

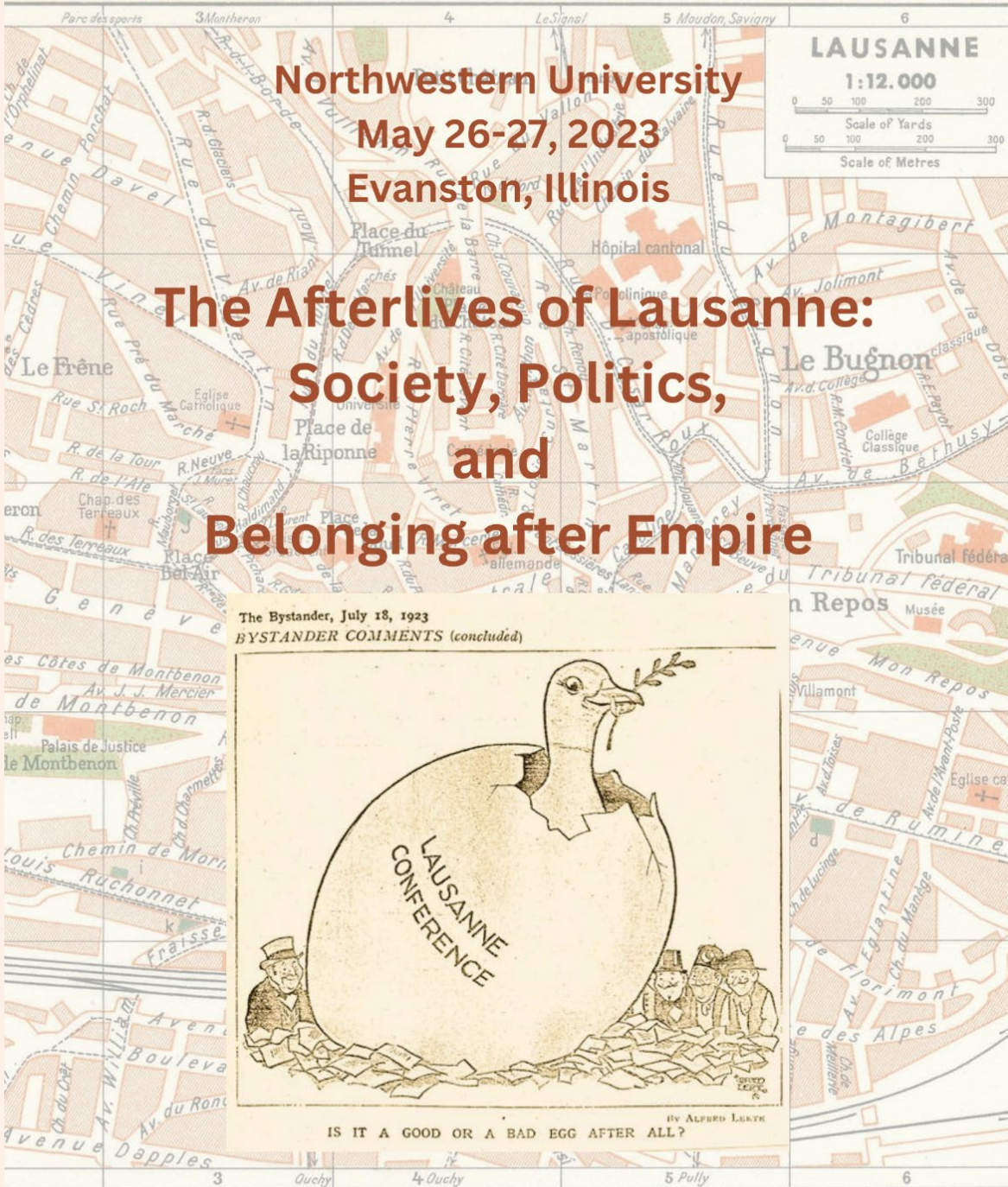
Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Conference

Northwestern University

May 26-27, 2023

Evanston, Illinois

The Afterlives of Lausanne: Society, Politics, and Belonging after Empire



Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Program | Buffett Institute for Global Affairs
Northwestern University

CONFERENCE DESCRIPTION

Each year, the Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Program brings together scholars from around the world to discuss some of the most pressing issues facing Turkey from a global perspective. This year the conference's theme will be the Lausanne Conference and Treaty of July 24, 1923.

