

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CRIMEAN TATAR IDENTITY:
THE CASE OF 'HAYTARMA'



DARIA MONASTYRSKAIA

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THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CRIMEAN TATAR IDENTITY: THE
CASE OF 'HAYTARMA'

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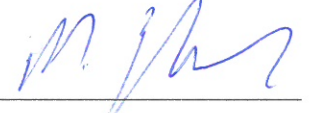
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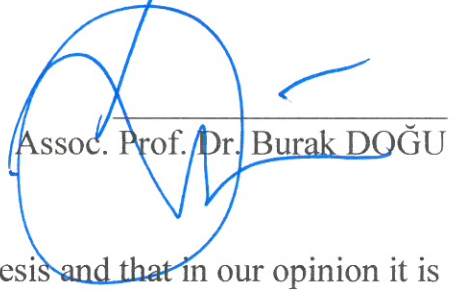
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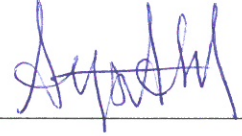
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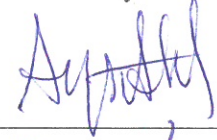
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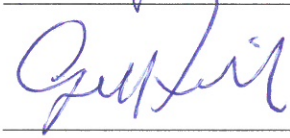
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Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aysun AKAN



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen KARANFİL



Asst. Prof. Dr. Zehra CERRAHOĞLU



ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CRIMEAN TATAR IDENTITY: THE CASE OF ‘HAYTARMA’

Daria Monastyrskaja

Media and Communications Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aysun AKAN

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This thesis analyzes the role of media in Crimean Tatar Identity. This research is conducted in order to find out how national identity is communicated in media, particularly in cinema. This research is based on only one, but the most important Crimean Tatar film – ‘Haytarma’, from the point of traumatic narrative on which it elaborates. In frames of this thesis we have found out that Crimean Tatars use media resources as a tool of preserving and keeping their identity alive.

Keywords: Crimean Tatar, Identity, National Identity, Trauma, Deportation, National Movement, Media, Cinema, Haytarma, Semiotic Analysis.

ÖZET

KIRIM TATARLARIN KİMLİĞİNDE MEDYANIN ROLÜ: 'HAYTARMA' ÖRNEĞİ

Daria Monastyrskaja

Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Aysun AKAN

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Bu çalışma, Kırım Tatarların Kimliğindeki medya rolünü analiz etmektedir. Tezin amacı milli kimliğin, başta cinema olmak üzere, medya araçlarında nasıl dile getirildiğini araştırmaktır. Bu araştırma tek ama Kırım Tatar sinemasının en önemli ve Kırım Tatar halkının yaşadığı en travmatik olayları anlatan 'Haytarma' filmi kapsamaktadır. Bu çalışma göstermektedir ki Kırım Tatarları medya kaynaklarını kimliklerini korumak ve canlı tutmak amacıyla kullanmaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kırım Tatar, Kimlik, Milli Kimlik, Travma, Sürgün, Milli Hareket, Medya, Sinema, Haytarma, Semiotik Analizi

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This research is conducted in order to investigate how Crimean Tatars identity is communicated through media resources they use. Crimean Tatars are the nation who has been experiencing repressions and looking for their place in this world during hundreds of years. Their struggle for being able to live in their motherland is of a unique nature. This makes their identity an interesting topic for being examined.

Crimean Tatars have lost its own government and since the Russian invasion in 1783 have been living in their historical motherland under the rule of such nation states as Russia and Ukraine. The policy of Russification, deprivation of the land and impoverishment of Crimean Tatar people led to the huge waves of migration, that were raising during tens of decades. Along with harsh governmental policies, Crimean Tatars were exposed to repressions that led to annihilation of Crimean Tatar intelligentsia and most prominent national leaders.

In 1944 all Crimean Tatar's were deported from their historical motherland and sent to special settlements and labor camps mostly in Central Asia (Uzbekistan), the Urals and Siberia. Crimean Tatars were proclaimed traitors of the motherland, that's why in the places of exile they were unable to express their national identity, and being a Crimean Tatar was condemned. Deportation and living in exile has left the deepest trauma in Crimean Tatar consciousness that is present in the core of their

national identity. Deportation also led to the revival of national movement, whose leaders were fighting for the right to turn back to the homeland. Media became the tool of communicating national concerns and national consciousness formation.

Based on this context, in the first chapter, we are going to examine the emergence of such notions as nation and nationalism, and set a theoretical framework for the national identity examination. We are going to examine ideas of significant scholars of nationalism in order to better understand what forms the core of the nation and how nations are built.

In frames of this research we are going to analyze how national identity can be communicated through media and which media contributes to this purpose in the context of Crimean Tatar case. This will be discussed in the second chapter. In exile after losing their homeland and after return to the homeland, the priority and only option in order to not to lose their identity and later revive it, for Crimean Tatars was preservation of their culture and traditions via media.

The third chapter of this study focuses on the cinema medium in particular and examines how national identity is articulated through it. Cinema medium was chosen due to the fact that it is the most suitable tool of maintaining artistic component of cultural reflection, by using visual representation. This fact provides us with fruitful semiotic content, which we aim to analyze. Thus, we are going to conduct semiotic analysis of the most significant, from the point of view of traumatic narrative that forms the very core of Crimean Tatar identity, film 'Haytarma' (2013).

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is conducted in order to find out how national identity is communicated in media, particularly in cinema. Cinema was chosen as the field of research due to its complex language of signs and images that enables it to communicate the national narrative in a complex, non-straightforward manner, which can produce broad material for interpretation. Due to the fact that, Crimean Tatars do not have considerable number of films, this research is based on only one, but the most important – ‘Haytarma’, from the point of traumatic narrative on which it elaborates.

Nationalism has become the subject for academic research only recently, in first decades of the 20th century. Before that “interest in nationalism throughout much of this period was more ethical and political than analytical” (Özkırmı, 2010). With works of such historians like Hans Kohn, Carlton Hayes, has been examined as a theory that needs to be investigated and explained.

According to Hayes, nationalism is a natural form of humans’ sociality expression. He states that due to a growing belief in nation states as a medium, which helps people to achieve progress, nationalism became extremely powerful in the 18th century (Hayes, 1931).

According to Hayes’ evolutionary typology of nationalism, there are five different forms of nationalism. The first one – humanitarian

nationalism, this concept is founded on the grounds that nationalism is essential and inevitable for humanity development. The second one is known as Jacobin nationalism, nationalism that is manifested by revolutionary leaders, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau promoted national ideas during the French Revolution, or Benito Mussolini promoted extreme nationalism in Italy during the inter-war years. The third one is the traditional nationalism, which relies on traditions and history of the nation. The fourth one is the liberal nationalism. This type involves political perspective with individuals practicing their liberty in the borders of a state or a government and resisting aristocratic rule. The last one – integral nationalism, bases on extreme national values that are above humanity (Hayes, 1931).

Hans Kohn believed that emergence of modern states is a premise for nationalism. His main argument was that people had needed to have a force to be united in national communities, and nation states boosted this process. Thus, the French revolution that was advocating the idea of nation states as the main source of economical welfare and cultural prosperity, became the trigger for nation formation. Moreover, Kohn distinguishes two types of nationalism: Western nationalism and the others. For Western countries, Kohn claims, rise of nationalism was a political occurrence. As for the other nationalism, it is mostly focused on tradition and culture. People are "...held together, not by the will of its members nor by any obligations of contract, but by traditional ties of kinship and status" (Kohn, 1958: 329).

For several decades the concept of nation has been treated as a natural phenomenon, but in the late twentieth century social scientists began to doubt the naturalness of this notion and started researches investigating the premises of a 'nation' concept. The main argument of modern

scientists was that nation formation overlapped with the development of modern states and capitalism.

In this relation scientist examined emergence of nationalism as a consequence of developments brought by modernization, raise of literacy, secularization and industrialization. Therefore, industrialism as a strong economic force could be only successful with the united body of citizens, which was provided by nationalism emergence and development.

Within this context, Ernest Gellner, scholar of nationalism, argued that nationalism became sociological necessity only in the modern world, and was a switch between traditional and modern steps of society. He claimed that industrialism society "can only function with a mobile, literate, culturally standardized, interchangeable population" (Gellner, 1983). He saw direct connection between power and the unification of culture. Before industrialism there was no need for a national culture due to the lack of state in traditional hunter-gatherer society, and diversity of cultures and individual social statuses in agro-literate society.

Education also takes significant part in the nation building. As with the beginning of industrialization people became social mobile and started receiving education, the government were the tool for providing it. This fact of people receiving centralized education led to the raise of the importance of culture and spreading common knowledge. Therefore, "the culture in which one has been taught to communicate becomes the core of one's identity" (Gellner, 1983)

Another scholar Eric Hobsbawm added a new layer of understanding to the nation building process. According to him, nations and nationalism are the products of social engineering, which is based on tradition invention as

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (Hobsbawm, 1983: 1)

In this regard, nations are based on traditions in order to build continuous relations with one nation's past and "use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion" (Özeniş, 2015: 46).

According to Hobsbawm there are two processes of tradition invention: the adaptation of the old ones and invention of the new ones. The first process is to adopt old traditions for new situations. The second process is aimed at boosting social change and cohesion, cooperation of citizens with ruling governments through public ceremonies and celebrations.

Benedict Anderson, who reflected on Gellner's ideas, investigates nationalism and nation phenomenon in his book 'Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism'. Anderson (1983) suggests that nations are imagined communities, the community members of which have not met and unlikely to meet each other, but experience a commitment to the same nation and have a common image of their national community.

Instead of Gellner's term 'invention', Anderson suggests the term 'imagined', and removes focus from the falsity of invention to the way that the nations are imagined. Opposed to Gellner, Anderson believes that nations are not the product of political ideologies, but product of cultural development preceding their formation. He claims that the following three historical conditions led to the emergence of imagined communities: the

decline of a connected religious community, the decline of dynasties, and the emergence of homogenous time.

The other crucial factor for the emergence of nations is the co-called 'print capitalism'. Being produced by the capitalist marketplace, printed press generates a common language and national discourse. The language used in order to maximize circulation led to overwhelming understanding among members of communities, that were not able to understand each other because of local dialects etc. Along with it people started sharing a common discourse and national values

Anderson claims that nation is subjected to the political boundaries of a land that it occupies. On contrary, Andrew Higson (2000) claims that being within geo-political space of nation is not a requirement for a member of it. As a common sense of belonging still can be shared in some diasporic communities. Moreover, he states that all nations can be seen as diasporic in some sense, as "...those communities actually consist of highly fragmented and widely dispersed groups of people with as many differences as similarities and with little in the sense of real physical contact with each other" (Higson, 2000).

