

Panel 1: Refugeehood and Statecraft

LAFAZANI, Olga, TYROVOLAS, Thanasis, KAPOKAKIS, Alkiviadis,
KYRAMARIGOU, Eleni

Title: *The Lausanne Moment 100 Years On. Interdisciplinary Interventions*

Abstract:

In the last hundred years, two mass arrivals of refugees in Greece have been characterized and treated as "crisis": the first occurred in 1922 and the second in 2015. In our research project "1 Century, 2 refugee Crisis" we aim at untangling the entangled histories of mass arrivals while producing historically informed research around the multi-layered encounters of mass refugee arrivals with host societies. Based on the preliminary findings, a careful and critical juxtaposition of management policies developed in very different social, political and economic contexts is attempted. Putting the two refugees "crisis" in a dialogue and posing the same questions, the multi-disciplinary research team forges the key arguments around housing/settlement policies and the role of different actors in refugee rehabilitation/response (i.e. State, humanitarian actors, NGOs, International Institutions), among other themes. Attempting to juxtapose the past and the present, gives the research team the advantage of reflecting on key concepts /terms/ practices/approaches/ methodologies/ tools that today seem "normal", "natural" "common sense". In that sense, studying the past denaturalizes the present, deconstructing dominant narratives that belong to the broader TINA (there is no alternative) ideology. Our focus will be on the following main questions: what factors determined which policies were implemented in each era, what financial costs were incurred, what financial tools were used, and how funds were ultimately channelled. In this context, how and to what extent the policies implemented crafted different refugee "figures" within this century. In this sense, the paper will discuss the different approaches that were adopted and implemented, critically reflecting on the notion of vulnerability, agency, "de-activation", integration and assimilation.

KOSTOPOULOU, Katerina (Aristotle University) and GARDIKIOTIS, Antonios (Aristotle University)

Title: *One hundred years of refugeehood: The transformation of the social representations of refugees from Lausanne to the refugee crisis of the 21st century.*

Abstract:

The Lausanne Treaty resulted in the influx of more than one million people in Greece. The Anatolian refugees held a series of characteristics that differentiated them from the local population, thus rendering them a distinct, marginalized outgroup, unwanted by the locals and a constant reminder of the death of the Big Idea. In accordance with the purposes of the Treaty to create ethnically homogenous countries, the refugees themselves (although being formally labelled as “immigrants”) regardless of their place of origin and their distinct identities, were treated as one homogenous group overshadowing their differences.

The years after the Exchange the term “refugee” was used within negative connotations and acquired a derogatory meaning. It took several decades for the official historiography to create a new narrative, reinventing and reimagining refugees as an asset (that came to shape the modern Greek state) rather as a burden, almost eliminating the memory of the harsh realities that refugees faced during the first decades of their relocation to the “motherland” and their outgroup status. By the end of the 20th century the term completely transformed, along with the refugee identity, which became essentialized and drawing upon the past the “real” refugee came to be that of Greek descent. The refugee crisis created a new reality where non-Greeks claimed the “refugee” label, asylum and the rights that derive from that recognition. The definition that had been established for almost 50 years, that of the Greek who was successfully integrated and contributed to the socioeconomic and cultural development of the country is actively contested by a new reality. Nevertheless, the Greek society is reacting by: a) denying to grant the “refugee” label to the newcomers that find themselves in a legal and societal limbo, b) treating all refugees, once again, as a homogenous group regardless of their origins or the conditions of their fleeing, c) considering refugees as a hostile outgroup that claims the resources that once were for Greeks only. And so, 100 years after the Lausanne Treaty what it means to be a refugee comes to a full circle.

The goal of the present research paper is to bring out the similarities of the circumstances that Anatolian refugees and the refugees of the 21st century faced, to compare the attitudes of the locals toward them and to outline the transformation of the social representations of refugees in the last 100 years.

ADAMSON, Fiona (SOAS), and GREENHILL, Kelly

Title: *Forced Migration as State-Making and Statecraft: Understanding the Geopolitics of Organized Displacement*

Abstract:

In this paper, we draw upon preliminary findings from the Diplomacy of Forced Migration Dataset (DiFMiD) project to contextualize the Lausanne population exchanges and to identify and explicate the centrality of organized forced migration as a feature of the international state system. We draw lines and comparisons between historical cases of population transfers and exchanges, and contemporary practices of forced removals, populations transfers, deportations and other forms of state-organized forced migration and demographic engineering. We discuss not only how organized forced migrations and population transfers have helped shape the contours of the modern international state system, but also how geopolitical considerations continue to motivate states' decisions to threaten, orchestrate and manage involuntary out-migrations.