Lausanne was unique among the peace treaties that the victors of WWI settled with those states that would replace the defeated German, Habsburg, and Ottoman Empires: it reversed the Sèvres Treaty that had already been signed between the Allies and the Ottoman government on August 10, 1920. The Sèvres Treaty, which would have ceded much of the territory of the former Ottoman Empire to France, Britain, Italy, and Greece; created occupation zones around the Straits; and carved out Armenian and Kurdish territories, was never ratified. The Turkish nationalist resistance movement in Asia Minor was successful in negotiating a new peace agreement, and thus the Lausanne Treaty placed Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor under Turkish sovereignty.

Hence, Lausanne is considered a testament to the tenaciousness of the Turkish national resistance movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and has been called the “birth certificate” of the Turkish Republic. However, its “evil twin,” the Sèvres Treaty has played an equally formative role in the development of Turkish national identity and identity politics. The memory of this abrogated agreement has conjured in popular belief in Turkey a condition known as the “the Sèvres Syndrome,” referring to a conviction in various theories about seditious “external forces” [dış mihraklar] attempting to revive the treaty and weaken or carve up the republic. As the centenary of Lausanne approaches, however, the “Sèvres Syndrome” has been eclipsed by, or rather subsumed under, new conspiracy theories about the so-called “secret articles” of Lausanne that hinder Turkey's extraction of oil and other precious resources, showcasing the centrality of the material world to the configuration of political narratives and imaginaries. The Treaty has also become politicized through top-down discourses even as these conspiracy theories are adopted, circulated, and mobilized by ordinary people in everyday life. The inspiration and some of the raw material mirror the rhetoric used by the highest representatives of the AKP regime to discredit the legacy of Kemalism. They include the president who insinuates that Lausanne was more a capitulation than a victory that ceded territories that should have remained part of the Turkish Republic, if not a revived Ottoman Empire.

While acknowledging the historical significance of the Lausanne Treaty's unique position among post-WWI settlements in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, this conference seeks to analyze the conditions that made its conclusion possible and reconsider its aftermath up to the present day. The ethnic cleansing and demographic engineering of Anatolia started in the aftermath of the Congress of Berlin through the strategic settlement of Muslim refugees in areas where they would dilute the numbers of Christians and later be recruited to participate in massacres against the same. This process reached its peak during WWI under the genocidal regime of the Committee of Union and Progress. The internationally sanctioned principle of the “unmixing” of peoples that tacitly endorsed the outcomes of such policies in the aftermath of the war, and the subsequent emergence of minority regimes in southeastern and eastern Europe and the Middle East have lately been analyzed by political scientists and anthropologists as well as historians. While we aim to further these discussions, we also seek to carry out an interdisciplinary analysis by bringing together various perspectives - from disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political theory, and political economy - to consider the complex and enduring legacies of the Lausanne Treaty in contemporary Turkey and beyond.

The Afterlives of Lausanne: Society, Politics, and Belonging after Empire
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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, MAY 26

9:00 - 10:00 am

Breakfast

10:00 - 10:15 am

Opening Remarks

İpek Kocaömer Yosmaoğlu, Northwestern University

10:15 - 11:30 am

Keynote Lecture

Lerna Ekmekcioglu, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Your Turkey, my Lausanne: What to the Armenian is the 29th of October?

11:30 am - 12:30 pm

Lunch

12:30 - 2:00 pm

Panel I - Post-Wilsonian Principles and Realities

Cevat DARGIN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Self – Determination for whom? Lausanne Treaty, the Kurds, and the Politics of International Law

Fidan MIRHANOGLU, French Institute of Geopolitics (IFG)

The Kurds and Oil Struggles at the Lausanne Agreement in 1923

Emel Akçalı, Associate Professor in International Relations at Kadir Has University, Istanbul

A Post-Lausanne Époque for Turkey in the Making?

Chair: Ekin Kurtiç, Northwestern University

Discussant: Nilay Özok-Gündoğan, Florida State University

2:15 - 2:30 pm

Break

2:30 - 4:00 pm

Panel II - Legacies and Contestations

Christina Banalopoulou, ERC-Starting Grant - Staging National Abjection: Theatre and Politics in Turkey and Its Diasporas

Turning the Mosaic into Marble: Contesting the Lausanne Treaty in Rum Theatre and Performance

Varuzhan Geghamyan, Ph.D. Assistant Professor, Yerevan State University

Invention of Lausanne: Day of Peace as an Instrument to Construct Charismatic Leadership in the Early Turkish Republic

Philip Balboni, University of California, Berkeley

Contested Reconversions: Hagia Sophia, Crypto-Colonialism, and the Legacies of Lausanne