Finally, talking about nationalism and nation building, we need to mention the concept of ethnosymbolism. Ethno-symbolist approach focuses on symbolic elements such as myths, signs, values, memories and traditions in the nation formation process.

According to ethnosymbolists, ethnic origins play crucial role in understanding of nationalism.

According to Smith, the combination of myths, memories, values or symbols is what lies in the "core of ethnicity". These create the

“characteristic forms or styles and genres of certain historical configurations of populations” (Özeniş, 2015: 59).

Talking about Crimean Tatars, it is not possible not to talk about cultural and ethnic identity concepts as well. Although, cultural and national identity are different concepts, they are closely related to each other, especially in case of Crimean Tatars, as respect for their culture and traditions and their preservation played a significant role in helping Crimean Tatars to sustain the unity of the nation during the long years of exile. This concept of interconnection of national and cultural identity notions was put into words in article ‘Crimean Tatars Return Home: Identity and Cultural Revival’ written by Ismail and Ayşegül Aydingün (2007). Therefore, in this research we will examine national and cultural identity as closely related and even interchangeable notions in context of Crimean Tatar nationality.

Ethnic identity is also a wide-spread kind of unity among Crimean Tatars. Due to suppressing policies and repressions many Crimean Tatar had to flee from their historical motherland, and look for asylum in the closest countries such as Romania, Moldova and Turkey. In frame of this research we are also going to look briefly at Crimean Tatar diaspora living in Turkey, as they produce considerable quantity of printed media, which is inevitable for the whole nation. Along with Crimean Tatars living abroad, there is significant number of people spread along the countries of ex-Soviet Republics, and cities of Russia. Being away from their original homeland, they may experience a ‘symbolic ethnicity’, which according to Ayşegün means a state of mind accompanied by a nostalgic feeling among Crimean Tatars towards their homeland, culture and traditions, that they love or be proud of, but not necessarily practicing them in everyday life. Therefore, “...the group consciousness may continue and the group

may reconstruct itself symbolically to separate itself from other groups that it defines as different” (Ayşegün, 2007: 4-5).

2.1 METHODOLOGY: SEMIOTICS

Ferdinand de Saussure - a Swiss linguist and the founder of semiology, in his ‘Course in General Linguistics’ brought to the world a key concept of ‘sign’ that he explains himself as

The linguistic sign unites not a thing and a name, but a concept and sound-image... I call the combination of a concept and a sound-image a sign, but in current usage the term generally designates only a sound-image (Saussure, 1996; p. 66-67).

According to Saussure (1996), the sign consists of two components ‘signifier’ – visual and verbal form, and ‘signified’ – the concept which the signifier represents. The connection between these two parts of a sign is arbitrary. This idea became the key concept in language studying methods and created a crucial development in semiotic studies.

Saussure’s invention can be applied not only to linguistic studies of written text and languages, but gives opportunity to look at any text (in its broad meaning) such as television programs, fashion and even food. This method is also widely applied to such kind of visual art as cinema.

Jonathan Culler applies method of semiotic analysis to literature studies, and, in support of the idea that this kind of analysis can be applied to various fields, says

The notion that linguistics might be useful in studying other cultural phenomena is based on two fundamental insights: first, that social and cultural phenomena are not simply material objects or events

with meaning, and hence signs; and second, that they do not have essences but are defined by a network of relations (Culler 1976: 5)

Later, that concept was upgraded by Roland Barthes (1964) by adding a new level of denotation to the language - connotation. That started a new era not only for linguistics, but also for popular culture studies. 'Connotation' concept means that every word has an extra, hidden meaning, which make popular culture no longer innocent (Mangion, 2011).

Barthes shows that semiotics can be applied to nearly everything. From journal covers to everyday experiences. He believes that the relation between 'signifier' and 'signifies' is not natural or irrational, rather motivated by interests and desires from a point of view of society in which these signs exist (Barthes, 1964).

In frames of this research we are going to conduct a semiotic analysis of Crimean Tatar film 'Haytarma'. This type of analysis was chosen due to abundant narrative, which forms the core of Crimean Tatar nationality. Cinema is one kind of art through which national identity discourse can be communicated, and uses its specific language to serve this purpose. Language of cinema depicts the most important and significant events from live of the nation not only by words, but through visual images, sounds, colors and symbols. And as every language it cinema has its own system of signs, that we are aimed to analyze in this research.

We aim at examining visual language of film 'Haytarma' and investigate the meanings that is communicated through the film's narrative.

CHAPTER III: CRIMEAN TATARS' NATIONAL IDENTITY

3.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF CRIMEAN TATARS

All over its history Crimean, peninsula's population was multinational and heterogeneous. It makes difficult to define the roots of this nation. According to Vozgrin, such nationalities as Tauris, Scythians, Greeks, Sarmatians, Goths, Romans, Huns, Pechenegs, Kipchaks, Genoese, Tatars, Turks and Russians had a huge impact on forming Crimean Tatars' genetic pool and on the emerging of the nation (Vozgrin, 1992).

History of Crimean Tatars and its formation as a nation goes back to the middle fifteenth century, when the Crimean Khanate was founded by Khan Haci Giray. By that time Crimean Peninsula was already assimilated by various nomadic tribes as well as Seljuk Turks who spoke different Turkic dialects and practiced Islam (Fisher, 2014). This fact explains development of close relations with the Ottoman Empire that the Crimean Khanate had from that period on. Moreover, in 1475 the Crimean Khanate became suzerain of the Ottoman Empire and had an important economic and military role for the Empire. Fertile soil of the peninsula and abundant waters of the Black Sea played significant part in food provision to the Ottoman Empire. As for military, Crimean Tatars provided the Ottoman Empire with the source of military elements such as soldiers and war necessities for the Empire's East European, Caucasian and Russian policies (Fisher, 2014). Crimea was under protection of Turks until 1774.

That year commemorates the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the 1768-1774 Russian-Ottoman War and the signing of *Küçük Kaynarca* Peace Treaty. By that treaty Crimean Peninsula was proclaimed as a territory independent from neither Russian nor Turkish influence. However, due to its significant geopolitical position Crimea was a desired piece of land for Russian Empire. Russia sought to have access to the Black Sea as it was crucial from the point of view trade and military ambitions, that's why the following years the independent Crimea was constantly invaded by Russians. The final Russian invasion led to annexation of Crimea by manifesto of Catherine II in April, 1783.

By that time Crimean Tatars consisted around 400 thousand of the whole peninsula's population, that made them the biggest nation of the peninsula's territory. It also should be notices that Crimean Tatars were Muslims, as opposed to mostly Christian population of Russian Empire. Faith and religion always played an important role in ruling a state, especially in Russia, as Christianity was one of the factors that united the nation and formed its traditions and customs. Despite previous Russian leaders, Catherine's policy on Muslims living in Russian Empire was quite loose. She took into consideration the close relations and power of Muslim clergy on Crimean Tatars social lives and considered that Islam and Christianity could live together in peace, but Islam could be impediment for social and political development, that's why she hoped that firm policy on modernization in Crimea under Empire's rule would show benefits of adopting the Russian model of society (Fisher, 2014). However, such smooth policy on religious matter was opposed to more severe administrative policies. After the annexation a lot of Russian noblemen were granted land in the peninsula, as well as much Tatar mirzas were

deprived of it. Both this fact and the whole annexation forced Crimean Tatars to migrate.

With the beginning of the next Russian-Ottoman War in 1787 started the first wave of migration of Crimean Tatars, mostly to the Ottoman Empire. According to Markevich, nearly 100 thousand of Crimean Tatars fled the peninsula because of the danger of Tsar's repressions. During the following centuries there were five more huge waves of immigration to the Ottoman Empire: in 1800-1812, 1854-1862, 1873-1877, 1892-1894, 1901-1904 (Boyko, 2008). In fact, by the beginning of the 20th century most of the population immigrated to the Ottoman Empire. Number of immigrants was close to 1.8 million people by the mid-1920s (Kırımlı, 1996: 46). Immigration process was mostly resulted by economical politics of land dispossession provided by landlords with the help of tsarist officials. Most of Crimean Tatar peasantry lacked their own lands due to the fact that they didn't have official documents showing their right on the lands, so after Russian invasion Crimean Tatars had to work on fields occupied by the landlords and pay high taxes for using the land. All of these led to impoverishment of Crimean Tatar population and following immigration. Those minority of native people who left in Crimea mostly were centralized in towns of *Ak-Mescit* and *Bahçesaray*. Meanwhile, the enormous scale of migration led to depletion of the Crimean Peninsula. That's why, in order to fill up rich lands of Crimea, Russians as well as various other nationalities such as Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans and Swiss people were welcomed with grants and privileges (Fisher, 2014).

Another cause of immigration was Russia's policies of Russifying Crimea. Starting in the 18th century, these policies were aimed at tearing ties of Crimean Tatars from the Ottoman Empire and unification of native

culture with Russian one. In regard to Russifying policy, Crimean Tatar toponymies were changed by the new Russian names, for instance name of the town *Ak-Mescit* was changed to Simferopol and name of village *Ak-Yar* was changed to Sevastopol. In the following centuries this changes expanded drastically and the vast majority of the Crimean Tatar toponymies was changed to Russian ones. Crimean cultural architectural heritage also suffered from Russian government. Various Tatar buildings were destroyed as they have been seen as barbaric and non-modern reminder of uncivilized period of this area.

The late 19th century was commemorated with the beginning of Crimean Tatar National movement that was stirred up by the increasing Russifying policy. The pioneer of Crimean Tatar national movement Ismail Gaspiralı believed that Crimean Tatar nation was on the edge of collapse, as its traditions were too weak to resist political and social assaults from Russia. (Fisher, 2014). Thus, he proposed ways of combining religion and new educational discipline, in order to modernize the existing Muslim society living within Russian Empire. Gaspiralı strongly believed that required a vast cooperation with the Russian Government itself. This method, that will be discussed in more details in the next chapter, saved Crimean Tatar from possible extinction and helped to maintain their national identity.

Although, a new severe wave of political and cultural repressions on Crimean Tatars started with the beginning of the 20th century. With the outbreak of World War I, when Russia was fighting against the ancestors of Crimean Tatars – Turks, Russian government was scared of pan-Turkic alliance. Therefore, Russia started the political prosecution of Crimean Tatar, that led to a new wave of political migration. The period during both World Wars was marked as a period of annihilation of Crimean Tatar intelligentsia. Although, the most tragic event in the lives of Crimean

Tatars as the nation happened in the years of the World War II, when Crimea was occupied by the army of fascist Germany.