Our arguments are based on data drawn from more than 300 already-identified cases of diplomatically-driven, managed or threatened incidents of organized forced migration. Cases include all identifiable and researchable threatened or actual population transfers, expulsions, population exchanges and returns since 1900. The scope of our dataset ranges from historical population exchanges that pre-dated Lausanne; to large scale organized population exchanges and transfers associated with major international treaties, such as the 1923 Lausanne Convention and the 1945 Potsdam Conference; to contemporary practices of organized forced migration, such as the forced returns and transfers to third countries that are frequently found in contemporary migration "deals" and migration "externalization" programs; to threatened and executed cases of strategically engineered migration undertaken in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives.

We seek to stimulate debate on the significance of the Lausanne population exchanges by placing them in a broader historical and comparative context and would greatly benefit from feedback from other conference participants. To what extent were they generative in shaping future displacements and to what extent are they an extreme example of what is in actuality a common – and ongoing – state practice? Our research shows that, like war, forced migration has historically been a key component of state- and nation-building. And, like war, forced migration – or the threat thereof – has been an ongoing feature of interstate relations and diplomacy. Moreover, like war, the management of organized forced migration has been the subject of international institutions, treaties, conventions and accompanying regimes. These are vast and wide-ranging effects that have not been brought together and systematically analyzed as part of the broader workings and structure of the international state system.

Panel 2: Reconsidering the New Imperial Order

CHRISTOFIS, Nikos (Shaanxi Normal University)

Title: *The Treaty of Lausanne in the Periphery: The Case of Cyprus*

Abstract:

The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923), or the Lausanne Moment, has been characterized as “the longest-lasting of the post-war settlements”, and for a good reason, as it continued to figure as an outlier or semi-detached epilogue in accounts focused on the 1919-20 treaties. Indeed, the Treaty of Lausanne was the last of the peace settlements negotiated at the end of the First World War, and the only one to endure to this day. The treaty’s significance lies in the fact, as several researchers emphasized, that it ended the “Long Great War”, in particular, in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, and allowed for an internationally supervised population transfer between Greece and what became the Republic of Turkey.

Now, although the Treaty of Lausanne has been the subject of much scholarly attention with important studies like those by Stephen Ladas (1932), Dimitri Pentzopoulos (1962), Christos Hadziiosiff (2002), Onur Yıldırım (2006), Elisabeth Kontogiorgi (2006), Jonathan Conlin and Ozan Özavcı (2023), and numerous others, the case of Cyprus seems to have been neglected, or not given the necessary attention. This is evident not only in studies regarding the aftermath of the Treaty of Lausanne but also regarding the island’s contribution to the Asia Minor Campaign before the treaty was signed. In particular, the latter played an important role in the reception of the refugees, not only Greek Orthodox but others also, like Armenians, from the Asia Minor region.

Therefore, the present research focuses on that neglected aspect of the Treaty of Lausanne and particularly, aims at focusing first on the island’s contribution to the Asia Minor Campaign, which explains, at least partly, the political developments in the island itself. Secondly, will focus on the impact of the population exchange on Cyprus's social and political developments. And finally, it will scrutinize the issue of solidarity and the role of the Church of Cyprus to the peoples who arrived in Cyprus amidst the British colonial administration. The present paper will rely on the State Archives of Cyprus, the Greek Foreign Ministry Archives, newspapers from Cyprus, personal memoirs and diaries, and secondary literature.

AKAGAWA, Shohei (JIIA)

Title: *The Last Phase of the Eastern Question for Japan: From the First World War to Lausanne*

Abstract:

