

Part 2

Crimean Tatar Diaspora and Cultural Identity between “Yeşil ada”, Poland and Germany: History, Structures, Reflections

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This article seeks to shed light on the historical relationships between Poland, Germany and the Crimean Tatars, and how these relations affect the current negotiation of Crimean Tatar identity. We try briefly to illustrate this by first addressing the genesis of historical Tatar-German-Polish relations. In the second step, we present actors and structures of the Crimean Tatar scene between Crimea and Diaspora, as it has been since returning from deportation at the end of the 1980s to the second annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014. In the last step, we look at the cultural activities of Crimean Tatars in Germany and Poland in the field of tension between “Staying in the Crimea” and “Working for a free Crimea”. The latter usually explicitly implies taking actions outside Crimea, a life in the diaspora that is sometimes more concerned with preserving Crimean Tatar identity than with their Yeşil Ada (Green Island) itself.

Keywords: Crimean Tatars, Crimean Tatar-German relations, Crimean Tatar Diaspora, Crimean Tatar-Polish relations.

The Tatars of Poland are an agile dynamic piece of the Polish society. While in Europe the discussions regarding the so called Euro-Islam do not come to an end, Europe has to recognize that we are here - Tatars, European Muslims - for hundreds of years in the heart of Europe!

Maciej Musa Hassanovitch Konopacki¹

Tatars between Germany and Crimea. Genesis of historical relations

The Crimean Tatars, as an independent actor of European history, influenced developments in Central Europe from the East since their genesis after the collapse of the Golden Horde in the 14th century. They left their traces militarily, mentally, culturally, artistically and linguistically even in an area that is not directly connected with it: the duchy - the later kingdom of Prussia - as well as in Saxony. While predominantly Ottoman influences were in southern Germany, the encounters of the Saxon and Prussian populations with the less well-regarded Crimean Tatars were the starting point for a common history of Muslims and Christians in East Central Europe.² The Crimean Tatar-German relations include two components: on the one hand, a close relationship among Tatar settlers in German-speaking

or German-Polish areas, on the other hand, a long-distance relationship, namely diplomatic relations between the state of the Teutonic Knights Order, later Brandenburg-Prussia and Saxony on one side as well as the Tatars of the Golden Horde under the descendants of Tokhtamysh Khan, Jalal ad-Din, and later the Crimean Khanate on the other side.

The early modern Crimean Khanate was thus not detached from intra-European - hence Brandenburg-Prussian, Saxon and Polish - power and military history, but on the contrary: both under the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William I (reigned 1640-1688) and under King Frederick II (reigned 1740-1786) the Tatars and the Crimea played a decisive role in balancing the Prussian great power aspirations between the Sublime Porte, Moscow, St. Petersburg and Vienna.³ According to newly discovered archive material since 2006 the first Muslim inhabitants of Prussia and Saxony were mostly of Polish-Tatar or Crimean Tatar origin whose history of integration began with the first establishment of Muslim units in Prussia's military in the year 1675, when the first initiative for such a creation of original Tatar troops of the Brandenburg-Prussian state was initiated on September 14.⁴ By order from Elector Frederic William of Brandenburg, the Polish Captains Johann Rybinsky and Dobrogost Jaskolecky were instructed with the recruitment of Tatar riders for two units of Towarczys. Therefore, the history of the Prussian-Saxon Tatars ranges from the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century. From 1795 over 1,000 Muslim Tatars served in the Prussian army. The further integration of these Tatars and their families including a mosque construction program planed by the Prussian state prevented the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars from 1806.

In addition to these close relations between the Tatar and German inhabitants of Prussia, the diplomatic relations existed for a long time. This is exemplified by the correspondence between Khan Devlet Giray I (Reig. 1551-1577) and Gotthard Kettler of Livonia, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights Order. The contact between Mehmed Giray Khan IV and the Great Elector from 7 March 1599 is testified in a letter from a Tatar embassy under "Mohomet Aga". In the year 1632 there was a further Brandenburg-Crimean Tatar contact between a Crimean Tatar Legation and Duke Georg William of Brandenburg.⁵ The envoy of Crimean Khan Mehmed IV Giray (reigned 1641-44, 1654-66), Sanduny Mehmet Ali Mirza, was in Königsberg in 1656 with his delegation. After Brandenburg-Prussia fought in the summer of 1656 on the side of Sweden against Poland / Lithuania and the Crimean khanate, the Elector changed the fronts in 1657 and became an ally of the Polish King Jan II Kazimierz Waza (reigned 1648-68).⁶ From then Prussians, Polish and Crimean Tatars fought side by side sometimes against other Tatar units on the opposite side. Under Meydan Gazi Mirza, a Crimean Tatar delegation came to Brandenburg in 1659⁷ and several more visits followed until the journey of Aslan Ağa with "*ten men and fifteen horses*" 1679 to Berlin and another embassy under "*Krym Chazy*" and "*Themer Chazy Beg*" 1681. Until 1787, four years after the first Russian an-