Chair: Thadeus Dowad, Northwestern University

Discussant: Yiğit Akın, Ohio State University

4:00 - 4:30 pm

Break

4:30 - 5:45 pm

Roundtable I

Ozan Ozavci, Utrecht University

Autopsy on an Empire: The Eastern Question and its Lausanne Moment

Mustafa Aksakal, Georgetown University & **Aimee Genell**, University of West Georgia

Life After Empire

Moderator: Roberto Mazza, Northwestern University

6:00 - 8:00 pm

Reception

SATURDAY, MAY 27

8 - 9 am

Breakfast

9:00 - 10:30 am

Book Panel

When Democracy Died by **Hans-Lukas Kieser**, The University of Newcastle, Australia

Commentator: Yeşim Bayar, Department of Sociology, St. Lawrence University

10:30 - 10:45 am

Break

10:45 am - 12:15 pm

Panel III - Discontinuities and Dispossession

Fatima-Ezzahrae Touilila, Columbia University

The Treaty of Sèvres and Lausanne: The Caliphate between the Lines

Ümit Kurt, The University of Newcastle

The Issue of the Armenian Homeland and the Abandoned Properties Question in the Treaty of Lausanne

Henry Clements, University of Oxford

An Ambivalent Minoritization: The Origins, Consequences, and Problematics of the Syriac Christians' Non-Recognition at Lausanne

Chair: Anoush Tamar Suni, Northwestern University

Discussant: Mustafa Aksakal, Georgetown University

12:15 - 2:30 pm

Lunch

Exhibition Presentation

Meşgul Şehir: İşgal İstanbul'unda Siyaset ve Gündelik Hayat" [Occupied City: Politics and Daily Life in Istanbul under Occupation, 1919-1923]

Curators: Gizem Tongo, Middle East Technical University & **Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal**, British Institute at Ankara

2:30 - 3:45 pm

Panel IV - Greek-Turkish Exchange of Populations

Lediona Shahollari, PhD Candidate, University of Michigan

Protector, Negotiator, and Power Broker: Albania and the 1923 Greek – Turkish Population Exchange

Dr. Rabia Harmanşah, Dumbarton Oaks

Landscapes of (non-)forgetting: People, Power, and Belonging on the Island of Imbros

Chair: Lauren Stokes, Northwestern University

Discussant: Ilay Romain Ors, Harvard University/ American College of Greece

3:45 - 4:15 pm

Break

4:15 - 5:45 pm

Roundtable II

Ilay Romain Ors, Harvard University/ American College of Greece

Reassessing Lausanne: notes on further research

Nilay Özok-Gündoğan, Florida State University

The Lausanne Treaty and the Making of Kurdish Statelessness

Roberto Mazza, Northwestern University

Down with the Turks, Viva Ataturk! The short-lived love for Mustafa Kemal in Palestine

Yiğit Akın, Ohio State University

A New Vocabulary of Rights and the Post-War Origins of the Treaty of Lausanne

Moderator: İpek Kocaömer Yosmaoğlu, Northwestern University

6 – 9 pm

Closing Reception

ABSTRACTS

Nilay Özok-Gündoğan

The Lausanne Treaty and the Making of Kurdish Statelessness

The Treaty of Lausanne, the final peace treaty that marked the end of the imperial era following World War I, brought different political outcomes for various ethno-national groups in the Middle East. For these groups, envisioning a new community and sovereignty in a post-imperial context, there were two contrasting possibilities: self-determination through the establishment of a nation-state or statelessness. While Lausanne granted international recognition to the modern Turkish nation-state, it made Kurdish self-determination practically unattainable. However, the statelessness of the Kurds was the culmination of significant events in the region's history, including the Great War, the Paris Peace Conference, and the Sevres Treaty. During these critical junctures, Kurdish political elites actively pursued diverse political agendas to secure a dignified political existence for Kurds amidst shifting borders, alliances, and identities.

Against this backdrop, this presentation will address two key questions: Firstly, what were the political dynamics leading up to the Lausanne Conference that resulted in the lack of recognition for the Kurds in the international community? Secondly, what were the political strategies, discourses, and instruments employed by Kurdish political elites to seek international recognition and ensure a sovereign existence for the Kurdish population.