3.1.1 DEPORTATION OF CRIMEAN TATARS

Occupation of the Crimean Peninsula by German Army began on October 24, 1941 and lasted till April, 1944. Shortly after the Red Army liberated the peninsula from Fascists May 18, 1944 began deportation of the whole Crimean Tatar population of the peninsula. All Crimean Tatars were proclaimed traitors of the Motherland and accomplices of fascists. Tatars were given only 15 to 20 minutes to collect their personal belongings allowed by GKO (National Defence Commission) resolution N5859ss. It was allowed to take up to 500 kg of personal possessions. In fact, most of the people couldn't take anything near to this figure into exile. Deportation lasted for 3 days, and according to NKVD's (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) initial count a total of 180,014 Crimean Tatars were sent to special settlement by 20 May. As a result of the deportation no Crimean Tatar was left in the peninsula (Pohl, 2000). This event is also widely addressed as the Black Day (Kara Gün), what underlines its tragic meaning for Crimean Tatars. According to some resources, there was a Crimean Tatar village *Arabat* unnoticed by the Russian soldiers, that remained non deported. The whole population of this village was locked inside a ship that was sunk by the Russian soldiers, in order to cover up their mistake (Özcan, 2018).

Crimean Tatars, who were presented by mostly old people, women and children, were brought to the train station and loaded into cattle cars that brought them to special settlements and labor camps mostly in Central Asia (Uzbekistan), the Urals and Siberia. The cars were not provided with

much of medical help or sanitary necessities, food and water supplies as a result nearly 8000 women and children died of disease, thirst and hunger in the cars going to the destination of exile (Kirecci and Tezcan, 2016). In their way to labor camps the cars had short breaks to throw out the bodies of dead people. The families of dead people had no chance to bury their relatives. Otherwise, the doors of the carriages remained closed.

It should be noted that not only Crimean Tatars were sent away from their homeland. During the same year nearly 2 million people of other nationalities underwent deportation process. Being justified with similar arguments Koreans, Volga Germans, Italians, Kalmyk, Chechens, Ingush, Karachai, Balkars, Crimean Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Meshketian Turks were deported in chronological order (Pretto, 2013).

When the train came to the point of destination, Crimean Tatars had to struggle for their lives. Most of them were working on such compulsory works as collecting cotton from the fields, working on sawmills and various farms. People lived in special settlement camp, known as *spetsposeleniye*, these settlements were known for their strict punitive regime. Moreover, Crimean Tatars had to report their residence to NKVD, which meant that they could not change their dislocation. Although, people in Uzbekistan, where the biggest part of all the Crimean Tatars was sent, were quite close to Crimean Tatars considering cultural roots, during the first month the atmosphere in Uzbekistan was hostile, as the local people were told that Crimean Tatars were enemies and motherland traitors collaborating with fascists. When the World War II ended, Crimean Tatars soldiers were also sent to Uzbekistan, despite the fact that they were fighting for the Soviet Union and the motherland. Till the very death of Joseph Stalin Crimean Tatars lived in severe conditions and were not able to freely express their national and cultural identities.

3.2 NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Increasing Russifying policy stirred up the national movement headed by Ismail Gaspiralı. He believed that Crimean society was in a great danger of collapse as its traditions were too weak to resist political and social assaults from Russia. (Fisher, 2014). Although, he believed that Muslim community worldwide was weak in the face of modern states and more dominant Western cultures as well. He suggested that Islamic religious leaders were to blame for backward position of Muslim culture and progress comparing to Christian culture and states, as they were constantly closing the door to modern progressive ideas and science. Therefore, he suggested Crimean Tatars as well as other Muslims a path of combining dominant Western views on society and traditional Islamic values. As one of his most prominent ideas included teaching sciences such as mathematics, history and geography in Russian and Tatar languages along with study of Koran and fundamentals of Islamic law in Arabic. This new method was commonly designated as *usul-i jadid* (Lazzerini, 1998). Gaspiralı strongly believed that renewal of Muslim community and cooperation with Russian authorities could lead to formation of the strongest Muslim community in the world. By the 1916 there were approximately 5000 schools around Russian Empire that were practicing this brand new method of education. In April 1883 Gaspiralı urged a new newspaper named '*Tercüman*' that became first periodical publication for all Turks on the territory of the Russian Empire. The primary aim of this publication was to familiarize all the Turkic Muslims with their cultural heritage and to introduce technical achievement of Western world. On the other hand, the newspaper was to meet Russian readers with culture and customs of Muslim nations. Till 1905 it was the only publication which had so much popularity and was reaching even the furthest places of

settlement of the Muslims. Moreover, with the emergence of '*Tercüman*' began the new era in Turkic languages. Gaspıralı urged to emergence of new Turkic language that was pretty close to Ottoman but disposed of much Arabic and Persian components to make all Turk nations understand each other and encourage the overwhelming renewal of Muslim communities around the world. In 1912 '*Tercüman*' reached the climax of its popularity as it was read not only in Russia, but also in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, India and Maghreb. Till the very end in 1918 '*Tercüman*' stand loyal to its aims and high quality content.

Due to his revolutionary views on culture, religion and language matters Ismail Gaspıralı was credited as a pioneer of *Jadidism* and outstanding figure. After his death many scholars and opinion-leaders agreed on extreme importance of his labor. For instance, Osman Akçokraklı claimed that due to the fact people lacked a national public library, public museum or academy, *Tercüman* was the Crimean Tatar national treasury, literature and education (Allworth, 1998: 30).

Along with Gaspıralı, we should mention the fighter for rights of the Muslim population in Russia Abdürreşid İbrahim. In April 1905, with the contribution of prominent Muslim members of intelligentsia Abdürreşid İbrahim prepared a 17-point petition to Russian Government, claiming the rights equal with Russian population, provision Muslims with the same freedoms and meet the minority needs of Muslim population of Russia (Kırımlı, 1996: 93). At the same time in August 1905, it was decided to held the First All-Russian Muslim Congress with participation of delegators from Crimea and with Ismail Gaspıralı as the chairman of the Congress. The Congress didn't receive official permission from the Russian government, so it was held in a form of a formal meeting. This Congress defined some important priorities for the whole Muslim

community such as the need of cooperation in political, social and cultural activities, forming regional parliaments (*Meclis*) that would be active on behalf of All-Russian Muslim Congresses and fighting for the equal rights with the Russian population. At second congress, which was held in January 1906 in St. Petersburg, again on unofficial grounds, it was discussed which party could represent the interests of the considerable Muslim population and it was decided to support the Party of Constitutional Democrats (Kadets Party) in the next elections to the Duma (*Meclis*). The most fruitful the Third All-Russian Muslim Congress was held in August 1906, this time on official grounds, and was significant for the biggest number of participants. This congress played crucial role as it was decided to create an official party *Ittifak-I Muslimin* that was to represent the rights of all the Muslims living on the Russian Empire territory with Ismail Gaspiralı, Abdürreşid İbrahim, Yusuf Akçura as members of the central committee of the party (Kırımlı, 1996: 85). Nevertheless, the party's legality was never accepted and was over rolled by many occasions.

Ideas of Ismail Gaspiralı that were mostly focused on educational and religious life of Tatar society lead to emergence of a new cluster of reformers. There is no surprise that first of them was a group of Gaspiralı's followers who were advocating his non-aggressive course of cultural and religious reforms with cooperation with Russian government. Even with the outbreak of the First Russian revolution of 1905-1907 publications in '*Tercüman*' lacked any political commentary on the matter (Kirecci and Tezcan 2016; Fisher, 2014). Such an apolitical stand was criticized and emerged the second wave of leftist group of Young Tatars. Their main criticism was based on the fact that Gaspiralı was a bureaucratic and monarchic reactionary as he was flirting with idea of cooperation with

centralized Russian government a lot, and that he was an ordinary “...scholastic writer and totally behind the times”. The group of Young Tatars was led by Abdurreşit Mehdi who was intended to struggle for “...national, social, and political liberation of the Crimean Tatar people” by fighting the autocratic system of tsarist Russia’ (Fisher, 2014: 110). Young Tatars were closely related to Social Democrats and SR political parties, as those were fighting against Tsarist regime. Young Tatars saw the tsarist autocracy as the source of social economic misery for Crimean Tatar people, that is why they were ready to cooperate with any party or movement that was supporting revolution (Kırımli, 2010). They were supporting the idea of all Russia’s Muslims cooperation and asserting rights in order to be the apparent part of the society. Although, Young Tatars, did not manage to build their own political party, their biggest achievement was the boost of political literacy and participation in national fate among Crimean Tatars. Started national movement led to the formation of the parties ‘*Vatan Cemiyeti*’ and ‘*Milli Firka*’, and to the formation of Crimean Tatar intelligentsia represented by such personalities as, Abdurreşit Mehdi, Hasan Sabri Ayvazov, Cafer Seydahmet, Numan Çelebicihan, who played significant role in fight for political and social rights for the Crimean Tatar nation.

Political activities of the first quarter of the 19th century and support of Russian October Revolution of 1917 led to the formation of short-living Crimea People’s Republic, that existed from November, 1917 to January, 1918. Second time in history, Crimean Tatars gained a statehood, with consultative body represented by *Kurultay* headed by Hasan Sabri Ayvazov, and national government headed by Numan Çelebicihan. However, the Republic was banned and overthrown by Bolsheviks. Hasan Sabri Ayvazov fled Crimean Peninsula, as for Numan Çelebicihan he was

executed by the navy, and his torn-in-pieces body was thrown into the Black Sea. Therefore, Crimean Tatars lost their statehood and the nation movement was entirely vanished (Altan, 2011).

3.2.1 NATIONAL MOVEMENT REVIVAL

A new wave of national movement became possible only after nearly 40 years, when being in harsh conditions of deportation, Crimean Tatars started fighting for their right to turn back to the homeland. Crimean Tatars struggled a lot in order to maintain an identity. In order to do that, they produced written materials such as books, magazines and newspapers for creating and preserving the Crimean folklore upon the youth and children. It was believed that folklore would be the main element needed for Crimean people during their dangerous adventure of finding and advertising their both cultural and ethnic identity.

Eventually, The Crimean Tatar community faced some options: First, is to be marginalized. The community had to blend into the public. They were identified, flagged, blacklisted and had become second tier citizen in the country. It was too late for them to reverse this process. The second, is to resist to the USSR with violence. However, doubtfully, this was a choice. As Crimean Tatars witnessed on their own experience, that one of the superpowers in the entire world, USSR cannot be protested with violence. Seeing that the consequences of this action result with repression and death Crimean Tatars had to choose another way. Lastly, Crimean Tatars could resist to the USSR in a non-violent way. And this way of action was adopted by Crimean Tatar community. This policy consisted the belief that people who were effected by *Sürgün*, shall be united once again under the common idea (Pretto, 2013).