nexation of the Crimea, there was diplomatic correspondence between the “*Tartar Khan Szachin Gierey*”, Shahin Giray Khan, and Frederic II, King of Prussia.⁸

In the end, however, the then first Russian annexation of Crimean Tatar statehood put an end to the century-long diplomatic relations between Prussia and the Crimean Khanate. Another phase of rather intensive German-Crimean Tatar relations occurred in the 20th century during the First World War before the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks and again under Nazi rule during the occupation of the Crimea by the German Wehrmacht. Both the tragic history of the short-lived pre-Bolshevik Republic of Crimea and the no less tragic fates of Crimean intellectuals between the Stalin regime and the Hitler dictatorship are associated with names such as Mustafa Edige Kırımal⁹ and Dzhafer Seidahmet¹⁰.

Structures and cultural actors from the 1990s to annexation in 2014

Just like the subject of Crimean Tatars in general, all these German-Crimean Tatar historical relationships since the collective deportation and genocide of the Crimean Tatars in 1944 were taboo in the whole sphere of power of the Warsaw Pact countries. Everywhere in the Eastern bloc, the term “Crimean Tatars” and everything related to them were erased from encyclopedias, textbooks and all the media. In Western Europe, it was a niche topic for human rights activists and scientists and in West German media until the end of the Soviet Union and the GDR only scant news about the Crimean Tatars published. It was only during and after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the (partial) return of the Crimean Tatars to their homeland, the “Green Island” (Crimean Tat. Yeşil ada), that they became more and more noticeable in the media. Now their culture, literature, theater, music, online media were again an issue, while the political landscape of the Crimean Tatars also newly developed, both in the Crimea itself and in the Diaspora, e.g. in Germany. Both the Crimean Tatar National Parliament *Medžlis* and the *Medžlis* opposition are closely associated with Diaspora communities in Turkey, America and Europe, as well as in Germany. Both sides endeavor to obtain help through these contacts in order to develop socio-economic structures in Crimea. Great support for the development of Crimean Tatar education and cultural life came from the Turkish side, but often from a spectrum that is classified in Western Europe as right-wing to fascist, such as the so-called Gray Wolves of the MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)¹¹, the Ülkücü Ocakları and the BBP¹² or Nizam-i Alem¹³. In Germany names such as Milli Görüş¹⁴ and the *Türk Federasyonu*¹⁵ belong in this context too. Concerning their activities in Germany, the *Medžlis* activists from the Crimea were in a dilemma. There were meetings with the leader of the Green Party, Cem Özdemir, German NGO’s and Social Democrats on the one hand. On the other hand, they were dependent or part of the nationalist-Turkish movement in Germany, with the officially no one from the German political spectrum would like to be associated. For example,

Mustafa Džemilev was a guest at “başbuğ”, the leading wolf, Alparslan Türkeş¹⁶ at the Kurultay (General Assembly) of the Turkish Federation in Frankfurt am Main in 1993 and together with Celal İçten, chairman of the Istanbul Crimean Tatars Association again in 2003.¹⁷ The relationship between German NGOs and the Crimean Tatars to be supported was always under pressure in two ways. On the one hand, the Gray Wolves reaffirmed their claim to sole representation when it came to the subject of Crimea. On the other hand, although German human rights groups who wanted to give support, they did not want to be suspected of cooperating with the extremists in the Turkish immigrant communities.

About 200,000 people of Crimean Tatar origin live in Germany. Most of them have never seen the Crimea, because they descend from so-called Turkish “guest workers” whose ancestors had to leave the Crimea in the 19th and 20th centuries. Here in (West) Germany, associations were established between 1990 and 2014, whose dividing lines were based on their political or migration background. Therefore, the clubs had little or no contact to each other. In the “Landsmannschaft der Krimtataren in Deutschland e.V.,” former members of the Crimean Tatar Wehrmacht legions were organized, who escaped being extradited from German POW camps to the Soviet Union. Thus they were born directly in Crimea and still spoke Crimean Tatar. The association was the oldest immigrant association of Muslims in the German postwar period, because it was founded on 14 April 1965 as the first self-representation of Turkic speaking Muslims in Germany at all. The club members, their families and descendants organized traditional celebrations, solidarity actions and public relations for the Crimean Tatars in the 1990s.