During the First World War, Japan declared war on Germany on the basis of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, yet Japan refrained from entering into a belligerent relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, following the war, Japan, alongside other allied countries, signed both the Treaty of Sèvres and the Treaty of Lausanne with the Turkey. In my presentation, I primarily use records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and memoirs of policymakers to analyse Japan's interest in and role in the ever-changing situation in the Near East from the First World War to the Treaty of Lausanne. For Japan, the "Eastern Question" was always viewed in conjunction with her Far Eastern policy. Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, Japan made several intermittent attempts to negotiate a trade treaty with the Ottoman Empire. However, due to the unfulfilled demand for Capitulation, these negotiations ultimately failed to come to fruition. Nevertheless, Japan persevered in seeking alliances with the sultanate, in order to expand its sphere of influence throughout the continent by collaborating with Asian Muslims from across Asia. The policymakers of Japan comprehended the potential impact of the Near East's developments on their policies in the Far East and were enthusiastic about participating in arrangements with the powers, even if they had no direct interest in them. After the conclusion of the First World War, Great Britain and France endeavored to marginalize Japan's involvement in Turkish affairs. Nevertheless, as one of the "Five Powers," Japan was resolute in having a voice in Near Eastern issues and, therefore, signed the Treaty of Sèvres, which satisfied its demands, including Capitulation and involvement in the Straits Commission. The implementation of this policy was impeded by the final success of the Kemalists. Despite maintaining a strict stance of neutrality during the Greco-Turkish War, Japan exhibited reluctance towards accepting any alterations to the Treaty of Sèvres by the Allied Powers. Japan harbored concerns that such concessions would serve as a pretext for China to demand the abolition of Japan's extraterritorial rights in China. Eventually, Japan lost these interests in a peace treaty with Turkey during the negotiations that began in Lausanne on November 20, 1922. The Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed on July 24, 1923, terminated most of Japan's vital connections with the Eastern Mediterranean. Ironically, this development cleared the path for a harmonious relationship between Japan and Turkey in Interwar-period.

SHAHOLLARI, Lediona (University of Michigan)

Title: *Between Albania and Turkey: Muslim Albanian-Speakers and Regional Implications of the 1923 Greek-Turkish Population Exchange*

Abstract:

In Southeastern Europe, the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange provided a legal precedence for future deportation agreements between Turkey and the states of Romania (1935) and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1937-1938). Balkan Muslims often viewed Turkey as a “safe haven” country to avoid state violence and disenfranchisement. The Albanian archives reveal the role Albania had in navigating the deportations of Albanian-speaking Muslims during the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange and the forced migration of Kosovar Albanian Muslims to Turkey through the 1920s and 1930s.

This presentation argues for the larger significance the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange had on the broader Balkan region and the processes of nation-building. Though the lens of Albania, I inquire the following question: How do we understand the migration and resettlement of Balkan Muslims through the perspective of the Albanian state? I examine the role Albania played in navigating the migration of Albanian Muslim refugees, who had been first deported to Turkey, and then migrated “back” to Albania. The first example focuses on families from the village of Vinani (Pyli), in the Kastoria region of Greece. The Mixed Commission had deported these families as part of the population exchange in Turkey. The Vinani refugees petitioned the Albanian consulate in Istanbul and the Mixed Commission and acquired relocation from Turkey to Albania. The second example demonstrates that Kosovar Albanian Muslim refugees navigated strict visa regimes of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Kosovar Albanian Muslims migrated to Turkey and sought the aid of Albanian consulates to “return” back to their homes or to be allowed to resettle in Albania.

This presentation is an offshoot of my dissertation, “Along the Margins of Lausanne: Population Agreements and the Making of Albania’s Migration Regime (1922-1939).” It examines the ways in which population agreements required smaller states, like Albania to manage displacement that population transfers—specifically the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange—created in the Eastern Mediterranean. My dissertation work aims to understand how the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange transformed migration in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean most broadly.

TSIPTSIOS, Lukas (University of Rouen and McGill University)

Title: *The Exchange of Populations and the Ottoman Public Debt through the Archives of A. A. Pallis*

Abstract:

The implications of A. A. Pallis in the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations where he was appointed in 1924 are well-known because of his own publications on this issue. However, less has been written on his role in the arbitrage of the Ottoman Public Debt right at the same time. The fact that both issues were thought of and tried to be solved together may question the link between populations, properties, and tax income that were core matters for the Greek state in its new territories after 1912.

Indeed, in the Lausanne treaty, articles 46 and 47 provide the distribution of shares of the Ottoman Public Debt between the different successor states of the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. Nevertheless, the actual distribution is the result of negotiations between experts representing these countries, which led to an arbitrage of the League of Nations that gave its sentence on April 18th, 1925.

