis Khan, created the largest contiguous land empire in history. Inspired by the extraordinary life nomads lead, Tim Cope embarked on a journey that hadn't been successfully completed since those times: to travel on horseback across the entire length of the Eurasian steppe, from Karakorum, the ancient capital of Mongolia, through Kazakhstan, Russia, Crimea and the Ukraine to the Danube River in Hungary. From horse-riding novice to spending months in the saddle, he learnt to fend off wolves and would-be horse-thieves, and grapple with the haunting extremes of the steppe as he crossed sub-zero plateaux, the scorching deserts of Kazakhistan and the high-mountain passes of the Carpathians. As he travelled he formed a close bond with his horses and especially his dog Tigon, and encountered essential hospitality – the linchpin of human survival on the steppe – from those he met along the way. Cope bears witness to how the traditional ways hang in the balance in the post-Soviet world – an era that has brought new-found freedom, but also the perils of corruption and alcoholism, and left a world bereft of both the Communist system upon which it once relied, and the traditional knowledge of the nomadic forefathers. A journey of adventure, endurance and eventual triumph, On the Trail of Genghis Khan is at once a celebration of and an elegy for an ancient way of life.

The dangerous turmoil provoked by the breakdown in Russo-Ukrainian relations in recent years has escalated into a crisis that now afflicts both European and global affairs. Few so far have looked at the crisis from the point of view of Russo-Ukrainian relations, a gap this edited collections seeks to address.

The Crimea was the only region of Ukraine in the 1990s where separatism arose and inter-ethnic conflict potentially could have taken place between the Ukrainian central government, ethnic Russians in the Crimea, and Crimean Tatars. Such a conflict would have inevitably drawn in Russia and Turkey. Russia had large numbers of troops in the Crimea within the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet. Ukraine also was a nuclear military power until 1996. This book analyses two inter-related issues. Firstly, it answers the question why Ukraine-Crimea-Russia traditionally have been a triangle of conflict over a region that Ukraine, Tatars and Russia have historically claimed. Secondly, it explains why inter-ethnic violence was averted in Ukraine despite Crimea possessing many of the ingredients that existed for Ukraine to follow in the footsteps of inter-ethnic strife in its former Soviet neighbourhood in Moldova (Trans-Dniestr), Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh), Georgia (Abkhazia, South Ossetia), and Russia (Chechnya).

The dissolution of the Soviet Union brought about multidimensional problems to the former republics of the USSR and their inhabitants. In 1990s Ukraine, Crimea became a center of conflict between Ukraine and Russia over the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet and Crimea itself, perceived as historically their own by both sides of the conflict. Local Crimean authorities took advantage of the specificity of a demographic situation in Crimea were Ukrainians, the titular nation, are in minority and considerably Russified to claim for autonomy. Later, they attempted to secede from Ukraine. At the same time, the Crimean Tatar influx from exile, orchestrated by the Stalin regime in 1944, further exacerbated the 'triangle of conflict' between the dyads Russia-Ukraine and Crimea-Ukraine. The Crimean Tatars, currently 12 percent of the Crimean population, proclaimed Crimea the national territory of the Crimean Tatar people, on which they alone possess the right to self government and claimed greater rights for themselves as allegedly the most indigenous peoples in Crimea, while the rest are colonizers. The thesis explains the historical developments in Crimea and attempts to draw implications to the Ukrainian government in dealing with Crimean Tatar nationalism which seems to be overcoming the problems within the 'triangle of conflict' that was so sharp in 1990s.

Valery Tishkov is a well-known Russian historian and anthropologist, and former Minister of Nationalities in Yeltsin's government. This book draws on his inside knowledge of major events and extensive primary research. Tishkov argues that ethnicity has a multifaceted role: it is the most accessible basis for political mobilization; a means of controlling power and resources in a transforming society; and therapy for the great trauma suffered by individuals and groups under previous regimes. This complexity helps explain the contradictory nature and outcomes of public ethnic policies based on a doctrine of ethno-nationalism.

Russia's use of its vast energy resources for leverage against post-Soviet states such as Ukraine is widely recognized as a threat. Yet we cannot understand this danger without also understanding the opportunity that Russian energy represents. From corruption-related profits to transportation-fee income to subsidized prices, many within these states have benefited by participating in Russian energy exports. To understand Russian energy power in the region, it is necessary to look at the entire value chain—including production, processing, transportation, and marketing—and at the full spectrum of domestic and external actors involved, from Gazprom to regional oligarchs to European Union regulators. This book follows Russia's three largest fossil-fuel exports—natural gas, oil, and coal—from production in Siberia through transportation via Ukraine to final use in Germany in order to understand the tension between energy as threat and as
opportunity. Margarita M. Balmaceda reveals how this dynamic has been a key driver of political development in post-Soviet states in the period between independence in 1991 and Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014. She analyzes how the physical characteristics of different types of energy, by shaping how they can be transported, distributed, and even stolen, affect how each is used—not only technically but also politically. Both a geopolitical travelogue of the journey of three fossil fuels across continents and an incisive analysis of technology’s role in fossil-fuel politics and economics, this book offers new ways of thinking about energy in Eurasia and beyond.