Mainly former “guest workers” from Turkey are organized in the “Solidarity and Cultural Center of the Crimean Tatars in Western Europe e.V.” in the city of Gießen.¹⁸ The association delivered computer and accessories to Crimea at the end of the 1990s. There was also financial help and meetings with EU politicians were organized. The chairman Rafet Karanlık remarked laconically that at this association Tatarcılık (Tatarness) was run without Tatars. While the southern German club “Landsmannschaft der Krimtataren” is more actively involved in promoting religious and cultural community life, the association in Gießen tried to present itself as a representative of Medžlis in Germany and Europe.

There was also a group of Turkey-born ultranationalists around Ünver Sel and Kenan Aktaş in Cologne¹⁹, who sympathized with the Medžlis opposition. This group published the magazine *Bizim Kırım*, whose articles appeared sporadically in the Medžlis opposition newspaper *Xalq Sedası* in Crimea. While the majority of migrants with Crimean Tatar roots were disorganized in Germany, some Crimean Tatars from the World War II generation, such as Feyzi Rahman Yurter, operated between the political lines. Feyzi Yurter lived as a writer in Hamburg and immediately after the opening of the borders by the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany in the early 1990s he organized help for the Tatar repatriate families

in the Crimea.²⁰

In addition to these three groups mentioned above, which were explicitly oriented to the Crimean Tatars, other structures emerged in Germany after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, migrants from the USSR founded the “Tatar-Bashkir Culture Society”, the German-Tatar Friendship Association TAMGA and the Association “Tatarlar Deutschland”. Crimean Tatars were also active in all three associations and used through the magazines “Bertugan” (twin) and “AlTaBash” contacts to the Crimea.

Developments and challenges after annexation

After the second annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014, the situation of the Crimean Tatar scene in Germany has changed. The mobilizing power of the different actors can be considered an indicator of this. Protests against the annexation, which were initiated by the small group from Gießen, reverberated almost entirely in the Islamist right-wing extremist Turkish scene. The *Bizim-Kırım* group in Cologne does not exist anymore. TAMGA e.V. has dissolved t as the oldest club the “Landsmannschaft of the Crimean Tatars in Germany” and the TBKV has become meaningless, as the number of members continued to fall. Annexation advocates among the Volga Tatar members of “*Tatarlar Deutschland*” prevented solidarity with Crimean Tatar friends, as the attention to the Crimean Tatars in the media generally declined one year after the annexation.

However, after the annexation young Crimean Tatars in Berlin and Saxony-Anhalt founded the *Qırımli initiative*, which enabled a large number of people to organize rallies, demonstrations and solidarity actions through a broad network. While in the early 2000s Turkish-extremist circles had massively obstructed Ukrainian-Crimean Tatar-German events such as the “Crimean Tatar Culture Week 2005” and the “Days of German-Crimean Tatar Dialogue” in 2011, Crimean Tatar activities are now free from political pressure of any orientation.²¹ Together with the ICATAT Institute, the Society for Threatened Peoples and Ukrainian Exile Associations, a new network was created completely independent of the old associations in Germany. They organized youth exchanges between Ukraine and Germany on Crimean Tatar themes, exhibitions and readings and the *Initiative Qırımli* is currently being established as an association at Stendal district court.

Crimean Tatars in Poland. Historical Relations / Genesis:

“We will beat Tsar Temür Qutlugh, we will take away his empire, put Tokhtamysh on the throne, and he will put me in all of Rhutenia”²² said the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great announcing his intentions to be the heir to the territorial achievements of the Golden Horde - the great state created after the breakup of

the Genghis Khan Empire. He planned to accomplish this with the support of the combined Lithuanian and Teutonic army and detachments of the loyal Tokhtamysh - Khan of the Golden Horde, who, due to military defeats, for some time, together with his court hid under the protection of the Lithuanian prince. The Tatars of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth emerged from these elites who arrived with their leader later Lipka Tatars.