The purpose of this presentation is to understand through the archives of the Greek delegate A. A. Pallis the process of crafting the arguments in favor of a reduction of the weight of the Greek share of the Ottoman debt. His working papers will raise the matter of the expertise acquired in the Mixed Commission of Exchange of Populations, seen as an implementation of a project of demographic engineering at an international level, that is then reinvested in the negotiations of the debt. His main argument in favor of a reevaluation of the income on salt and spirits according to the population and not the place of taxation may therefore be rooted in this demographic expertise. Beyond Pallis' personal papers, I will confront his arguments with the archives of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration at the *Archives nationales du monde du travail* and with the archives of the League of Nations.

Finally, this presentation will question more generally the actual sovereignty of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire and the real influence of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration as an imperialist institution that could keep its interests in a post-imperial situation. Indeed, this is quite a unique situation where the conquest of a territory by a new state resulted in the conquest of the debt bound to this specific territory and not to the previous sovereign state.

Panel 3: Unwelcome Legacies?

ALPAN, Aytek Soner (UCSD):

Title: *Invention and Destruction of a Half-baked Tradition Lausanne Day in Early Republican Turkey: From "Genuine Salvation" to Complete Oblivion*

Abstract:

National days are timestamps put on national narratives and founding myths generated in the process of national self-imagination and the official self-understanding of the state. Being linked to historical turning points associated with the (re)genesis of the nation, they are devised to perpetuate the feelings of uniformity (oneness and sameness) and shared past and future among citizens. Although they are constructed around, and in honor of, fixed events and circumstances, they are "malleable" semiotic and discursive constructs. Not only are they adopted under certain circumstances as mnemonic devices, but their meaning, content, choreography, and significance are also negotiated, contested, and adapted in parallel to political repositionings and wrangles. National days, then, are prone to contention and controversies and are subject to remembering and un-remembering / forgetting due to changing conceptions of the nation and statehood. This study focuses on the celebrations of Lausanne Day, or Peace Day, in early republican Turkey to commemorate the signature of the Lausanne Treaty on July 24, 1923. Although it was never declared and observed as a public holiday, Lausanne anniversaries constituted one of the many noninstitutionalized national days of the early republican period. Amid this multitude, the most important feature distinguishing Lausanne Day from other national days is that its meaning and content were patently and flagrantly affected by the political climate of the period; the day itself became a contested terrain, and finally, it conveniently, deliberately pushed into complete oblivion in the 1950s and have not been revived since then. This study sheds light on the complex political and ideological climate of the nation- and state-building processes in early republican Turkey through a historical discussion regarding the rise and demise of the commemoration of the signature of the Lausanne Treaty as an unsuccessful attempt at national day design.

KAMOZIS, Dimitris (Centre for Asia Minor Studies) and TZANAKI, Demetra (University of the Aegean):

Title: *Coloniality and humanitarianism after Lausanne: The Rockefeller Foundation and the Greek refugee crisis of 1922*

Abstract:

In her recent monograph, *A history of humanitarianism, 1755-1989: In the name of others* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), Silvia Salvatici argues while referring to French colonial policies that “the emancipatory impulse and the trust in both its rationality and its scientific understanding guided the policies of the metropolis and the choices of the colonial officials, who had as their objective the liberation of the colonies’ subjects from everything that determined their state of prostration and suffering: ignorance, illnesses, the threats of a naturally savage environment, the dangers of unhealthy living conditions”. Therefore, as Edward Said has already argued in *Orientalism* (1979), imperialism was not only a campaign of military interventions, but also a knowledge project to domesticate/westernize populations through canons of knowledge. Hence, the question remains: Was this political practice of colonial humanitarianism, as Salvatici calls it, applied only as part of eighteenth and nineteenth-century imperialism of great powers such as France and Great Britain, or can we trace other instances of colonial humanitarianism or humanitarian coloniality ‘that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations’ (Nelson Maldonado-Torres, 2007)? Furthermore, did humanitarian coloniality develop within the context of the major humanitarian crises of the twentieth century?

Our paper will argue that the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation in Greece immediately after the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922 fall within this broader definition of humanitarian coloniality. The end of the Long Great War, which also includes the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922, the compulsory exchange of populations decided at Lausanne in January 1923 according to religious criteria, and the subsequent establishment of the Refugee Settlement Commission in Greece allowed the Rockefeller Foundation to get more actively involved in the policies of rehabilitation and settlement of the Asia Minor Greek refugees. In collaboration with both the Greek government and other American humanitarian organizations, the Foundation managed to incorporate Greece into its transnational network of hygienic colonization of the region, which had as its primary purpose to domesticate people, condition their history and culture and distort their representation through canons of knowledge (Zeus Leonardo, 2018) and Christian *aphrodisia* ethics - in the name of eugenic hygiene for the sake of the construction of a western Christian patriarchal modern and antagonistic nation-state.