Crimean Tatars started sending petitions to Moscow in order to get attention. In the 1960s, petitions started to become political demands (Alekseeva, 2000). These demands are mostly about going back to Crimea and unification of Crimea Republic. Obviously, most of these demands hit to deaf walls, but in some cases, those who were in demand faced oppression (Cemilev, 1995).

Movement started with informing Tatars about their history. Formed in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, Movement started spreading among the Tatar community with meetings held.

A newspaper, called '*Lenin Bayragi*' (Flag of Lenin) was founded in Tashkent. It addressed around 23.000 people. Even though some of its content is censored by USSR and no mention of Crimea or any folklore, it became one of the most important milestones in the Crimean Tatars' history (Pretto, 2013).

Starting from 1960s, Crimean Tatars started sending delegates to the Moscow to the Permanent Representation of the Crimean Tatars. It was a democratic process of being chosen and sent to the Representation. Their main objective was to be taken seriously and to be heard by the Moscow government.

At the end of 1960s, with Crimean Tatar Youth's involvement, Movement had its most active years. People actually started to believe that Crimean Tatars needed to have their homeland back.

After all these efforts, a Decree of the Presidium Supreme Soviet of USSR was decreed to "Tatar nationality that lived in the Crimea" (Pretto, 2013: 66). Of course, the Decree itself wasn't enough for freedom of Tatars all around the USSR, but it was actually something solid. It wasn't acknowledgement of Crimean Tatars' identity, instead, they were

addressed as Tatars who previously lived in Crimea. Even though the Decree was a milestone, local authorities were resisting. Tatars across the country had difficulties in finding any jobs, expelled, their houses burnt down, oppressed. This process continued until at the end of 1980s.

In 1987, a petition with forty thousand signatures submitted to Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of Crimean Tatars. However, there was no response. Then, ten days later, a mass peaceful protest was organized in Red Square, Moscow. This was the first public mass protest organized in Red Square in Soviet history. Finally, in 1989, Crimean Tatars started arriving to Crimea. At the end of the year, almost 30.000 people returned to the Peninsula. With Independence of Ukraine, people started moving freely, and in 1990s, Crimea had almost 120.000 Tatars within the borders (Pretto, 2013: 69).

A committee for the *Kurultay* was formed and an election for all Crimean Tatar women and men older than 16 could participate. It was the first step for democratic government. *Mejlis*, which is the form that applies *Kurultay's* decisions, was founded in 1991. In first meeting of *Mejlis*, the idea of “Declaration of National Sovereignty of the Crimean Tatars” was adopted. Local and Regional *Mejlises* were found in the upcoming years, which led Crimean Tatars into the solid foundation of the local government (Pretto, 2013: 80).

3.3 CRIMEAN TATARS' NATIONAL IDENTITY

The name ‘Crimean Tatar’ is not an endonym or in other words it is not a name that originally was picked by the members’ of the nation by themselves. The name was introduced back to the Russian Empire times, when all the people with Turkic roots were named ‘Tatars’. Although, the

name transformed into endonym with the course of time, and the members of nowadays diaspora use the ‘Crimean Tatar’ endonym to identify themselves. Except most of the people who has Crimean Tatar origins and live in Turkey identify themselves as Crimean Turks rather than Crimean Tatars. This self-denotation well describes their hybrid identity that was developed during several centuries living in the land of Anatolia.

Nowadays, there is innumerable number of Crimean Tatars living all over the world. Such countries as Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Uzbekistan, Romania, Bulgaria, Germany and the USA host millions of Crimean Tatars. According to official census that was conducted by Russian government in 2019 there are 229526 Crimean Tatars living in their historical motherland Crimean Peninsula. This number makes 12,13% of all people living in Crimea nowadays. The biggest number of Crimean Tatars lives in Republic of Turkey. However, it is difficult to count the exact number of Tatar population living in Turkey. The number differs from source to source, although, 5 million people is the most common figure (Jankowski, 2002). Crimean Tatars has been living in Turkey since annexation of Crimea by Russian state in 1783. They have spread all over Turkey and nowadays live in such cities and provinces as Ankara, Eskişehir, Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli etc. In frames of this research we are going to observe the existent features of what makes Crimean Tatars a nation from the point of Crimean Tatars living in nowadays Russia, Ukraine and, in brief, in Turkey.

According to Anthony D. Smith “*a nation can be defined as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members*” (Smith, 1991: 14).

Therefore, we may claim that the presence of the following features forms a nation:

1. an historic territory, or homeland
2. common myths and historical memories
3. a common, mass public culture
4. common legal rights and duties for all members
5. a common economy with territorial mobility for members.

Nowadays, Crimean Tatars do not possess an independent state, as it was before 1783, nor even autonomy. But this fact does not constitute impediment for Crimean Tatars to define themselves as a nation. In his book Anthony Smith talk about mostly European nation states such as France and Germany. Besides a 3-month period, when Crimean Tatars managed to form Crimea People's Republic, despite being indigenous people of Crimean Peninsula, they existed as a minority nation inside bigger nation states such as Soviet Union, Ukraine and Russian Federation. That is why it is difficult to talk about Smith's last two nation forming elements in context of nowadays Crimean Tatar nationality, as legislative and economical power is exercised by Russian government. If we examine the first element – historical territory or homeland, then we may claim that the notion of homeland is the central idea for Crimean Tatar publicity, and it has the critique role for formation of national consciousness. Crimean Peninsula is the only place that is seen by Crimean Tatars as home. Crimean Tatars believe that there is no better place than Crimea. Being deprived from their homeland only has strengthened the feeling of belonging to the saint land of Crimea. Being sent to labor camps Crimean Tatars always sought to return to their motherland. Although the accusations of collaboration with Nazi

Germany were lifted by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1968, Crimean Tatars could not return to the peninsula. It was officially prohibited, and Crimean Tatars had to stay in the places that they were sent to. Nevertheless, this slight relaxation of the regime led to increase in attempt in fighting for their right to turn back to the homeland. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1968 is a memorable year as it commemorates the revival of repatriation movement among Crimean Tatar movement. First demonstrations commemorated the tragic events of the 1944 were held in the places where Crimean Tatars were deported to. Nevertheless, Crimean Tatars could not officially return to Crimea until the 1989. First people who came back to their homeland used to settle down on empty, building-free lands near cities and villages of Crimea and built there temporary homes (Pretto, 2013).

According to Anthony Smith, common myths and historical memories also plays a significant role in formation of Crimean Tatars national identity. As a part of national identity each nation has its stories about the Golden past of the nation. For Crimean Tatars this Golden Past is the period before annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in the 1783. The myth about ‘the stolen homeland’ and pre-Russian period elaborates on the idea of prospering Crimea in the form of Crimean Khanate, when the state was independent from external pressure and repression. The state where Crimean Tatar language was a language of everyday communication and Islam was not a minority religion (Kazarin, 2017). Although, many Crimean Tatars are not really familiar with that period of history, we may claim that more significant myth is about pre-communist period Crimea. As with the formation of the Soviet Union began the most severe wave of repressions, Crimean Tatars remember and bare on retelling the traumatic experience of living under the Soviet rule. Events that have changed the

whole way of life are reflected in collective memory of Crimean Tatars. Starting from the mother tongue reformation ending in loss of the motherland. Without any doubt, deportation of Crimean Tatars from the Crimean Peninsula is the biggest collective memory for the whole nation. It can be claimed that this traumatic experience has the core role in formation of their present national identity.

Along with recalling of the collective trauma, each nation bares on its national heroes. Crimean Tatars are not exception. Ismail Gaspiralı, Numan Çelebi Cihan, Mustafa Cemilev Kırımoğlu are the most prominent heroes of national movement, fighting for the national acceptance, rights and cultural prosperity. Crimean Tatars commemorate their national heroes celebrating important date related to them. Every November, 5 Crimean Tatars celebrate the day of Crimean Tatar Writing, which is accordingly they honor and give credit to the most significant figure in this field Ismail Gaspiralı, who in fact reformed the language. As well as media creates contents related to the activities and achievements of national movement personalities, especially on dates related to important dates of their lives, such as birth and death. These content usually includes articles, editorials and documentaries. Numan Çelebi Cihan is the also remembered by the nation through singing their anthem ‘*Ant Etkenmen*’, that was written by Çelebi Cihan and introduced as the anthem of Crimean Tatar nation (Altan, 2011).

Element of mass public culture and traditions is also one of the most significant features for Crimean Tatar national identity:

“Crimean Tatar community in the former Soviet Union spun off beyond its core many small satellite bodies often rotating outside the boundaries of the country. Artistic and cultural expression among Crimean Tatars inside the Soviet state functioned as crucial

supporting factors in the maintenance of the nationality. In a significant respect, similar activity proceeding in the non-Soviet diaspora served a comparable purpose. The outside activities complemented and in a necessary manner, for the group, reflected Crimean Tatar particularity back to the main group” (Gülüm, 1988: 84).

The activities of the home group of Crimean Tatars, closely controlled by Crimea's political authorities, extended a rich heritage that reaches back even before the turn of the twentieth century. These restricted expressions of artistic, cultural, and social life had fundamental meaning for the nationality and its corporate identity. They continue to play that role under trying conditions back in Crimea (Gülüm: 84).

They have their national celebrations such as *Dervisa* – a holiday celebrating the coming of autumn, *Hizdirelez* – a holiday commemorating the coming of spring, and *Yil Gecesi* - analog of New Year. Furthermore, a significant cluster of their traditions is based on religious customs. Along with other Muslims of the world Crimean Tatars celebrate religious feasts such as Kurban Bayram, Uraza Bayram and Ramadan.

Crimean Tatar cuisine is also an element that brings together the people of this nation. The cooking of the world famous *Çiğbörek* usually organized in a form of crowded party, which serves not only purposes of cooking and eating the national food, but also plays important role in socializing with the members of the Crimean Tatar origin. Crimean Tatar music is either played in that kind of celebrations, being played live or recorded it also serves the function of preserving national motives and encourages people to dance their national dances (*milli oyunlar*).

Talking about the culture, we should mention Crimean Tatars who live in Turkish Republic, as for them culture and traditions became the core element of their identity. Most of the people who has Crimean Tatar origins and live in Turkey identify themselves as Crimean Turks rather than Crimean Tatars. This self-denotation describes their hybrid identity that was developed during several centuries living in the land of Anatolia. The biggest diaspora of Crimean Turks lives in Eskisehir city and the nearest villages of the province.