Yiğit Akın

A New Vocabulary of Rights and the Post-War Origins of the Treaty of Lausanne

For much of the twentieth century, the history of the Treaty of Lausanne was narrated by historians with regard to its far-reaching consequences, and rightly so. The treaty brought a long and devastating period of successive wars to an end; it brokered the peace between Turks and their enemies; and, finally, it stipulated the largest forced population exchange in history until the Second World War. While invaluable, however, this exclusive focus on Lausanne's consequences might obscure the complex political, intellectual, and cultural post-war climate that conditioned the development of the treaty. Like their counterparts at the negotiating table, the Turks at Lausanne were fully conscious of the power and importance of the new global language of sovereignty, civilization, and self-determination that emerged so prominently in the aftermath of the First World War. They formulated their claims and arguments by deploying this new vocabulary of rights. After all, these were the subjects that they were passionately discussing since the end of the war. This presentation will thus place the Treaty of Lausanne in its post-World War I context and traces its origins in the "fluid intellectual economy" of the post-war Ottoman Empire.

Roberto Mazza

Down with the Turks, Viva Atatürk! The short-lived love for Mustafa Kemal in Palestine

Palestinian support for the Ottomans gradually collapsed throughout the war, but with the arrival of the British and Zionist some Arab nationalist organizations drew inspiration from Mustafa Kemal and his leadership against the Greek invasion. This love affair was however short-lived as in 1923 after Lausanne was signed it was clear that the Palestinians were now on a different path, given that new borders were officially recognized but more importantly a citizenship law was first drawn and eventually approved in 1925 that left out all Palestinians that were abroad who found themselves orphan of Ottoman citizenship and deprived of their Palestinian one.

Gizem Tongo & Daniel-Joseph MacArthur-Seal

Meşgul Şehir: İşgal İstanbul’unda Siyaset ve Gündelik Hayat” [Occupied City: Politics and Daily Life in Istanbul under Occupation, 1919-1923]

The ongoing Istanbul Research Institute exhibition “Occupied City: Politics and Daily Life in Istanbul, 1918-1923” explores the urban politics, society, and culture of Istanbul under Allied occupation, a period laden with a high degree of uncertainty and conflicting possibilities. Who would remain and who would rule was the subject of rumor and speculation, exacerbated by the contradicting statements of Allied statesmen, successive Ottoman cabinets, and the Ankara government. Istanbul was in flux, not only in terms of its shifting politics, but also in its social and cultural ideas and practices. These changes were produced by the multiplicity of overlapping regimes and converging populations that defined the period, including servicemen, bureaucrats, merchants, refugees, labourers, intellectuals, and artists from not only the occupying powers and their colonies, but also from neighbouring regions dislocated by conflict. Interactions between these new arrivals and local residents produced an archival and material legacy that make this perhaps the most richly documented in the city’s history. Despite the wealth of sources available, the occupation of Istanbul has long been overlooked in the writing of the history of the Turkish War of Independence and European imperialism in the Middle East, and it is telling that this is the first exhibition to explicitly examine the subject. Curated with the support of six consultant researchers with complementary thematic and linguistic expertise, the exhibition brings together textual, visual, and auditory materials ranging from photographs, paintings, songs, and film to letters, diaries, memoirs, and official documents from collections in Turkey, France, Britain, Greece, Armenia, Russia, and further afield in an effort to capture the diversity of thought and experience in occupied Istanbul. This talk will explain the research, curation, and objectives of the exhibition and discuss its reception and impact within the context of broadening of academic and public interest in the armistice-era city.

Ilay Romain Ors

Reassessing Lausanne: notes on further research

The Treaty of Lausanne is a major international agreement that became a historical turning point with a lasting impact on the signatory parties and beyond, having vast effects which we are still discussing hundred years later. During this long century, academic scholarship and policy making has turned back to Lausanne at various intervals and with varying concentration, producing literature and debates that touch upon a wide array of issues, making the Treaty “a source document” that became the reference point to starting most discussions of contemporary significance.

Yet there is arguably still more unexplored territory with respect to Lausanne. It is of importance to address some of those areas that have been left out or understudied, either because they were not included in the Treaty even though they were highly relevant to the matters on the table, or because they just did not receive their due attention. Rather than attempting a comprehensive overview of the literature to date, I will be outlining some of the directions for future studies that can form the basis of a road map for further research on Lausanne in its centennial.