Polish-Crimean bilateral relations started from 1411, when the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great, using the perturbations at that time in the Golden Horde, put Crimean Khan Jalal al-Din Khan ibn Tokhtamysh on the throne. He was a participant in the Battle of Grunwald, who faced the Teutonic army on the side of Lithuanian and Polish knights. From that moment on, we can speak of bilateral inter-state relations that connected the Crimean Tatars with the Commonwealth. At the very beginning, these relations were excellent, because a year after the described events, the Khan's mission arrived to the Polish king and provided military support to serve all his needs. Meanwhile, Crimea came under the influence of the Ottomans.

The Tatars quickly learned to politically balance between the Commonwealth, Sublime Porte and later Moscow. The Khans knew they were a strong military force as an ally, but weak as a single state that was also a vassal of one of the powers (Turkey). Almost from the beginning, mutual "scuffles", invasions and battles continued on the military level between Rzeczpospolita and Khanate. However, at the diplomatic level, the relations were always full of respect for the other side. At the most mundane and everyday level, which is the trade, the Commonwealth gained a lot thanks to the Tatar activity, especially in this initial period. Traders from Crimea brought silk, spices and perfumes. At the same time they provided the Middle East and the Eurasian steppes with Polish and Lithuanian fur, weapons, wood, etc.

It should be remembered, however, that since the beginning of Polish - Tatars relations there were numerous Tatar invasions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (75 alone between 1605 and 1644) as well as Polish military excursions into the territory of the Crimea. These invasions were twofold. These were invasions, which today could be called preventive (aimed at influencing political decisions) as well as economic raids. The war spoils not only provided important funds for the operation of the army, but also material goods or slaves. What is also noteworthy, despite so many conflicts, is that trade and cultural exchange understood in a broad sense continued.

The gradual collapse of both countries and growing Russian power had the effect that the Khanate and Republic paid heavily for their common disputes and lost independence. Despite attempts to help the Polish Bar (the name of the fortress and city in today's Ukraine), the confederates and the treaty by which the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire decided not to enter into peace with Russia, until the restoration of the former regime in Poland, the old balance of power could

not be maintained. During the partitions of Poland, the Crimean Khanate also fell, which was annexed by the Russian Empire in 1783.

As mentioned earlier, the Tatars from the Golden Horde began to settle in Lithuania and Poland before the creation of the Crimean Khanate. Due to internal struggles for power in the Crimea and prisoners of war, the Tatar settlement in Commonwealth also developed later. Even when the independent Tatar state in Crimea was established, Lithuanian Tatars remained loyal to the Polish king and the Grand Duke of Lithuania.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, Tatar settlers continued to come to Lithuania and Poland. They came from Kazakh and Astrakhan Khanates conquered by Moscow and from Crimea itself, which was suffering from crop failures. In the 16th century, the Tatars lost their native language due to the gradual assimilation in Poland and Lithuania. Lipka Tatars even wrote their books in Arabic, while arranging letters in the words of the Polish or Ruthenian language. When taking Polish women as wives, they often converted to Christianity and raised their children in Polish culture.

The Tatars living in the lands of the Commonwealth were also an important link between the Khanate and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

*Muslimowie (Polish-Lithuanian Muslims) gave important services to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They were very useful as deputies, translators and couriers, sent to Muslim East countries.*²³

Apart from the fact that the Polish Tatars themselves were great craftsmen making for example carpets, they were also shoemakers and tanners. Some families of noblemen and members of the Szlachta maintained commercial relations with the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. Tatars of the Commonwealth were involved in importing nuts and dried fruits, tobacco, fish, wax, coffee, cotton, wine, citrus fruit, horse rows, weapons and Turkish costumes. Lipka Tatars, who brought elements of material culture from the Crimean Khanate, also created, to some extent, the Sarmatian culture, which was expressive of the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Leszek Podhorodecki in his book *Chanał Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV - XVIII wieku* [Crimean Khanate and relations with Poland from XV to XVIII century], describes the Saxon period²⁴ in Polish culture as follows:

The material and spiritual culture of the Crimean Tatars and whole Orient continued to have a significant impact on the life of the nobles and burghers of the Commonwealth. The Saxon times were, after all, the peak period in the history of Polish Sarmatis, and Eastern fashion quite common then. The nobles wore robes, delias, kiereyas, coats, szubas, kaftans, ferezyas²⁵, and bathrobes. The lamb's hats called "krymka"²⁶ [from Polish Krym - Crimea] were used quite commonly.