Crimean Turks are a very much integrated national minority into Turkish society. Most of them share the same culture, religion and language. There are very few Crimean Turks who perceive Crimean Tatar language as their mother tongue. Mostly the fluency in Crimean Tatar language is gained as the second language. As a part of Turkish society children receive education in official language. Crimean Tatar is only spoken at home, if spoken at all. Nevertheless,

All around Turkey, in big cities there are Crimean Turks Associations of Mutual Aid and Solidarity (*Kırım Türkleri Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Dernekleri*) which play a significant role in socialization of Crimean Turks and in teaching them their own cultural and ethnic traditions. These associations organize Crimean Tatar language courses for those wishing to learn their mother tongue. Along with language courses many associations have their national dancer groups consisting from mostly teenagers and young adults. Being provided with national costumes they are taught traditional Crimean Tatar dances. Dance groups usually perform on the significant dates for Crimean Tatars and on the municipal level events of the cities they live in.

3.3.1 CRIMEAN TATAR LANGUAGE

After the language revolution made by Ismail Gaspirali in the 19th century Crimean Tatar language has changed radically. Under the Soviet Rule in 1928 happened the second language revolution marked by the change of the dialect lying in the foundation of the Crimean Tatar literary language. Instead of the south-coast dialect that was chosen by Gaspirali, new Crimean language was reformed on the foundation of the middle dialect that was common and better understood by most of Crimean Tatars. From that moment on Crimean Tatar language also gained a lot of new Russian vocabulary and Russian terms that came together with new Soviet social reality (words concerning political, administrative and social spheres). In the same year the writing of the Crimean Tatar language was changed from Arabic to '*Yanalif*' that consisted from Latin characters and some special letters in connection to specific sounds of the language. However, in 1939 the writing was changed again, that time to Cyrillic alphabet. Cyrillic was not able to cover all the peculiarities of the Crimean Tatar phonetics. However, Crimean Tatar was the official language of paperwork, laws, education, science, printed and broadcast publications. Crimean Tatar language went through radical changes after the deportation of 1944. After Crimean Tatars gained the status of traitors and were exiled, people were not able to use their mother tongue in any social realm. The only place where people could speak Crimean Tatar language was at home. This fact brought the language into extremely tragic condition. If the language is only spoken at home, it cannot develop but only degenerate and become poorer. The lack of demand in processes of conversation leads to loss of vocabulary layers and specific grammar constructions that are required for literary language. In exile, only in 1965 children of the 3rd to 10th grade were given the opportunity to receive

Crimean Tatar education for 2 hours a week. In 1986-1987 school year in 40 schools of Uzbekistan only 5 thousand Crimean students were being taught their mother tongue by teaches only a half of whom were educated Crimean Tatar language specialists (Emirova, 1995). As for printed media, only in the middle 1950 the first Crimean Tatar periodical publications appeared in the places of exile. The first newspaper '*Lenin Bayragi*' was printed in Crimean Tatar language, however, it contained news about Soviet politic agenda, speeches of political leaders and propaganda. Usage of such words a Crimea, Crimean Tatar was prohibited. This situation has changed only in the late 1970s when the journal '*Yildiz*' first appeared. The context of this journal was much more abundant compared to the previous periodical publications. New Crimean Tatar novels, information about the Crimean Tatar writers, philosophy, linguistics and book reviews were published in this journal in Crimean Tatar language (Sava, 2018). Repressed Crimean Tatars gained, even if a small, but portion of freedom.

In 2012-2013 educational year in comprehensive schools of Crimea 89,32% of students received education in Russian language, 7,41% In Ukrainian language and only 3,11% in Crimean Tatar language. In 2015-2016 educational year the number of students who received education in Crimean Tatar language decreased from 3,1 % to 2,76% which makes 5083 people in 53 comprehensive schools (Wikipedia).

3.4 CRIMEAN TATARS' MEDIA

Media are the most powerful tool for causing attitudinal changes in societies. Media are widely used in creating and influencing peoples' attitudes towards meaningful developments (Adebayo, 2008). Nowadays,

mass media's presence in all the spheres of peoples' life is indisputable fact. Role of the media has shifted its paradigm from just a platform for public discussion and source of information to instrument of propaganda, rebellion or even defense. Mass media play essential role in formation and preservation of national identity and cultural values for members of a nation. As through the media the nation communicates the political, social and cultural discourse of the given community. Within the context of long-term political and social struggle for their rights, Crimean Tatars adopted printed and broadcast media as a crucial mean in formation of a national identity and culture preservation. As Crimean Tatars don't have a state and live in various places of the world media help them to participate in national agenda even if they are away from the national community members. In this chapter we are going to make a brief review of the most popular Crimean Tatar media and analyze their functions in preservation of national and cultural identity.

3.4.1 NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

The widest scope of Crimean Tatar media belongs to various journals and newspapers. Back to the times of Gaspiralı's '*Tercüman*' newspaper, that we have mentioned in previous chapters, began the era of forming and communicating of national identity through printed media. Nowadays, there are few printed media that are being published in the Crimean Peninsula.

Avdet newspaper has been published since 1990, when the first repatriation wave began. The name of the newspaper is very symbolic as '*avdet*' mean 'return' in Crimean Tatar language. The newspaper is published mostly in Russian language on a weekly basis. As the editors

state themselves the most prominent aim of the Avdet's content is to give answer to questions that the readership is concerned with. Among this questions are Crimean Tatar identity, ideology and spirituality (Wikipedia).

In the first years, Avdet was covering the resettlement problems, the protests and political issues. Nowadays, the newspaper covers agenda of the Crimean Peninsula and issues that Crimean Tatars face during the process of reintegration into Russian Federation. Approximately one third of the publications in Avdet consists of news articles focusing on policies and actions of Russian governmental representatives directed against Crimean Tatar population such as arrests (Avdet, 2019), raids in Crimean Tatar activists' houses (Avdet, 2017), minority language policies (Avdet, 2017). During several centuries Crimean Tatars have had strained and sometimes even hostile relations with Russian administration and due to strict and aggressive policies of the latter. This trauma of being constantly suppressed is reflected in national consciousness of Crimean Tatar people. This trauma is also reflected in their media. Although, Avdet does not contain any comments on political issues, the newspaper creates a strong negative discourse of presence of a figure, represented by Russian government, that provides never-ending suffering of Crimean Tatar nation.

This discourse is also supported by personal stories of Avdet's readers that are published from time to time. The main narrative of this stories consists of memories of the families and their successors who has suffered deportation of the 1944 and memories of struggle for returning back to the homeland.

Articles concerning cultural issues also take place in Avdet's publications. The newspaper makes reviews on events that involve Crimean Tatar

culture such as exhibitions, festivals and religious celebrations. As for language, Avdet takes out rising frustration, that is present among Crimean Tatars, over the status of Crimean Tatar language. In frames of living in Russian speaking society and the long history of national stigmatization the status of Crimean language is extremely insecure.

The biggest number of journals is published in the territory of the Republic of Turkey under the aegis of Crimean Turks Associations of Mutual Aid and Solidarity (*Kırım Türkleri Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Dernekleri*). These are '*Bahçesaray*' and '*Emel Dergisi*' printed in Istanbul, '*Kırım Postası*' printed in Eskişehir, and '*Koranta*' printed in Kocaeli. The main functions of these journals can be divided in several categories: informational, educational, organizational and advertising. In the regular issued that are generally published once in two of three months, these journals tell the readership about diaspora meetings, and make announcements about lectures and cultural celebrations. Their main aim may be articulated as to keep people in touch with their cultural and historical heritage through these meetings and educational content. Journals publish articles concerning the prominent national movement and historical leaders such as Giray Han, Ismail Gaspıralı, Mustafa Cemilev, Noman Çelebi Cihan, Ayşe Seitmuratova etc. and cultural figures such as Cengiz Dağcı, Bekir Çoban-zade etc.

The biggest part of publications is made in Turkish language, although, there are columns written in Crimean Tatar language: proverbs, prominent stories of Crimean Tatar folklore, poems and the readers articles about the mother tongue.

As for political issues, they are discussed in form of monologue in editorials. The editorials are written by the heads of local Associations of

Mutual Aid and Solidarity, and are concerned on political agenda of Crimean Tatar nation after the 2014 Russian invasion to Crimea.

3.4.2 LITERATURE

The most prominent Crimean Tatar writer Cengiz Dağcı was born in a small town of Crimean Peninsula Gurzuf. The biggest part of his life he spent away from his homeland. In World War 2 he was captured by the German Army and sent to labor camp. To save his life he joined to Turkistan legion formed by the Nazi Army of soldiers from different Turk nations in order to fight against Russian Army. Till the very end of his life in 2011 Dağcı was not able to return to his homeland Crimea. Cengiz Dağcı is the ‘voice’ of Crimean Tatar who were deprived of their homeland. In most of his books such as ‘The Years of Fear’ (*Korkunç Yıllar*), ‘The Man Who Lost His Motherland’ (*Yurdunu Kaybeden Adam*), ‘They also were people’ (*Onlar da İnsanları*), ‘These lands were ours’ (*Bu Topraklar Bizimdi*), Dağcı writes about his homeland Crimea, homesickness and the misery that was suffered during the Soviet period, specifically in World War 2 times. Homeland Crimea is the central idea in most of his masterpieces. In his works Cengiz Dağcı tells about the tragedy of Crimean Tatars, affliction of staying away from the homeland and loneliness connecting everything to the cradle of Crimean national identity homeland. According to Dağcı, homeland is what makes Crimean Tatars a nation. That is why the subject of land seizure and deportation from the homelands take the central place in his books.

“...the black smoke that came out from locomotive’s smokestack got between us and separated us from each other. I was looking at the fatherland that was taken from us through the trains window. These

lands were singing a gory song about the past, along with train's wheels. I have been listening this song for hours, and then I cried: Allah, Allah, do not deprive us from this land! It is our land. Heritage of our fathers. Let us be hungry and poor, but let us stay at this land. If we die, let us die at this land. Motherland, motherland! Wherever I will be, till the end of my life, you will be in our hearts..." (Dağcı, 2016a: 15).

Through his books Dağcı expresses the frustration that feels not only he, but the whole nation. This feeling is an inevitable part of Crimean Tatars' identity. It became the reason for national movement revival, and constant fight for the right to live in Crimean lands.

In the novel 'The Letters to my Mother' he describes Crimean Tatars' attachment to their land in the following way:

"For me Kızıldaş became a source of love; source that gives my life real value and meaning. I have never broken off this source. Kızıldaş forms all my existence with love, sadness and happiness. (...) I have seen peopleless landscape and I have shuddered. The nature can be expressed only through the warmness and softness of those who live. Look, I don't know if you can see it, but I can: Saniye is lying on grape branches that are full of fruits there near Pilibaşı (...) and Ayı Dağı is smiling in the reflection of her blond hair, Soğuksu is smiling; Çora Batır, Alim Aydamak are smiling too; In the places of exile Tatar mothers, orphan Karaim and Kırımçak children are also smiling at the cotton fields of Uzbekistan; Being five thousand kilometers away from Kızıldaş the young are smiling. On the streets of Kabil they smile and write a new history..." (Dağcı, 2016b: 19)

For Dağcı Crimea is heritage that consists of memories. The land is a living creature that forms people's consciousness. Therefore, being apart from Crimea for a Tatar, is like being apart from his or her own identity (Akyıldız, 2017: 222).