KALAFATI, Panagiota (University of Thrace) and MAVROMMATIS, Giorgos (University of Thrace):

Title: *The minority trauma and its decisive effect on the construction of the “Thracian Muslim Minority” identity.*

Abstract:

Not all the Greek-Orthodox Christians who were living in Turkey, and the Muslims who were living Greek had to move on the implementation of the Convention concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations (Lausanne 1923). Some 103 thousand Muslims of Greek citizenship living in Western Thrace, and some 120 thousand Greek-orthodox Christians of Turkish citizenship living mainly in İstanbul, were given the right to remain on their fatherlands, while some special rights were attributed to them.

The creation of the “Muslim minority of Western Thrace” and of the “Greek-orthodox/ Rum minority of Turkey” was based on the concept of the protection of minorities which was dominating the European political thought at the beginning of the 20th century. However, the formation of the identity of each minority was not formed exclusively on elements such as the language and the religion, which were referred relatively clearly in the “founding” legal texts. The minority identity was, and still is, the result of (psychological mainly) procedures taking place within a certain political and historical frame, characterized, among others, from the transition from pre-modernity to modernity, and the antagonisms between the Greek and the Turkish nationalism.

This paper, based on field research findings, attempts to present the dimensions of the collective identity of the Thracian Muslim related to the “cultural trauma” which results from the minoritization process taking place in Thrace, within a scheme of certain power relations.

During field research, which took place in Thrace during the Autumn 2022 – Spring 2023 period, dealing mainly with educational issues (the type of education Thracian Muslim Minority parents choose to offer to their children) we found that a significant number of Thracian Minority Muslims of Turkish ethnic origin, when asked and feeling free to talk, refer to bunch of negative feelings such as inequality, insecurity, fear, subalternity and fear. In case they have the chance, these people refer in extend to all the events which injured the collective "self". The remarkable thing here is that the events mentioned had not been directly experienced by the informants; they have been narrated to them from the previous generations. However, they recounted them in such a realistic way and under such a strong emotional charge, which indicates that these narratives, and the emotions accompanying them – actually the references to the ‘minority cultural trauma’ – seem to be one of the most important structural elements of their group identity.

MAESSEN, Enno (Utrecht University)

Title: *A War of Minds at the School Yard: Sustaining Foreign Schools in Turkey in the Post-Lausanne Landscape*

Abstract:

The case of foreign schools in the late Ottoman Empire and republican history of Turkey confronts us with an ideal angle to consider the effects of the Lausanne Agreement at a multi-scalar level; local, national and international. In Ottoman Istanbul a plethora of foreign schools – English, French, German, Austrian, Italian and others – had considerable freedom with regard to their curriculum due to their (semi-)diplomatic status. Following World War I and the stipulations of the Lausanne Agreement these foreign educational institutions were to be sustained, but no new ones could be opened. The considerable flexibility that the schools had in the past as semi-autonomous institutions would shift into a complicated status quo as the result of the Lausanne Treaty. Amendments to their location, expansions and curricula would often entail a transition of the institutions' status and losing their curricular independence.

The decrease of historical foreign populations in the newly established Republic of Turkey would also result in a critical shift in the mission of many of these schools. Whereas in Ottoman times they had typically served demographics from their respective sponsoring nations, in republican years their student populations shifted towards local citizens of Turkey. As the geopolitical power of European post-imperial powers waned, these schools became critical tools of cultural diplomacy for the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Italy. Yet also for one of the dominant imperialist powers of the twentieth century, the United States, these institutions were important vessels of cultural diplomacy. Although successive governments in Ankara treated these schools with a mixture of hostility and hospitality, the schools would grow out to be of critical significance for the Turkish educational system which was confronted with serious capacity problems, especially in the urban centres.