However, in the Saxon period interest in the Orient was only superficial and

limited to the imitation of fashion, because the descriptions of Eastern countries ceased and the knowledge of Turkish languages, which was wide-spread among Polish nobles in previous periods, had disappeared.

An important institution in which one could observe the imitation of Tatar fashion was the army. One of the many examples were the banners of light riding, later called uhlans, from the name of one of Tatar families. It is worth mentioning that this exchange was rather one-sided and there was not so much Polish influence on the Crimean Tatar culture. Trade exchange from the Polish side also looked less favorable than on the part of the residents of Khanate.

Also after the loss of independence to the Russian Empire, Tatars of the Commonwealth were religiously connected with the Crimea as part of a joint muftiate, which had its headquarters on the peninsula.

Polish-Crimean Tatar relations and interdependencies did not cease to exist after this time. However, we can speak of a real renaissance only after 1992, because Polish-Crimean Tatar relations collapsed during the 20 year interwar period due to the very cold diplomatic relations between the Second Polish Republic and the Soviet Union.

Structural and cultural actors 1990 – annexation

Polish-Crimean Tatar relations began to redevelop at the end of the 1980s. Activists of the Polish democratic opposition in cooperation with their partners from Lithuania, Latvia and Ukraine began to smuggle books and religious materials as well as printing machines, audio and video devices to Crimea. They also carried out training on underground printing and for underground media organizations. Among the Poles involved in supporting the Crimean Tatars were many very dedicated intellectuals and artists from various opposition groups.²⁷

Also after the collapse of the USSR, Poles were involved in various socio-economic initiatives like training for journalists or fruit-growing courses for Crimean Tatar farmers.²⁸ Later there was a significant decline in these relationships. They were maintained by a group of people related by personal ties with the Crimea, such as Krzysztof Stanowski, Urszula Doroszevska, Piotr Hlebowicz, Selim Chazbijewicz, or the Union of Tatars of the Republic of Poland. Often, the above-mentioned people came from diverse socio-political backgrounds, which resulted in the lack of a centrally organized form of development of cooperation between Poles and Crimean Tatar. It is worth mentioning here that the Association of Tatars of the Republic of Poland is an organization established in 1992, which since 1994 receives subsidies from the Department of Culture of National Minorities of the Ministry of Culture, and since 2005 from the Department of Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities of the Ministry of Interior and Administration. The latter is the official body representing the Tatar minority in Poland.²⁹ Thanks to

this organization, various cultural and scientific initiatives were pursued aiming to strengthen Polish-Crimean Tatar relations. However, since the beginning of the 1990s, the Tartars developed several other initiatives, leading to a split in 2011 due to financial background and many ambiguities. The Muzułmański Związek Religijny (Muslim Religious Association) dismissed Tomasz Miśkiewicz from position of mufti in 2012. He did not refer to the allegations, arguing that according to the law of 1936 which is still in force, he remains a lifetime mufti. On 15 October 2016, the All-Polish Election Congress of Muslims chose a new mufti: Janusz Aleksandrowicz. However, the Polish authorities continue to support the old mufti Miśkiewicz.

In the meantime, Crimean-language students, employees and social activists appeared in Poland, while Polish-Crimean Tatar relations were reshaped after the beginning of the occupation of the Crimean peninsula in 2014.

Developments and challenges after annexation

Immediately after the outbreak of events in Kyiv and the Crimea, many initiatives appeared in Poland aimed at supporting the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar communities. The most important event during the rebirth of Polish-Crimean Tatar relations at the social, political and cultural level was the handing over of Lech Wałęsa Solidarity Prize on the 25th anniversary of Polish independence to Mustafa Dzhemilev - the leader of the Crimean Tatar movement.³⁰ The Open Dialog Foundation was the organization that from the beginning reported on events in Crimea and implemented aid programs. In Warsaw it also opened the “Ukrainian House” - an institution providing organizational and informational assistance to people who came to Warsaw from the east of Ukraine and Crimea.³¹ Based on the Resolution of the XIX Extraordinary All-Polish Congress of the Muslim Religious Union in the Republic of Poland, the Society of Polish Muslims provided very fast support for the political struggle of the Crimean Tartars.³² It is worth noting that on October 18, 2018, the Crimean Culture Center was opened in Drohobych, Ukraine thanks to funds from the Polish Development Assistance Program.³³ The statutory goal of this institution is to organize Crimean Tatar courses and courses for the Crimean Tatar community and events aimed at bringing the Crimean Tatar culture closer to the Ukrainian population.