3.4.3 THE INTERNET

With the advent of Internet technology, the role of printed media subsided and gave way to digital media. Nowadays, a lot of printed newspapers has its digital copy on the Internet, that makes it accessible and cheaper than buying the printed version. Along with it, a significant scope of websites and social media pages arouse. The most prominent ones are 'QHA.com' (*Kırım Haber Ajansı*) and 'ATR.ua'. These websites provide Crimean Tatars with a source of news, that covers political agenda of Crimean Peninsula, Russian Federation and Ukraine.

'Crimeantatars.club' also serves a purpose of national media. This website, along with its *Instagram* page and *Youtube* channel, posts content on Crimean history, historical personalities, traditions, religious matters and personal deportation stories.

CHAPTER IV: CINEMA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF ‘HAYTARMA’

4.1 CINEMA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Along with depicting the world, historical events, individuals and various global and local issues, cinema, as any other communication medium, starts a conversation with its viewer on innumerable topics. Although, the communication is not reciprocal and there is no channel for giving instant feedback for the viewer, cinema creates a unique tool for interpersonal and intrapersonal communication. While watching a film, person gains a field for ‘face to face’ communication with the director and, what is more important, with him or herself. By interpreting the complex visual language of cinema, the viewer is able to make new findings and reach conclusions on matters communicated by the film.

Furthermore, cinema, as well as other mass media, is a powerful tool for maintaining national identity. To some extent cinema can be seen as one of the most effective means for national identity maintenance due to its accessibility. Nowadays, the vast majority of people live in a very intense world with the limited amount of free time. As a result, people do not have much time to follow all the existent media and most of the time have to select media that can be observed briefly in rare minutes of spare time during the weekdays, or kind of media that can be entertaining, what can

be even more important if we talk about weekends, along with being informative. Thus, with the exception of social networks, that are suitable for the first case, cinema is the most preferable way of spending time as watching a film may be quite enjoyable. Even if cinema is seen as a mean of entertainment, the viewer receives new information and is influenced by the films discourse. The extent of influence can be debatable, but nevertheless, if the film leaves any impression, that means that it is able to create some changes in individual's discourse or maintain the present one.

Films, which elaborate on national narrative, usually depict important historical events of a particular nation. Pierre Sorlin in his book *The Film in History* (1980) defined the historical film as 'a reconstruction of the social relationship which, using the pretext of the past, reorganizes the present' (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 4). He also claims that 'films tell us more about the times in which they were produced than the times represented on the screen (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 4). Thus, historical films serve the purpose of communication medium with present. The communicated narrative varies from 'ethnical beliefs to political aspirations' (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 58).

As we have mentioned in the first chapter, Anderson claimed that printed media played an important role in nation construction. Media constructed larger relations between members of a nation than face-to-face communication. Such scholars as J. Martin-Barbero argued that this theory needs to be extended to visual media as well. Anderson's theory well fits 'with explorations of the relations of 'collective' or 'social' memory and nation in historical films' and 'these terms have been used to describe a body of reusable text, images and rituals specific to each society

in each epoch, whose “cultivation” serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image’ (Hughes-Warrington, 2007: 81).

Talking about the role of visual media in maintenance of the national identity, Anthony Smith (1991) underlines the capability of such elements as images and sounds, that can be used for reconstructing the nation’s historical narratives:

Nationalists, intent on celebrating or commemorating the nation, are drawn to the dramatic and creative possibilities of artistic media and genres in painting, sculpture, architecture, music, opera, ballet and film, as well in the arts and crafts. Through these genres nationalist artists may, directly or evocatively, 'reconstruct' the sights, sounds and images of the nation in all its concrete specificity and with 'archaeological' verisimilitude (Smith, 1991: 92).

According to Kracauer (in Strausz, 2008: 3), the link between cinema and national culture is complex, but at the same time more direct than in any other artistic media. And he states the two reasons for it. The first is that films are not produced by individuals but of collectives and, the second is that, films address wide rather than small audiences. Thereby, cinema throws light on things that are important and have a meaning for large masses of the nation, and, moreover, the film’s narrative can express things that are not said and that are hidden in the “underground” of the social psyche and functions as the unconscious level of culture.

Films representing narrative of nations with diasporic communities or exiled nations also elaborate on interconnected notions of time and space. As Hamid Naficy in his book ‘An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diaspora Filmmaking’ explains that

one typical initial media response to the rupture of displacement is to create a utopian prelapsarian chronotopes of the homeland that is uncontaminated by contemporary facts. This is primarily expressed in the homeland's open chronotopes – its nature, landscape, landmarks, and ancient monuments, and in certain privileged renditions of house and home (Naficy, 2001: 151)

By creating such chronotopes an exilic nation attempts to keep its connections with their motherland, that they were deprived of., and expresses the desire to return to pre-exilic world. According to Naficy, places that exilic nation is connected to becomes eternal element of their consciousness. Depiction of traditions also lies at the same paradigm, as by depicting such cultural elements, films prolong their existence and, in some cases, acts as a tool of their reinvention (Hobsbawm, 1983).

Therefore, we can claim that by watching a film that has national narrative in it, the audience is sharing the narrative of the whole nation; nation's golden past, important historical events, collective traumas, myths and common values have a deep connotation for them. And by doing so, cinema gathers the members of a nation, Anderson's imagined communities (Anderson, 1983).

4.2 CRIMEAN TATARS' CINEMA

History of Crimean Tatar cinema goes back to 1926, when Yalta held the premiere of 'Alim' feature film, which was based on the play of Crimean Tatar writer and dramatist Umer Ipçi. The film depicts a story of Crimean Tatar 'Robbin Hood' Alim Aydamak, real historical figure who was robbing rich people and giving the stolen goods to the poor. Although the film had a huge success and has been shown in international festivals, after

a decade 'Alim' was banned by the Soviet government and the copies of it were eliminated (Avdet, 2018).

There was no film made nearly for 80 years until the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are two possible reasons for it. The first one is a wave of harsh repressions against Crimean Tatars, as during the period of the Soviet Union Crimean Tatars were prosecuted by the government for expressing any kind of their cultural and national identity. And the second one is that the biggest part of Crimean Tatar intelligentsia was executed during the first years of Soviet Union foundation.

Only after collapse, when Crimean Tatars gained a relative freedom of self-expression under the Ukrainian rule was made a social drama 'Tatar triptych'. This film was based on the novels of Ukrainian writer Mikhail Kotsyubinskiy. The film depicts live of Crimean Tatars in 1903, before the Soviet government took the office. As states the name 'Tatar triptych' consists of three stories 'Devil's path', 'On the stone' and 'Under the minarets'. The film was made in Crimean Tatar language (Avdet, 2018).

'Kırımli' a film made in Turkey in 2014, is based on the Cengiz Dağcı's roman 'The Years of Fear'. This film depicts a story of Sadık Turan, who is a prototype of Dağcı himself, a soldier who gets captured by the fascist army soldiers, and is sent to a labor camp. Later, the Nazis notice his military talents and make him an officer of a Turkistan legion. Germany claims that officers of Turkistan legion will be returned back to their homelands, such as Crimea for Sadık, if they successfully occupy the Soviet lands. During the film Sadık is exposed to the moral question – for whom he should fight for. During the war he fought for the both opposite sides – Soviet Army and Fascist German Army, but as he claims himself, his only wish is to live in Crimea together with people of his nation. That is why he chooses to fight for his motherland whatever it takes.

Starting in 2013, began a wave of Crimean Tatar cinema production. Along with 'Haytarma', that will be closely examined in the next chapters, 5 films occurred in the next six years. Considering a small number of films that were made during previous hundred years, this makes a significant number. The cause of such a fruitful half decade is Russian annexation of Crimean Peninsula in 2014. A new wave of discontent relating this event increased national consciousness of the nation and led to production of a bunch of films such as 'Stranger's Prayer' (*Chuzhaya Molitva*), 'Hidir Dede', 'To Return With the Dawn' (*Tañ atqanda qaytmaq*), 'Without You' (*Sensiz*), 'Love You' (*Seni Sevem*).

In frames of this research we have chosen a film, that is the most fruitful from the point of national identity context – 'Haytarma'.

4.2.1 HAYTARMA

Haytarma (2013) is the first Crimean Tatar feature film and recently the last film presenting the theme of deportation of 1944. This film is made by Crimean Tatar actor and director Ahtem Seitablaev presents the story of Soviet Hero and brilliant Crimean Tatar pilot Amet-Han Sultan. According to the plot Amet-Han comes to visit his family in Alupka at the day when deportation of Crimean Tatars begins. Therefore, the viewer witnesses the rough scenes of how the deportation was happening.

This film is of importance for Crimean Tatars as it refers to the deepest feelings of those who has suffered the deportation of 1944. This film tells the story that is well-known by every Crimean Tatar as it is being retold from generation to generation. No surprise, that this film was directed and the main character was played by Crimean Tatar himself. Haytarma may be seen as an illustration in a history textbook for the latest generation.

The story that is had being told over and over again now received a strong visual image.

It should be noticed that with those who aren't familiar with the tragedy and the reasons that lead to it events the film talks in very low context. Haytarma doesn't explain the official reasons of deportation and doesn't even mention them briefly. In the scene where NKVD officers come to Amet-Han's house he says "According to the order all persons of Crimean Tatar nationality are proclaimed traitors of the motherland and are sentenced to forced eviction". In the scene where all the people are gathered on the square before being plunged to the train, a soviet officer addresses to the people as "Crimean Tatars, traitors of the Soviet motherland, accomplices of Fascist invaders". The officer doesn't pronounce official order but only give orders in cold blood. That is why, although, the film tells the viewer the real historical event, we may claim that 'Haytarma' is a picture made by the nation for the nation.

'Haytarma' is of great importance for all the Crimean Tatar people as it depicts the most severe and prominent event of the nation's history. The deportation is the key event for the formation of the Crimean Tatar nation. The trauma of deportation and consecutive exile and long non-rehabilitation period is still present on the body of collective memory. These feelings 'overlap and mingle with the sense of injustice that persists at present' (Preto, 2013: 67). One third of the film is devoted to the deportation itself.