Cevat DARGIN

Self – Determination for whom? Lausanne Treaty, the Kurds, and the Politics of International Law

The Kurds, despite being the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East after the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, are rarely acknowledged in major interstate or international agreements as active agents. Typically, they are only

recognized as part of a "problem" or "question." One exception to this pattern was the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which acknowledged the creation of an independent or self-governing Kurdistan, subject to boundary demarcations with Armenia, another potential post-Ottoman nation-state recognized by the treaty. However, the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which succeeded Sèvres, did not even acknowledge the existence of the Kurds. The contemporary situation of "the Kurdish question" in Turkey, as well as its historical evolution, is largely a legacy of the Treaty of Lausanne. This article examines the three-year journey of the Kurds from being acknowledged as a nation with autonomous status to being refused even minority status. The article also uses the case of the Kurds to demystify the so-called "principle of self-determination" advocated by all the signatories of both treaties in question. It argues that the question of "self-determination for whom?" that underlies the entire nation-state-based modern political system is unanswerable, since the imagined congruence between nation and state, which gives rise to the phrase "nation-state," corresponds to a fleeting era in the long history of the ultimately anarchic environment in which states arise and disappear.

Fidan MIRHANOGLU

The Kurds and Oil Struggles at the Lausanne Agreement in 1923

The oil issue has been a prevalent one on the Middle East's agenda and that of the world for almost a hundred years. This work will be on the relationship between finding the oil in the Kurdish region and the non-formation of the Kurdish nation state after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, this paper will also examine Kurdistan and the Kurdish struggle for independence, as well as the formation of the new borders on the lands where the Kurds lived at the end of the Ottoman Empire's sovereignty. The establishment of nation-states in the Kurdistan region and the role of oil in the sharing of the Ottoman Empire's territories will also be highlighted with articles of the Lausanne Agreement in 1923. This study made use of some archive's documents from France and Britain, especially foreign diplomatic documents.

Emel Akçali

A Post-Lausanne Époque for Turkey in the Making?

Drawing upon both governmental and scholarly contestations over the 1923 Lausanne Treaty that recognized the boundaries of the Turkish nation state, this paper aims to scrutinize whether a new post-Lausanne époque is in the making for Turkey in its centenary. To this end, the paper will first analyze the nature of such contestations, the governmental policies and practices thus far and then will evaluate whether a radical or a progressive change may ever be possible. The paper will also try to assess whether the upcoming election in Turkey has the potential to restore the Treaty's position and prestige back in its place. Finally, the paper will also examine what exactly such contestations over the Lausanne Treaty mean for the current international state system and whether such a system would ever allow a radical change in the terms of this Treaty.

Christina Banalopoulou

Turning the Mosaic into Marble: Contesting the Lausanne Treaty in Rum Theatre and Performance

How does theatre serve as a site where the consequences of the Treaty of Lausanne are contested and reinvented? How do the communities that were exempted from the population exchange between Greece and Turkey conducted under the Treaty utilize performance in their negotiations of the politics of citizenship and belonging? My presentation will explore these questions by focusing on theatre and performance produced by the Rum minority in Turkey since 1923. Combining ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and oral histories with archival research that includes personal, unorthodox, and hidden institutional archives that

have not been exploited before, my presentation will examine the ways in which Rum theatre both reproduces and challenges the Treaty's enduring nationalist logics. I will show how Rum theatre and performance both resist and contribute to turning what was once experienced as a "polyphonic mosaic" into a "nationally coherent marble."

By demonstrating that artistic and everyday performances of citizenship and belonging are mutually constitutive, I will make the case that Rum theatre and performance offers important insights into the politics of belonging in the aftermath of the Treaty of Lausanne. I will investigate how Rum theatre has been a vital site for language preservation, political organization, and fundraising that secures social mobility for those exposed to precarity because of the nation-building processes initiated by the Treaty. I will focus on the works of the radical editor and educator Omiros Bekes in the early 1920s and those of the revolutionary feminist theatre practitioner and pedagogue Athena Gerasimou between the mid'40s and the mid '70s. Through studying aesthetically and politically important yet almost entirely ignored theatre practices I will address the ways in which the Rum populations that were exempted from the exchange between Turkey and Greece continue to precariously negotiate the politics of citizenship and belonging.

Varuzhan Geghamyan, Ph.D.

Invention of Lausanne: Day of Peace as an Instrument to Construct Charismatic Leadership in the Early Turkish Republic

Charismatic leaderships & personality cults were central factors of the political regimes in Turkish Republic playing critical roles in different dimensions and senses. From strengthening of ruling elite's legitimacy to providing the social solidarization and construction of the national identity – personality cults were being constantly constructed by the elites and used extensively.