With regard to Crimean Tatar activities in Poland, it should be noted that the occupation of Crimea immediately led to several short-term initiatives in Poland, such as the “Fundacja Krym” [Crimea Foundation]. It was founded in Ciechanów and Legionowo and is operated by Riza Asanov. It provides education to several representatives of Crimean Tatar youth in Poland³⁴ and is at the forefront of current activities to promote the dissemination of knowledge about the “Crimean Tartars case”, as it is called in Polish media. Nedim Useinov – a member of the World Congress of Crimean Tartars and founder of the Polish Cultural Center of Crimean

Tatars – is has now become very visible in the nationwide media and functions as a link between Poles, Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars. In his speeches in the media, he points out that he is a Ukrainian and a Crimean Tatar and has recently created two organizations, the Crimean Tatar Cultural Center and the Crimean Tatar Solidarity Committee.³⁵ One organization deals with the promotion of culture by organizing events such as concerts and vernissages. The second one focuses on the political and social aspect by organizing public discussion panels and conferences. Currently in 2019, one can gain the impression that all these initiatives and themes in Poland are centered around Crimean Tatar youth, who primarily operate only in Warsaw.

It is also worth noting that the focus of socio-cultural debates about the Crimean Tatars has changed in Poland. During the events of 2014 the Tatars were referred to as a certain ethnological phenomenon, with strong historical connotations. After the beginning of the occupation of Crimea by Russia, it was clearly felt that the Crimean Tatar issue became valid. The Crimean Tatars are spoken of and clearly described as the indigenous people of the Ukrainian Crimea, whose rights have been violated. It is also noted how resolutely the Crimean Tatar environment was supported by democratically elected authorities in Ukraine, refusing to cooperate with the occupant on the peninsula.

Conclusion

We hope that our short contribution will help provide a better understanding of the situation of the Crimean Tatar community between Germany, Poland and Crimea. As socio-political and cultural-historical reality shows, Crimean Tatar initiatives have to fight for their place, because between the numerically larger migrant communities of Ukrainians and Turks they often have a difficult status, and are politically absorbed or subsumed. After the annexation of Crimea, more and more young Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian immigrant communities are growing up abroad, studying and using further educational opportunities - often special international programs - in order to give back more to and get more involved in the Crimean Tatar cause. However, native-language education is lacking, and even so many virtual networks cannot replace the community neighborhood. In Germany and Poland, the founders of new cultural initiatives of the Crimean Tatars are young, well educated people, but tragedy and hope are close together: the occupation of Crimea contributed to the fact that the topic of Crimean Tatar culture and history was briefly on everyone's lips. A niche topic became known to a broad public in both countries – Poland and Germany. Crimean Tatar artists, media creators and politicians of the Medžlis, together with European NGOs and the young diaspora generation, are now developing an awareness of this unique opportunity that could be used beyond the politically extreme sides - it will show the time.³⁶