In this paper I argue that the enduring presence of foreign schools in Turkey should be interpreted as an interplay of geopolitics and local realities. We see the Republic of Turkey's desire to hold on to the stipulations of the Lausanne Agreement and the foreign representatives in Turkey and European states' desire to maintain their institutions as independent from the Turkish educational system as possible, making them more robust instruments of cultural diplomacy. I will engage specifically with three schools: the English High School for Girls, the German High School and Robert College. I use them to argue that these and other schools were bound to respect the reality of Lausanne not only to protect their institutional independence, but also to safeguard their potential as cultural diplomatic instruments in the 'war of minds' during the twentieth century.

Panel 4: Heritage and Placemaking

KURT, Selvihan (Istanbul Technical University):

Title: *Reshaping Cultural Heritage after Lausanne: The Izmir Museum and the Acquisition of the Abandoned Properties of the Departed non-Muslims.*

Abstract:

Izmir was one of the cosmopolitan cities of the Ottoman Empire which had faced a drastic transformation during and after the nineteenth century as a result of its integration to the world economy. Following the World War I, the city was controlled by the Greek army between 1919 and 1922 and it was taken over by the Turkish army in 1922. Although the city had never been an active battle site during the war, a massive fire had burned the city to the ground. The fire almost erased one of the largest economic centers in the country but also created an opportunity to redesign Izmir. The destruction was followed by the forced population exchange between Greece and Turkey was agreed in the Lausanne Peace Treaty (1923) and Izmir was demographically homogenized.

Building projects after the fire were mostly referred as reconstruction but the city was not rebuilt, instead it was built in a new fashion. The Izmir Museum as a part of the post-war Izmir's urban fabric was found in a former church building which was partially damaged by the fire. The post-war economic conditions forced the museum administration for such a choice but it was also a bold move for the transformation of the cultural heritage of the city among with placing the cultural properties of the departed non-Muslim communities in the museum collection. The belongings left behind the departed non-Muslims and confiscated by the Turkish state are named as emval-i metruke (the abandoned properties).

In this paper, I aim to narrate the process of the founding Izmir Museum with references to how it functioned in the transformation of the city by nationalizing the cultural emval-i metruke and how it was positioned in the nationalization of the culture in the city. The center of the narrative is the confiscation of the abandoned properties and their acquisition by the museum but the historical background cannot be left out from this context. The primary source is the Aziz Ogan Archive which is the archive of the founder of the Izmir Museum, Aziz Ogan. The documents cover a period of more than a decade, starting the from early 1920s. The archive is quite a rich source for narrating both founding of the museum and the acquisition of its collection and for Turkish museology and archeology in general.

MALOIGNE, Hélène:

Title: *Excavating a nation. Archaeology in Turkey before and after the Treaty of Lausanne.*

Abstract:

Archaeology is a crucial element in understanding national identity, as it helps us construct a shared past and creates bonds between the past and the present. During the early 20th century, Western archaeologists had established a strong foothold throughout the Ottoman Empire as they claimed a special relationship with the 'cradle of civilisation' and the birthplace of monotheistic religions. Thousands of objects from their excavations are held in Western museums, cementing the idea that the West is the rightful heir and owner of this material heritage. The Treaty of Lausanne marked a decisive caesura in the history of archaeological research in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states in the Middle East, as it was the first instance of a new nation resisting Western attempts at controlling antiquities legislation and the flow of artefacts to Western museums. In this presentation, I will explore the significance of archaeology for nation-building in the Republic of Turkey between 1920 to 1939 by three case studies.

First, I will explore the role of Western archaeologists in writing Article 421 of the Treaty of Sèvres and their efforts in securing continued access to the material past of the dismembered Ottoman Empire. This project failed with the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

The second case study explores the flip-side of this successful resistance to Western imperialism: Between the Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne, the provisional Ankara government relied on outdated research to justify their narrative of a millennia-old Turkish birthright to the Anatolian peninsula. They used archaeological discoveries to tell a narrow, exclusionary view of Turkish (pre)history for the specific political interest of linking the modern 'Turkish' people to their perceived indigenous ancestors, the Hittites.

Finally, I will chart the history of the excavations at Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh in the 1930s, and how one of its most important finds, the statue of King Idrimi (15–16th c. BC) became a pawn in diplomatic negotiations between Turkey, Syria, France, and Britain over the province of Hatay. The two events— the discovery and export of the statue to the UK and the cession of the Hatay to Turkey— are inextricably linked and demonstrate not only the power Western archaeologists continued to hold through their personal networks and connections, but also the uses the ancient past was put to by all sides of the dispute to further their cause.