4.2.2 LANGUAGE

During the film we hear both Russian and Crimean Tatar language. This fact is important not only from the point of view of creating the realistic

characters, but also it is important as it illustrates the language that many of nowadays Crimean Tatars have forgotten. Most of the Tatars now speak Russian as their mother tongue. This film gives an opportunity to hear it.

4.2.3 ANALYSIS OF CHARACTERS

The film creates two opposite forces of pure good presented by Crimean Tatars, Amet-Han's comrades-in-arms, family and other people of different nationalities supporting Tatars on one hand, and evil presented by Soviet government and those who obey its orders on the other hand.

The main protagonist of 'Haytarma' Amet-Han Sultan is a unique fighter and tester pilot for the history of Russian and world aviation. During the World War II he successfully performed 603 flights and shot down 49 Fascist air crafts. Due to this he got the nickname 'Air Lion'. The Soviet government entitled Amet-Han with the Order of the Hero of the Soviet Union two times, as a credit for the service to the Soviet Union. Two airports, one in the homeland of his father Dagestan, and second in the homeland of his mother Simferopol, are named after Amet-Han Sultan. The monuments depicting Amet-Han are set in various cities of Russia and Ukraine such as Alupka - the hometown of the pilot, Kiev, Moscow and Yaroslavl. After the war he was working as tester pilot for the Soviet Space Program (ru.krymr). All this credits make him one of the most prominent heroes not only for Crimean Tatars, but for the whole world.

In 'Haytarma' Amet-Han is depicted as brave, ingenious, patriotic and sympathetic character. From the very first scenes we see how courageously he fight the fascist aircraft and after going out of the ammunition he decides to ram it. Amet-Han receives the order to turn back to the base and to leave the fascist aircraft to reinforcement plane that will

be ready in a minute, but he refuses the order saying ‘in a minute it [the fascist aircraft] will be near Sevastopol’ and rams the Nazi plane.

‘Haytarma’ gives credit to Amet-Han’s unique pilots skills in several scenes. One of them is pronounced by his comrade as ‘On the previous machine he made it till the aerodrome, with destroyed fuselage and hit engines. Such machine could not fly, but with him could’. In a moment before that scene Amet-Han carries out a kind of ritual by tenderly touching the newly received aircraft, that already has a mark in a form of eagle, which was the second nickname of the pilot. Eagle always fly high in the sky and nose dives towards its victim. This nickname was gained by Amet-Han for his ramming tactic, as one in the previous scene. While committing a ritual ‘dance’ around the plane, the cameraman captures the shadow from Amet’s hand on the wing of the airplane, that resembles the shadow of an eagles wing. That once more emphasizes nearly mystical nature of the pilot’s genius.



Figure 1: Ahmet-Han committing a ritual ‘dance’ around the plane. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

The film also shows the protagonist as a person with strong and warm attitudinal connections towards friends, comrades, family and people of his nation. He saves the injured Soviet pilot from the shot plane and carries him on his own back. While returning to the airbase Amet-Han meets a Crimean Tatar old man, who is carrying the body of his dead wife in a small cart, and asks him to give the cart to bring his wounded comrade to the hospital. The man does not refuse his offer and lends the vehicle. Amet does not forget about this kind gesture and brings back the cart along with two soldiers to bury the old man's wife. Amet-Han himself digs a grave for the men's wife.



Figure 2: Amet-Han digging a grave (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

These traits create positive attitude and strong empathy for the character, which make the viewer to go through the narrative of the film and look at deportation through prism of the main hero's experience and feelings.

The other significant group of positive characters includes friends and comrades of Amet-Han Sultan represented by Vladimir Naryshkin, who is a prototype of a real person named Pavel Golovanov – a real comrade in arm of Amet-Han, Francois a French pilot. These characters depicted as devoted friends, who respect Amet and ready to cover his back in every

situation. In scenes when soldiers come to the house of Amet's family and argue with soldiers in the command office about Amet' and his family's fate Vladimir and Francois literally stands behind his back, which shows their commitment to their friend.



Figure 3: Amet-Han, Vladimir, François and Miaser in the command office. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

The second group of positive characters is represented by Amet-Han's family: mother Nasibe, father Sultan and sister Miaser. They are depicted as traditional Muslim family with strong figure of father, household mother and modest and shy sister.

The most interesting character is the major Aleksey Krotov, the officer of NKVD's special department that deals with military counterintelligence and is aimed at seeking potential threat among the military men. His figure changes over the course of film.



Figure 4: Krotov in the command office. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

In the first part of the film we see him as an unpleasant, rude officer, who acts according to the orders of Grigoriy Nikolayevich. But then, the viewer finds out that Grigoriy has a common past with Amet-Han Sultan. Back to the first years of war, during the bombing of Yaroslavl Amet-Han rammed a Nazi aircraft and saved city along with the life of Krotov and his family. There Krotov promises to find the savior. With this plot twist, from negative character Krotov turns into the guardian angel of Amet-Han, who tries to save Amet's family. Though Krotov's character and his compassion the film shows the stance of an ordinary military men to the tragedy of deportation. As a state officer he has to make his duty and contribute to deportation, but instead he goes against the state, follows his moral principles and sacrifices his life an order to help Crimean Tatars. In the scene before he gets killed he says his last word 'Sağol', which means 'Thank you' in Crimean Tatar language.

The other character, that is created for the audience to look at the deportation not only from the point of view of personal trauma of Crimean Tatar, but through the prism of ordinary Russian people, is Nadya – the

neighbor of Amet-Han's family. When the soldiers come to take all the Crimean Tatar population she does not understand why her friends and neighbors are taken away. She tries to resist the soldier, who stops her, and calls him 'fascist bitch'. This words show that she refuses to believe in capability of Soviet soldiers of doing this to innocent people, with whom she has been living together, and claims that this soldier must be fascist.



Figure 5: Nadya resisting the Soviet soldier. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

During the film we can see several more scenes proving that people could not believe that the state can treat them like that. When the whole neighborhood is having a dinner, celebrating the return of Amet-Han, his father Sultan pronounces a toast 'I want to drink for the victory, for the warriors who fight for it and of course for our dearest Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the father of all Soviet Nations'. Later that night, when people are being brought to the Suren station Nasibe has a conversation with her husband Sultan:

N: Who have done it? Is it your Stalin?

S: He doesn't know about what is happening here!

These two scenes represent the deepest trauma of not only being sent to exile, but being betrayed by the ‘father’. The man who is supposed to protect them from enemies actually made them enemies. Later, this fact has a great impact on the Crimean Tatar’s national identity, as most of them become unable to trust the Russian government once again. On the other hand, after their relatives were deported and made to work and live in rough conditions, soldiers of Crimean Tatar origin continue to fight against fascist Germany till the very end of the World War II, even if they were stigmatized as motherland traitors. This contradiction is also depicted in ‘Haytarma’. In one of the scenes an old woman says looking into the soldier’s eyes “*Five grandson of mine have died in the war. My sixth grandson is fighting for our land. When you see him, say that he is a traitor*”. In the scene where Vladimir asks how they will fight now Amet-Han states ‘It is them [nodding at his family] for whom we will fight’. Although Amet-Han nods towards his family, we cannot see them, as they are hidden behind the vehicle. We can understand that he does not talk only about his family, but about the whole Crimean Tatar nation.

One of the friends of Amet-Han Martik can be also categorized into the second group of characters. Martik is an Armenian neighbor of Amet’s family, who does not have both hands. He fought against Fascist German as all the man of the Soviet Union and lost his hands in this terrible war. When Amet-Han sees him and wants to shake the hand of his old friend, but does not find one, he, as well as the viewer, at first pities him. But during the next scenes we watch him dancing and having fun along with people of the neighborhood.



Figure 6: Amet-Han attempting to shake Martik's hand. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

However, when the Soviet soldiers come, he wants to help his Crimean Tatar friends, but gets killed as he cannot confront an armed soldier. As well as Nadya, Martik represents stance towards the deportation and the events of May, 18 through the prism of non-Crimean Tatar population of Crimea. His lack of hands represents inability to do anything to stop deportation or to help Crimean Tatars. As those who run against the Soviet rule are seen as traitors likewise.

The last group of characters are those who represent the Soviet government and follow its orders. Although, Joseph Stalin does not have representation as a real character, he is still present in many scenes of 'Haytarma'. His portrait is hung in every cabinet of military men. Undoubtedly, this is a historical fact, that Stalin's portrait was present in every office of governmental buildings, in the same manner as portraits of current leaders can be found in many countries worldwide. However, he supervises every action of the officers from his portrait, therefore, the film depicts his involvement in deportation.



Figure 7: Stalin's portrait on the wall of command office. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

Another character is NKVD captain Grigoriy Trunin. He gives order concerning forced eviction of Crimean Tatar population. For him people are not more than faceless mass of motherland traitors. He is also one who decides the destiny of Krotov, whose live is only a bunch of paper and documents in a file in his safe. After he orders to kill Krotov, he crosses out his file and put it back in the safe, which contain tens of ruined lives. Trunin represents the cold-blooded Soviet system, that along with thousands of Crimean Tatars' ruins millions of lives of various Soviet people that are unfavorable to the authorities.



Figure 8: Capitan Trunin crossing out Krotov's personal file. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

And finally, the ordinary soldiers, who provide eviction of Crimean Tatars. Most of them are shown as people who obey their commander's orders. Some of them have not even seen the real war. In one of the scenes Krotov asks a soldier if he ever shoot a man, and warns him that in conditions of war he will have to shoot not fascist, but Soviet people.

4.2.4 SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF 'HAYTARMA'

4.2.4.1 MEANING OF HAYTARMA

The name of the film 'Haytarma' itself represents the main semiotic meaning of the deportation and exile of Crimean Tatars. As the credits of the film state 'Haytarma' is a national Crimean Tatar dance that symbolizes the eternal circulation of life.



Figure 9: Crimean Tatar woman performing Haytarma – the dance symbolizing eternal circulation of life. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

We see the national dance two times during the film, both of them presage major plot twists. The first one is right in the beginning of the film. The Crimean Peninsula is celebrating the liberation from fascist army, the brave war hero and the son of Crimea returns to the homeland, all of these presages some cheering events of the film's first part. But when we see the second dance the storyline starts changing towards the tragic events of deportation, death and misery. So, according to the dance's implication, life has never-ending circulation of events, from good and pleasant moments to severe and full of sorrow and vice versa.

4.2.4.2 LIFE AND DEATH

Right after the credits of the film shows us a horse running through the steppe. Horse is an important symbol for Crimean Tatar culture. Long centuries ago when ancestors of modern Crimean Tatars led a nomadic lifestyle, horses were inevitable part of their lives, the source of food, transportation and even fuel. That literally meant life for Crimean Tatars.

Life and death, happiness and misery, these binary concepts always go hand in hand during the film.