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Endnotes

- 1 Taken from Maciej Konopacki's speech on the occasion of the vernissage of the exhibition *Tatarzy Polscy. Historia i kultura Tatarów w Polsce* (Tatars of Poland. History and art of the Tatars in Poland), 8.12.2008.
- 2 See Hotopp-Riecke, Mieste. *Polscy Tatarzy w Prusach. Przyczynek do dziejów wojskowości i historii mentalności** [Polish Tatars in Prussia. A sketch of testimonies in military and intellectual history], in *Tatarzy Polscy. Historia i kultura Tatarów w Polsce* [The Tatars of Poland. History and culture of the Tatars in Poland], ed. Barbara Igielska (Szczecin 2009)15-18; Theilig, Stephan. *Türken, Mohren und Tataren. Muslimische (Lebens-)Welten in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert* [Turks, Moors and Tatars. Muslim (life) worlds in Brandenburg-Prussia in the 18th century]. (Berlin 2013).
- 3 See Pröhl, Karl. *Die Bedeutung preußischer Politik in den Phasen der orientalischen Frage. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung deutsch-türkischer Beziehungen von 1606 bis 1871* (Frankfurt am Main 1986), 91–93; Schwarz, Klaus „Zu den frühen Beziehungen Brandenburg-Preußens zu Türken und Tataren“, in *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 24 (1987), 151–172; Karamuk, Gümeç *Ahmed Azmi Efendis Gesandtschaftsbericht als Zeugnis des osmanischen Machtverfalls und der beginnenden Reformära unter Selim III.* Bern, 1975; Theilig, Stephan. *Türken, Mohren und Tataren. Muslimische (Lebens-)Welten in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert* [Turks, Moors and Tatars. Muslim (life) worlds in Brandenburg-Prussia in the 18th century]. Berlin 2013.
- 4 Hotopp-Riecke, Mieste, „Tatarisch-preußische Interferenzen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Eine Beziehungsgeschichte“ in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft (ÖZG)* 1, nr. 28 (2017): 65-90; Ders. *Ikongraphie der Angst. Deutsche Tatabilder im Wandel: Barbaren, Alliierte, Migranten.* Berlin, Dissertationsschrift, 2011.
- 5 Georg Wilhelm von Brandenburg (born 3.11.1595, Cölln an der Spree; died. 1.12.1640, Königsberg) was Duke of Prussia and from 1619 until his death the Elector of the Mark Brandenburg.
- 6 Jan II Kazimierz Waza, (born 21.3.1609, Krakow; died 16.12.1672, Nevers, France) As King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, he was from 1648 the elected regent of the State of Poland-Lithuania, and until 1660 entitled King of Sweden.
- 7 See: Saring, Hans. „Tatarische Gesandtschaften an Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm während des ersten Nordischen Krieges.“, in *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte*, nr. 46 (1934): 374-380.
- 8 Some Tatar manuscripts (for example a Yarliq from Şahin Girây of 1787) are among the documents I rediscovered in the Prussian Secret State Archive (I. HA Rep. XI. 271a Tartarei fasc. 12, 1787).
- 9 Mustafa Edige Kirimal (born 1911 Bakhchysarai; died 1980 Munich) was a Crimean-born politician and is best known for his meticulous research and publications on the history of Crimean Tatars in the first half of the 20th century. He served as the editor of *Dergi*, one of the publications of the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich. Edige's father Mustafa Shinkievich, who was descended from a Lithuanian-Polish Tatar family, had moved to Crimea before World War I. See: Kirimal, Edige Mustafa. „Der Volksmord in der Krim“, in *Sowjetstudien*, nr. 1 (1956): 107-119.
- 10 Cafer Seidahmet Efendi; Crimean Tatar politician (born 1889; died 1960) Chairman of the Council of the Directory of the Crimean People's Republic 17 Jan 1918 - 27 Jan 1918 and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Regional Government of Crimea (under German occupation) 18 May 1918 - 25 Jun 1918, see Kurshutov, Temur Nijaverovyč. *Maloizvestnye stat'i / Publicystyka of Cafer Seydahmet Kirimer.* Simferopol 2012.
- 11 MHP - Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi – Party of the Nationalist Movement; founded by Alparslan Türkeş (born as Feyzullah Hüseyin in Lefkoşa, Cyprus 1917; died in April 1997). The origins of the party lie in the racist mobilization in the period between 1939 and 1945 in Turkey, programmatically inspired by fascist parties in Europe.