In case of İ. İnönü one of the crucial elements of his cult both during Atatürk's presidency and after was the *Myth of Lausanne Victory*. In the early years of Republic, the diplomatic history of Lausanne negotiations along with İnönü as central hero was constructed in order to be used in official state narrative and discourse not only as a proof of İnönü's genius and, subsequently, his legitimacy to be in the ruling elite. The image of the "architect of political victory of Lausanne" played an important role in providing legitimacy for Atatürk and his closest partners in the power struggle in the first years of the Republic. İnönü's "Lausanne profile" was also instrumental in the process of nation-building and formation of the new national identity. The processes of construction and reconstruction of this new image, which was the central image of İnönü until the end of 1940s, involved also members of society.

Since the first day of the establishment of the republican regime, state and national holidays have been actively used for political socialization, legitimization, and mobilization. The invention of the Lausanne Day of Peace (*Lozan Sülh Bayramı*) became the most important tool to reinforce the significance of the Lausanne legacy.

My presentation examines the phenomenon of charismatic leadership in the context of authoritarian modernization of Turkish traditional society. Using the example of Lausanne Day celebrations, it analyzes the place of invented holidays in the construction of charisma of Turkish leaders and İsmet İnönü in particular.

Philip Balboni

Contested Reconversions: Hagia Sophia, Crypto-Colonialism, and the Legacies of Lausanne

My paper, "Contested Reconversions: Hagia Sophia, Crypto-Colonialism, and the Legacies of Lausanne," uses a mix of ethnographic, historiographic, and postcolonial approaches to examine the 2020 reconversion of the Hagia Sophia to the status of a mosque after 85 years as a museum. The paper frames both Atatürk's 1935 decision to secularize the monument and the 2020 decision to reconsecrate it in regard to a specific mode of cultural politics, emergent from the history of European Orientalism and the memory of the post-WWI occupation of Istanbul and

the Treaty of Sèvres. This mode of cultural politics (which I call, following anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, “crypto-” rather than “post-“colonial) has perpetuated anxieties over the specter of Western cultural and geopolitical pressure. The paper shows how the Hagia Sophia became central to such crypto-colonial anxieties in the early years of the Turkish Republic, binding the status of the monument to deep-seated political ideologies and structures of sentiment, and ultimately resulting in the reversal of this status in 2020.

Fatima-Ezzahrae Touilila

The Treaty of Sèvres and Lausanne: The Caliphate between the Lines

In the interwar period, the Caliphate became a particularly popular topic among the colonialists, as they became concerned with the future of the Ottoman Empire and its impact on Muslims under their dominion. Therefore, the Caliphate question shaped both the negotiations and the outcome of the treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne. Yet, the historiography on these treaties largely occults the caliphal concerns that influenced them. What this paper proposes to do is to replace these treaties in the context of the discussions around the Caliphate in which they took place, by looking at different drafts of the treaties and the diplomatic exchanges that surrounded them. It also proposes to look at the reactions the treaties generated among the colonized, at the former margins of the empire, and especially among North Africans. This paper contends that our understanding of these seminal treaties in international law and imperial worldmaking could be illuminated by this perspective.

Ümit Kurt

The Issue of the Armenian Homeland and the Abandoned Properties Question in the Treaty of Lausanne

The Treaty of Lausanne emerged the problem of the return of Armenians to the newly formed Republic in Turkey. It was impossible to even discuss their return since the Turkish government claimed that the Armenians had caused great harm by participating in revolts and rebellions during World War I and engaging in activities behind enemy lines. The government also used all means possible to prevent the return of Armenians living outside of Turkey and the repossession of their properties. This paper examines the legal maneuvering in which the Turkish Republic and the other signatories to the Treaty of Lausanne engaged and explores how surviving Armenians lost any hopes about returning home and reclaiming the properties they were forced to abandon. It aims to show that Turkey, contrary to the principle of the Lausanne Treaty, was determined to not return the properties of Armenians. Although the government formed it as a question of security, the real reason was economic plundering.

Henry Clements

An Ambivalent Minoritization: The Origins, Consequences, and Problematics of the Syriac Christians' Non-Recognition at Lausanne

This paper considers the politics of minority recognition by looking at the history of the Syriac Christians in the late Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. Unlike the Greek Orthodox, the Armenians, and the Jews, the Syriac Christians are notable for having not been accorded formal minority status in the Treaty of Lausanne. Early-twentieth-century Syriac leaders, conscious of the risks minority visibility could carry, elected to forego such recognition and the political rights that came with it. Taking this important moment in the history of minority politics in Turkey as a point of departure, this paper contextualizes the Syriac leadership's decision by returning to the millet-based governance of the period of late-Ottoman reform—a crucial precursor to the minority politics instituted by Lausanne. In doing so, it seeks to clarify what minority recognition meant to the Syriac Christians at

the end of the Ottoman Empire and the dawn of the Turkish Republic. It is concerned to show how minority recognition for the Syriac Christians came with a certain promise but also with great peril. It further tries to locate the seeming inescapability of the logic of “majority-minority” in the secularizing transformations of the late Ottoman Empire.