ÖZLÜ, Nilay (Istanbul Bilgi University):

Title: *Possessing the Virgin and the Quran: Cultural Heritage Policies During the Lausanne Peace Conference*

Abstract:

This paper studies two historical artefacts; a marble relief of the Praying Virgin and an early-Islamic Quran, and it discusses the debates revolving around their possessions during the Lausanne Peace Conference. These two objects of religious, historical, and archaeological significance epitomize the cultural heritage policies of the Ankara government and expose the rivalry and contestation, as well as cooperation among the participants of the Treaty of Lausanne, particularly exposing Turkish, French, British, and Arab perspectives.

The Byzantine low-relief, known as Virgin of Gülhane, was discovered by the French Occupation forces during their archeological mission at the royal gardens of the Topkapı Palace during the Allied occupation of Istanbul (1918–23). Robert Demangel, the head of the French archeological team, defined it as “the most beautiful discovery” of the Manganes excavation. The possession of the marble piece became a dispute between the Ottoman, Turkish, and French governments; and the French aim for sending the piece to Louvre Museum was officially interfered based on the rights granted to the Turkish side by the Lausanne Agreement. The original piece was eventually submitted to the Imperial Museum (*Asar-ı Atika Müzesi*) days before the French withdrawal from Istanbul, and a cast-copy was later sent to Louvre as a sign of goodwill by the young Turkish Republic.

The Quranic manuscript attributed to Caliph Othman was among the sacred relics brought from the Tomb of Prophet Mohammad (*Al-Masjid an-Nabawi*) in Medina to Istanbul by Fahreddin Pasha, the Ottoman Commander of the Hejaz Expeditionary Force. While the Turkish official historiography positions Fahreddin Pasha as a legendary hero, who was the “saviour of the holy relics” and the “defender of Medina” and named him “the lion of the desert”; Arab and British sources accused him for “plundering”, “spoliation”, “looting” (National Archives 15/1) and even “theft” (*Daily Telegraph* 1923). The relics instigated an international political crisis, and the issue was brought to table in Lausanne. Lord Curzon in his letter to Ismet Paşa demanded the Turkish side to “settle this question by spontaneously returning the treasures on the conclusion of peace”.

The nascent Turkish state claims the ownership of both the Byzantine antiquities as well as the Islamic relics as symbols of political authority, cultural richness, and territorial independence. Drawing on archival documents, newspaper articles, letters, official correspondences, and visual material from the Turkish, Ottoman, French and British archives and libraries, this paper scrutinizes the discussions, tensions, negotiations, and compromises revolving around the heritage policies during the peace negotiations in Lausanne.

Panel 5: Cultural Responses to Lausanne

NERANTZAKI, Efpraxia (Middle East Technical University):

Title: *Symbolic Cretanness and the assertion of distinctiveness: Second- and third-generation Cretans in Turkey*

Abstract:

This paper focuses on the second- and third-generation Cretans whose ancestors were deported from the island of Crete within the framework of the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece, and who were resettled in Mersin and Ayvalik. Over the past years one can observe an increased activity among the descendants of Cretan Muslims, mostly in the form of festivals and associations. In-depth interviews and participant observation conducted between 2018 and 2020 in Mersin and Ayvalik reveal that current expressions of identification and commonality are largely symbolic in nature. Symbolic Cretanness, a term adjusted from Gans' term 'symbolic ethnicity', points to the erosion of cultural markers of the Cretans in Turkey, after decades of assimilation and intermarriage. It implies that the articulation of a certain identification can be accompanied by an occasional involvement in cultural activities or consumption of cultural goods, it can be expressed as pride in heritage or as curiosity towards the past, or it may not extend further than a mere identification articulated in the sidestream. In the first part of the paper, I will touch upon some aspects of symbolic Cretanness.

Symbolic expressions of Cretanness, though, are not what remains; they signify what Cretanness has become. The disarray of the communal basis and much of the 'cultural stuff' implies that symbolic Cretanness is not an 'automatic' result of socialisation. It rather requires agency; it is to a great extent an intentional and conscious process. In order to locate its significance, it is essential to explore the processes of identification, differentiation and meaning construction, processes situated within the socio-political context and within a network of social relations and experience. One of the findings of the research is that symbolic Cretanness involves considerable emotion and opinion, and is a meaningful choice for the actors. The second part of the paper will focus on the sense of distinctiveness that complements symbolic Cretanness. Participants frequently referred to different traits that render them distinct from the 'others'. These include character traits, values, habits, and ways of seeing the world, and eventually, this constructed distinction leads to distinctiveness. Their distinctiveness is articulated in opposition to a variety of others, which can be specific groups in society or a generalised 'other' that carries traits they do not see as relevant to themselves. Food, lifestyle, and values emerge as the main pillars of this sense of distinctiveness.