- 12 Avrupa Nizam-i Alem Federasyonu (ANF), founded in 1994 in Frankfurt / Main. It represents the European arm of the BBP (Büyük Birlik Partisi / Great United Party) from Turkey, a 1992 split-off of the MHP, which represents an Islamist-radical nationalist course.
- 13 Schröder, Kati. *Die Türkei im Schatten des Nationalismus. Eine Analyse des politischen Einflusses der rechten MHP*. (Hamburg, 2003), Fn. 41; The Head of the Institute of Turkology of the Free University Berlin, Prof. Dr. Claus Schönig regards the MHP and its affiliated organizations such as the *Ülkü Ocakları* as extremely racist, totalitarian and fascist. (Public Lecture “*Imaginative Unity and Real Diversity - Notes on the Nationalistic History Interpretation in Turkey*” Freie Universität Berlin, 17.7.2006).
- 14 „Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş [National View] e.V.“, an Islamist Turkish exile organization, under observation of the German secret service. See: *Verfassungsschutzbericht des Landes Berlin, Senatsverwaltung für Inneres*, 2004, pp. 140-147.
- 15 Turkish Federation is the common term for the Gray Wolves, organized in Almanya Ülkücü Türk Dernekleri Federasyonu (AÜTDF); they emerged from the European offshoot of the extreme right-wing Turkish MHP, called ADÜTDF (Avrupa Demokratik Ülkücü Türk Dernekleri Federasyonu / Federation of Turkish Democratic Idealist Associations in Europe), founded on 6 October 1996 at the annual meeting in Essen / Germany. Today this organization is also known under the acronym ATF (Alman Türk Federasyonu).
- 16 Türkes enjoyed training at the CIA-war academy in Tampa/Florida and maintained friendly contacts with Franz Joseph Strauss (Chairman of the Bavarian CSU / Christian Social Union) but also with the German neo-Nazi parties NPD, DVU and FAP. Başbuğ originally means in Turkish a military commander-in-chief and is used in the Ülkücü movement today for “eternal leader”. Cf. Schröder 2003, pp. 94-95, 227.; cf. Çakır, Murat *The Pseudo-Democrats. Turkish lobbyists, Islamists, right-wing radicals and their work in Germany*, Dusseldorf 2003, pp. 178-185.
- 17 Journal *Bahçesaray*, nr. 21 (May 2003): 19.
- 18 Concerning Crimean Tatars in Germany s.: Yurter, Feyzi Rahman: *Krım tatarları wurden von allen missbraucht*, <http://crimea.gov.ru/content/uploads/files/base/Konstitutsiya.pdf>; “Almanya’da Krım Tatarları”, in *Bizim Krım* nr. 1, (2003): 15-19.
- 19 Sel, Ünver, „Диаспора всегда была и будет со своим народом!“ [The Diaspora was and always will be there for his people!], in *Xalq Sedasi*, 14, nr. 5 (June 2004): 3.
- 20 Feyzi R. Yurter published in *Bizim Krım* too (there: nr. 1 (2003): 15-19; nr. 2 (2005): 43-52) and wrote in Ankara the books *Yirminci Yüzyılda Krım* (1998) and *Krım Diasporası* (2003). His brother Fikret Yurter was the editor of the Crimean Tatar magazin *Birlik* [Unity] in New York.
- 21 In 2005 massive pressure prevented the arrival of the entire ensemble of the Crimean Tatar National Theater from Aqmescit / Simferopol in Berlin.
- 22 Podhorodecki, Leszek. *Chanał Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV-XVIII wieku*. (Książka i Wiedza. 1987), 9. All the quotes translated by the authors of the article.
- 23 Ibid, 283-284.
- 24 The colloquial description of the times when the Wettin dynasty from Saxony ruled on the Polish throne (Augustus II the Strong and Augustus III of Poland)
- 25 Polish names for different types of Turkish coats.
- 26 Podhorodecki, Leszek. *Chanał Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV-XVIII wieku*. (Książka i Wiedza. 1987), 257.
- 27 For instance: Irena Lasota, Piotr Hlebowicz, Jadwiga Chmielowska, Maciej Ruszczyński, Selim Chazbijewicz (Polish Tatar), Piotr Pacholski, Beata and Piotr Godlewski, Eulalia Badurska, Lech Osiak, Andrzej Rozpłochowski, Wojciech Stando, Roman Zalewski, Maciej Frankiewicz, Krzysztof

Stanowski, or Urszula Doroszevska. Comp.: Chazbijewicz, Selim: *Awdet czyli powrót. Walka polityczna Tatarów krymskich o zachowanie tożsamości narodowej i niepodległości państwa po II wojnie światowej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2001, p. 98.

- 28 Interviews conducted with Selim Chazbijewicz, Piotr Hlebowicz, Benedykt Pszczółkowski May 2012 / May-June 2013.
- 29 <http://mniejszosci.narodowe.mswia.gov.pl/mne/dotacje>
- 30 https://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/p/ns_pl/nagroda_solidarnosci/aktualnosci/nagroda_solidarnosci_dla_mustafy_dzemilewa_z_ukrainy?channel=www
- 31 <https://odfoundation.eu/p/5,kim-jestesmy>
- 32 <https://mzr.pl/popieramy-krymskich-tatarow/>
- 33 <https://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/drohobycz-otwarto-centrum-tatarskie-przy-wsparciu-polski,876955.html>
- 34 <https://gazetapowiatowa.pl/wiadomosci/jablonna/prezes-fundacji-krym-riza-asanov/>
- 35 <https://www.facebook.com/komitetsolidarnosci/> <http://tatarzykrymscy.pl/>
- 36 “New Germany based projects concerning the protection of heritage of Crimean Tatar culture, language and history” in *Крымское историческое обозрение*, nr. 2: Crimean scientific centre of the Institute for History „Shigabuddin Marjani“ at the Academy of Sciences Republic Tatarstan 2014, S. 206-210.