Lediona Shahollari

Protector, Negotiator, and Power Broker: Albania and the 1923 Greek – Turkish Population Exchange

Albania remained the only Balkan state to not sign the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. Furthermore, the Convention for the Exchanged Populations between Greece and Turkey did not address Albanian-speaking minorities across Greece or Turkey. My research illuminates how the exchange implicated regional actors and transformed migration patterns in Southeastern Europe. This paper will examine the Albanian state’s role in the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange through a discussion of two cases: The Muslims Çams of Epirus and the 1924 Mixed Commission survey to distinguish between Turkish and Albanian Muslims in Epirus and Macedonia; and the case of Vinani families from Kastoria, Greece who were deported to Turkey and petitioned to the Albanian consulates to help resettle the refugees in Albania. In doing so, I argue that Albania became an important broker in the region that complicated the process of both categorization and deportation of Albanian-speaking Greek nationals to Turkey.

Dr. Rabia Harmanşah

Landscapes of (non-)forgetting: People, Power, and Belonging on the Island of Imbros

The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne formed the basis of the present borders between Greece and Turkey and led to the compulsory population exchange that had profound, long-term consequences on all aspects of life in the region. This research studies those Orthodox Christians on the island of Imbros who remained on the ‘wrong’ side of the shore after the 1923 population exchange, but who then faced discrimination, expulsion, being deprived of citizenship and properties or forced emigration. The work investigates the state’s efforts to deterritorialize memory and landscape to create a ‘national space’ while destabilizing local communities’ strategies of resistance. Imbros Greeks of Turkey is an ideal case study to understand how the state dismantles indigenous practices of inhabiting landscape and reconfigures it with administrative, military, and civic infrastructure. The paper depends on ethnographic fieldwork on the island of Imbros and archival research in Istanbul, Ankara, and Athens in 2022.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

İpek Kocaömer Yosmaoğlu (Ph.D., Princeton, 2005) is a historian of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey. Prior to joining the History Department at Northwestern she taught at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and was a member of the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton. The primary question motivating her research is why and how people commit or condone violence in various forms. Her first book, *Blood Ties: Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia* (Cornell, 2014) traced the emergence of nationhood among Christian Orthodox peasants in Macedonia during the final decades of Ottoman rule in the region. Her current project is about Ottoman and later Turkish Jewish communities' experience of subjecthood and citizenship at the dawn of the age of nationalism and the nation-state.

Lerna Ekmekcioglu is Associate Professor of History and the director of Women's and Gender Studies Program at MIT. Her first monograph, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey*, came out from Stanford University Press in 2016 and in Turkish translation in 2021 (*Bir Milleti Diriltmek: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Ekseninde Türkiye'de Ermeniliğin Yeniden İnşası*, Aras Yayıncılık). In 2006 she co-edited a volume in Turkish on the first five Ottoman Armenian feminists (*Bir Adalet Feryadı*, Aras Yayıncılık). Her major articles include one on the treatment of minorities in interwar (*IJMES*, 2014) and another on the gendered aftermath of the Armenian Genocide (*CSSH*, 2013). She recently (2023) published a research article on the Armenian demands at the Lausanne Conference for a "National Home" within Turkey (in *They Made Peace, What is Peace?*). Currently she is collaborating with Dr. Melissa Bilal for a book and digital humanities project titled "Feminism in Armenian: An Interpretive Anthology and Documentary Archive" (Stanford U. Press, 2025). Her two articles that will soon appear focus on two distinct themes: one is about Ottoman-Russian Armenian woman imprisoned in Constantinople Central Prison's women's section during World War I and the other is on communist feminist Armenian women in post-WWII Paris.