Figure 10: Running horse. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

When Amet's father Sultan pronounces a toast, he tells the story of the horse from the credits '*Feride took the horses to the mountains and saved them, in few years we will have wonderful herd!*'. After the long occupation of Crimean Peninsula by fascist troop, that have brought only death and misery, he looks forward to returning back of the prominent symbol of life – horses. However, in the end of the film, when the train leaves the station, we see a lonely horse that runs behind it – as a symbol of ruined hopes and dreams. This dramatic scene precedes the final titles with tragic numbers of Crimean Tatars, who died on the way to exile places. So, as we see hopes are changed by frustration, after short happiness comes misery, and life give its position to death.

Deportation as the main theme of death is depicted trough harsh scenes of people being forced to get on the train. In one of these scenes we see Crimean Tatars through fan valves, that reminds the viewer blades of a meat grinder. We may interpret this scene as allusion on a cold-blooded

Soviet machine that grinds everything that is put in, and by doing so destroy lives of thousands of Crimean Tatars.



Figure 11: Deportation of Crimean Tatars, view through the fan valves. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

Although the last scene reminds the viewer that these processes are interchangeable, and after misery comes happiness, after death comes life. On the train a woman gives birth to a child and women surrounding her talk about which name she will pick for the baby. According to this narrative, Crimean Tatars have hope for the future return to their homeland and prosperity of the nation.

The theme of live and death is also depicted through unnamed character, whom Amet-Han meets on the road. An old Crimean Tatar man carries a small cart with the body of his dead wife. This cart symbolizes the transition between oxymoron concepts of life and death. At first the cart brings the man's wife to the world of the dead and then it carries Amet's injured friend towards the world of those who live. In the next scene, when Russian soldier asks the old man where he could possibly find some water,

the man takes a jug full of water, which is the symbol of life in many cultures.



Figure 12: The old man carrying a cart. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

The old man himself has controversial storyline in ‘Haytarma’. Later, he meets the Russian soldier once again, when the latest pushes him into the train. In this scene the path not only of these men are crossing. The soldier, to whom the old man gave a source of live, now becomes the cause of his potential death, due to the train conditions, or harsh conditions of the exile places.

The Crimean nature also plays the role of a significant symbol. Crimean Peninsula has a unique landscape with high mountains, blue sea, which is praised by poets, artists and ordinary Crimean Tatars. The film contains a lot of shots presenting a beautiful nature of Crimea, that Crimean Tatars are so proud of. During the years of exile, people were daydreaming about returning to the saint lands of Crimea, that have been giving them power to struggle and to live thousands kilometers away from home. The nature is also depicted as a living being, that is capable of feeling compassion, when her beloved children are forced to leave it. After people are brought

to the square before being deported, we see a little girl, who is looking for her mother. To comfort her Feride starts to sing a sad song about a nightingale:

*Ey bülbül, güzel kuş,
şimdi sen neredesin?*

Nerde senin o tatlı gür sesin?

*Ey, nightingale, beautiful bird,
where are you now?*

*Where is your sweet,
strong voice?*

The song that addresses a cheerful bird does not remain unnoticed by the nature and the rain starts. The drops fall on the copper vessel in the rhythm of the song as if the nature was singing the song together with children. The nature drops tears for its people, ruined lives and a forced separation from the genuine people of these land. Nothing but a bunch of household items remain lying on the streets, where several hours before was a joyful celebration.

4.2.4.3 PERSONAL ITEMS

Personal items have meaning for national identity as well. As people could not take much things to the places of exile, everyone was taking something that had been of the biggest importance for them. Crimean Tatars care a lot about items that were brought from the homeland. In the article revealing 20 facts about the ‘Haytarama’ takes place a note that a sewing machine, which was carried by an old man in the scene of deportation, was genuinely brought from Crimea by the mother of the actor on the same night (Avdet e-newspaper, 2015). Items brought from Crimea creates a strong nostalgic feeling about the times spend in the homeland. These items are kept in every family and are handed over from generation to generation. In the film the viewer sees Amet-Han’s mother trying on a

silver belt in front of the mirror. This belt is a traditional jewelry (*йипишли кьушакъ*) that was usually worn on the wedding day by the brides (RIA Crimea). Besides, this kind of belt is to protect a person from an evil eye.



Figure 13: Crimean Tatar traditional items. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

In the scene where Amet-Han meets his fiancé, he gives her a headscarf decorated with beautiful traditional embroidery (*марам*), this kind of headscarf was used to cover the brides head on the day of wedding. All of this thing are invaded into cultural and national identity of Crimean Tatars, as they represent a big corpse of culture that was lost due to the forced migration.

4.2.4.4 CRIMEAN TATAR VALUES

Although as life has its ups and downs according to ever-changing circulation of life, Crimean Tatar believe that one day everything will go back to square one. What is important is to remember the genuine values. Through the storyline of ‘Haytarma’ the director explains the viewer the values of Crimean Tatars. When a Soviet Soldier comes to the house of an

old woman, who is played by the mother of the director Ahtem Seitablaev Subiye Nablatova, the woman carefully wraps an old decrepit Kur'an, a few letters and a handful of wheat seeds into her headscarf. When the soldier asks her if it is all that she takes, the woman replies: *“Here is God, memory and bread. That is enough for person to live”*. As we stated in previous chapters, memory of Crimean Tatars past, important personalities and tradition is the core of their national identity formation. The film itself supports this statement as it depicts the most significant and traumatic event for their nationality.

The importance of religion and religious traditions is also shown in the scene of burring the old man's wife. Amet-Han shows respect for the old man and gratitude for his help and digs the grave on his own. According to Islam, deceased needs to be buried the same day as he or she passed away. This is done out of concern of sanitary and respect for the soul of a deceased. After they bury the woman, together they pray in the lights of the setting sun with the motives of traditional Crimean Tatar music.



Figure 14: Amet-Han and the old man praying. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

Another religious tradition is mentioned in the scene where Francois ask Amet-Han about the possibility of marrying his sister Miaser. Amet-Han expresses the requirement for circumcision, showing it with the gesture, if Francois wants to marry his sister. As Crimean Tatars are Muslims, it is important for them to preserve their religious traditions inside the families. Even if nowadays religion lost its strong positions in Crimean Tatar society in marriage related issues, once it was the most significant part of their lives. This scene also shows Crimean Tatars being liberate towards intercultural marriages. They are quite open for people of different cultures among their families, as Amet-Han is ready to accept Francois into his family, although traditions are on the first place. The other tradition is also mentioned in this scene; it is a tradition of giving dowry (*калым*) for the bride. This tradition is also common for nations practicing Islam.

Another cultural tradition that '*Haytarma*' depicts is respect for the elder people. It is necessary to kiss a hand of an elder person and put it to your forehead to express your respect for him or her.



Figure 15: Amet-Han kissing, and putting his father's hand to his forehead. (Source: Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019).

As well as the scene of kissing head, in the credits of the film the viewer can see an inscription stating 'Dedicated to the memory of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, fathers and mothers, to those without who we, our children, our memory and our culture would not exist...'. This inscription shows the deepest respect for the ancestors and for what they had to overcome. Crimean Tatars managed to preserve their traditions in the conditions of exile, of being unable to speak their language and live in places sharing their culture.

The women take important positions in Crimean Tatar society. As well as the whole Muslim world, Crimean Tatars believe in the statement of prophet Mohammed that 'heaven lies at the Mother's feet'. Muslims respect women as they give live to new people and raise them devotedly and from all of their heart. In Crimean Tatars' culture this position was also promoted in the times of Ismail Gasprinskiy. He started educational activities for the women that greatly improved their social status and rights. One of his educational activities included publishing of the

educational woman journal ‘*Alem-i Nisvan*’ meaning women’s world, whose editor was his daughter Shefika. With the breakout of the World War II and occupation of the Crimean Peninsula, when the Crimean Tatar women were living without husbands and sons, they had to maintain house holding and raise their children on their own. After the war, during deportation years this situation did not change much, as most of man were killed in the battlefield. Thus, women played a crucial role not only in house holding, but also in preserving Crimean Tatar national identity. In the film Sultan raises his glass in honor of women.

I want to drink to our women! Nadya was baking bread and carrying it to partisans, though she knew she could be shot for it. Nuriye was looking after orphans, raising them, educating them. Auntie Rosa was mending our torn clothes. Feride took the horses to the mountains and saved them, in few years we will have wonderful herd! Men! Your rewards are on your chests. And their [women’s] rewards are in our hearts. Let your life be as long as this table! And let the war be as short as this sip of wine. To you, women! (Telekanal ATR, 11 April 2019)

These words demonstrate the deepest gratitude to all the women, that had to go through the harsh conditions of war and occupation and managed to take care of their people.

All the characters of the film are also wearing the traditional Crimean Tatar costumes. Women covers their heads with headscarves and have long braids which is also common for Crimean Tatar women. Men also covers their heads with skullcaps that is required by Muslim traditions.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

In frames of this research we have examined the national identity of Crimean Tatars, and how they articulate it through media and particularly thought ‘Haytarma’ film. We have found out that the core of Crimean Tatar national identity consists of two prominent components: traditions and common culture, and remembrance of the traumatic experience of 1944 deportation. In conditions of exile the first one became inevitable part of preserving the nation from both extinction and assimilation. This fact made Crimean Tatars’ culture and traditions the subject of deepest respect and constant revival attempts. Memories about the deportation and exile are also being kept alive in order to remember the greatest suffering that Crimean Tatars had gone through and survived.

We also have find out that the media play role of a source that constantly keeps culture, traditions and traumatic experience alive by being focused mostly on covering the tradition matters and cultural events. In some cases, media reinvents them by organizing such events. Crimean Tatar media also have an informative function for the new generations and help them to better understand their origins.

‘Haytarma’ film is a rich source of maintaining national identity narrative, due to the quantity of connotative content. It uses a vast number of signs that have helped us to better understand what forms Crimean Tatar identity. Elaborating on national heroes, such as Amet-Han Sultan, helps

Crimean Tatars to revive their golden past and raise attachment to it. This method binds the members of Crimean Tatar nation together in sharing common national narrative. Along with it 'Haytarma' depicts Crimean Tatar's attachment to their cultural heritage and traditions, that have been reinvented since the loss of their motherland. 'Haytarma' recollects moral and religious values, traditions and traditional items in order connect the past of Crimean Tatars to their present, and restore them for new generations.

'Haytarma' underlines the importance of the motherland in Crimean Tatar consciousness. Through the film characters 'Haytarma' shows that they refuse to live anywhere, but in their historical motherland. Moreover, Crimean Tatar believe that, finally, all the sufferings will come to the end, and the nation and its culture will prosper in the motherland.

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