The book examines the role of the Crimean khan, members of his council and other officials in the Crimean political and judicial systems as well as the practice of the Crimean sharia court during the reign of Murad Giray (1678-1683). What do all human languages have in common and in what ways are they different? How can language be used to trace different peoples and their past? Are certain languages similar because of common descent or language contact?

Assuming no prior knowledge of linguistics, this textbook introduces readers to the rich diversity of human languages, familiarizing students with the variety and typology of languages around the world. Linguistic terms and concepts are explained, in the text and in the glossary, and illustrated with simple, accessible examples. Eighteen language maps and numerous language family charts enable students to place a language geographically or genealogically. A supporting website includes additional language maps and sound recordings that can be used to illustrate the peculiarities of the sound systems of various languages. ‘Test yourself’ questions throughout the book make it easier for students to analyze data from unfamiliar languages.

The 'Return to the Homeland Movement' of one of the Crimean Tatars, is the principal subject of this article. Whereas Western observers have generally focused their attention on Russian and Jewish dissidents in the Moscow area, they have given somewhat less consideration to protesting members of other nationalities in other parts of the Soviet Union. Therefore a description of Crimean Tatar dissidence provides an opportunity to demonstrate that national dissent is more widespread (and as will be seen, more violent) than is perhaps generally believed. Here it might also be mentioned that dissent from Crimean Tatars in isolation from the other currents of dissent mentioned above cannot be viewed. Therefore when Crimean Tatar activities are known to have merged with those of other dissidents throughout the USSR, the occurrences will be noted. It is useful to bear in mind that the present dissidence of Crimean Tatars is merely a modern-day form of their past resistance to coercion and their determination to secure their national rights. Therefore a brief treatment of the history of the Crimean Tatars, and particularly their opposition to Russian domination, is discussed.

The first in a series of volumes to discuss the history and development of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union.

--"Professor Fisher's excellent book is brief but clear and succinct. It should be required reading for all students of Russian and European History."--Slavic Review

This study is the first and only scholarly attempt to cover the process of the formation of the modern national identity among the Crimean Tatars during the first decades of this century. It also illuminates similar processes among the other Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire.


*Includes pictures *Includes a bibliography for further reading A history of the Tataр peoples covers a huge expanse of territory, time, and the rise and fall of many Tataр communities. As such, they played a role in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East over several centuries, and from Genghis Khan to Ivan the Terrible and Josef Stalin, some of history's most infamous tyrants have played a key role in this story. Crucially, the history of the Tataрs is one that seems to take place at the fringes of the great empires. Geographically the Tataрs descend from several parts of Asia, particularly Central Asia, but the Crimean region has been the nexus of several great power rivalries and numerous conflicts. Yet the Crimean Tataрs endured through many of these, aligning themselves with a number of larger powers and developing a reputation as fearsome warriors. Today the Tataрs are mainly linked with and live in the Volga region of the Russian Federation. Indeed, Tataтарstan is a republic in modern Russia. The "Volga Tataрs" are perhaps the best known of the peoples known as Tataрs and today number about 5 million people. Yet, other Tataрs and those descending from Tataрs also live in modern Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Turkey and many other countries in Europe and former Soviet republics. What, then, defines a Tataр? Historically, Tataтарs have been considered ethnically Tataр and related to Central (and North) Asian peoples. In practice, this meant the Turkic and Mongol peoples that were predominantly nomadic or semi-nomadic. Tataрs, for the most part, converted to Islam and their lands, once settled, were punctuated by mosques and Islamic religious practices. Perhaps the best example of Tataр culture that survives today is in the Kazan region of Tataтарstan.
around the Volga River, for instance the Kul-Sharif mosque in Kazan. As the centuries progressed, the Tatars came to represent an important group within Russia and its surrounding countries, as not only members of those societies but also sitting slightly outside the establishment. One example would be Ukraine, where the Crimean Tatars were important players in the politics and trade of the region, but who were essentially independent until the Russian Empire came to dominate the Crimean Peninsula. The Tatars represented a unique fusion of Central Asian culture, style and practices and in many ways represent the crossroads between east and west. However, for centuries they also represented the marauding hordes of eastern invaders who remained in the Ukraine and Russia region and appeared to be engaged in perpetual war. Once the Tatars had been incorporated into the Russian Empire and then its successor the Soviet Union, they were often discriminated against. In the case of Soviet leader Josef Stalin's rule, that meant deportation as "suspicious" fifth columnists. The Tatars would fight for repatriation up until the end of the Soviet period and beyond. The Tatars: The History of the Tatar Ethnic Groups and Tatar Confederation looks at the origins of the ethnic groups, their place in medieval times, and their impact on various modern nations. Along with pictures depicting important people, places, and events, you will learn about the Tatars like never before.