Nilay Özok-Gündoğan is an Associate Professor of Ottoman and Middle East history at Florida State University. She obtained her Ph.D. from Binghamton University. Her research focuses on modern state-building, the formation of elites, property regimes, and intercommunal conflict and coexistence in the Ottoman Empire. Her work encompasses interconnected histories of the Ottoman, Kurdish, Armenian, and Turkish people. She also writes about methodological approaches in Kurdish studies. Her first book, titled *The Kurdish Nobility in the Ottoman Empire: Loyalty, Autonomy, and Privilege*, was published in 2022 by Edinburgh University Press. Her second book project, currently titled *State Mineral Extraction, State-Making, and Colonialism: The History of the Keban-Ergani Mines in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1870*, explores the colonization of Kurdistan through mineral extraction and investigates the political, economic, and ecological consequences of this process in the frontier region. Nilay Özok-Gündoğan's work has been published in the *Journal of Social History*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, as well as in edited volumes. She frequently contributes op-eds on Kurdish politics and history to *Jadaliyya* and serves as the book review editor for the *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*.

Yiğit Akın is an associate professor at the Ohio State University. His research interests include social and cultural history of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey, with a particular focus on the First World War and its aftermath, war and society, nationalism, and social movements. Akın is the author of two books. The first, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* (İletişim, 2004), offers a new framework for thinking about the relationship between sports and physical education, governmentality, public health, and

nationalism in early republican Turkey. His second book, *When the War Came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire* (Stanford, 2018), examines the Ottoman Empire's catastrophic experience of the First World War and analyzes the impact of the war on the empire's civilian population. He is currently working on two book projects on the post-World War I years in the Ottoman Empire from a global perspective and the social and cultural history of death in the late Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey.

Ozan Ozavci is Assistant Professor of Transimperial History at Utrecht University, co-convenor of the Lausanne Project, Security History Network and Turkey Studies Network in the Low Countries. His publications include *Dangerous Gifts: Imperialism, Security, and Civil Wars in the Levant, 1798-1864* (Oxford University Press, 2021) and *Intellectual Origins of the Republic: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the Genealogy of Liberalism in Turkey* (Brill, 2015). Dr Ozavci is currently finalizing his third monograph on the invention of the Eastern Question, which will be published by Bloomsbury. He's also the recipient of a major NWO (Dutch Science Council) grant which will allow him to write his new monograph on sanitary internationalism in the Middle East and North Africa between 1792 and 1942.

Mustafa Aksakal is Associate Professor of History and Nesuhi Ertegün Chair of Modern Turkish Studies at Georgetown University, where he teaches courses in the history of the Modern Middle East and North Africa. His publications include "The Division of the Ottoman Debt" (with Patrick Schilling), "Hungry for Change: Civilian Challenges to the State and Demands for Food" (with Melanie Tanielian), and *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*.

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CHAIRS

Anoush Tamar Suni is the 2020-2023 Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Postdoctoral Fellow at Northwestern University. She earned her PhD in anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles in 2019. For her doctoral dissertation, entitled “Palimpsests of Violence: Ruination and the Politics of Memory in Anatolia,” she spent over two years (2015-2017) in the region of Van, in southeastern Turkey, conducting ethnographic research. She is currently working on her book project, which investigates questions of memory and the material legacies of state violence in the region of Van with a focus on the historic Armenian and contemporary Kurdish communities. Prior to coming to Northwestern, she was a Manoogian Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Armenian Studies Program and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan. Her research interests include state and intercommunal violence, memory, materiality and landscape, cultural heritage, space and place, and political and historical anthropology in Turkey, Armenia, Kurdistan, and the broader Middle East.

Ekin Kurtiç (Ph.D., Harvard University, 2019) is a sociocultural anthropologist whose research is at the intersection of environmental humanities, social studies of infrastructure and technopolitics, and political ecology. She is the 2022-2024 Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Postdoctoral Fellow at Northwestern University. While at Northwestern, Kurtiç is working on her first book manuscript, *Sedimented Landscapes: Building Dams, Restoring Ecologies in the Çoruh Basin*, which critically examines state-led projects of restoring and salvaging nature in the process of large dam building in Turkey. *Sedimented Landscapes* shows that dam building is a central site of governing the socio-material space and enacting state power not only through environmental conquest but also through conservation. By tracing the role of the sediment carried by river waters in dammed landscapes, her book analyzes the making of state, techno-environmental expertise, and rural lives through the governance of infrastructure and ecology. Kurtiç is also developing a new book project on the techno-ecopolitics of reframing soil as a “carbon sink” against the backdrop of the climate crisis and its implications for human and non-human lives in agricultural and pastoral landscapes of Turkey. Prior to coming to Northwestern, she was a Junior Research Fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University.

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