TSEKOURAS, Ioannis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens):

Title: *Epic warriors, romantic lovers, and the silence of traumatic testimony: The postmemory of Pontos in parakathi singing*

Abstract:

This paper examines the musical mediation of place. It concerns how contemporary Pontians, musically commemorate their ancestral homeland of Pontos. For most Greek-Orthodox refugees from the Turkish Black Sea, known as Pontians or Pontic Greeks, the Lausanne treaty was the largest nail on the coffin of displacement. The Lausanne treaty made the loss of the ancestral homeland and the consequent struggles of survival in new natural, economic, and cultural environments, permanent. As a result, the impossibility of return to Pontos became the anchor of Pontic identity, and the nostalgia for Pontos the cornerstone of Pontic life. Pontic social and cultural life, especially in the first decades after the treaty, was organized around gatherings where the memory of the lost homeland was shared and hence ancestral Pontos was re-membered.

This paper is about the continuation of such a ritual today. It concerns the relation between singing and the re-membering of Pontos in parakathi or muhabeti – a practice of social drinking and casual socialization that culminates to participatory dialogical singing on the tunes of a Black Sea fiddle, the Pontic lyra or kemence. Based on continuous fieldwork (regularly since 2012) and archival research, and drawing from theories of critical geography, affect, soundscape, and post/memory, I examine how Pontians re-member in the parakathi performance the landscapes of Pontos and how they negotiate, in relation to these re-memberings, the representations of their ancestral refugees. More specifically, I analyze how the parakathi tunes and lyrics emerge in the course of performance as semiotic contestations of conflictually complementary memory narratives. I further analyze how Greek nationalism and folklore have influenced the remembering of Pontos, allowing for an indirect mediation of the traumatic experiences of Pontic exodus. I reached the conclusion that contemporary Pontians being aware of all the above honor the performed repertoire as citations of testimonial silence.

BANALOPOULOU, Chirstina (Kadir Has University):

Title: *Theatres of Expulsion: Negotiating the Aftereffects of the Treaty of Lausanne in Rum Theatre*

Abstract:

How does theatre serve as a site where the afterlives of the Treaty of Lausanne are contested? How do the Rum communities that were exempted from the population exchange between Greece and Turkey conducted under the Treaty utilize theatre in their negotiations of Greek and Turkish nationalisms and the politics of belonging? My presentation combines multi-sited archival and ethnographic research to explore these questions. My primary focus will be on the plays written by Rum playwrights during the compulsory expulsions of '64 as well as the "soft expulsions" that reached their peaks in 1955 and 1974-75 but continued until the early 1980s.

Theatre has played a crucial role in the Rum community's navigations of the aftereffects of the Treaty of Lausanne. Despite its sociopolitical and cultural significance and its important potential for the study of this violent demographic engineering project, however, Rum theatre has been almost entirely ignored in the literature. I will focus on the plays written and published by Rum playwrights in the Rum magazines *Logos*, *Pirsos*, and *Tehni*. These plays and their contemporary lives, were part of the "political turn" of Rum minoritarian theatre in post-Imperial Turkey. I will show that, at a time during which Rum theatre clubs staged primarily escapist comedies, these magazines called for theatre that addressed the interplay between Greek and Turkish nationalisms, European colonialism and the compulsory and "soft" expulsions that occurred in the aftermath of the Treaty. The performance heritage of these plays carries on today in the form of Greco-Turkish theatrical encounters such as the one organized by the Rum minority school *Zografeio*, that took place at the State Theatre in Taksim square in 2002 and the ongoing educational project *Sevgiyle El Ele* (Holding Hands With Love).

Rum theatre addresses how the Treaty of Lausanne continues to live through minoritarian negotiations and contestations of its ethnic-cleansing logics, its ongoing population management practices and their consequences. Combining archival research that includes personal, unorthodox, and hidden institutional archives with ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and oral histories I will address how theatre has been of key significance for the Rum community's struggles to develop alliances within and beyond the borders of nation-states.

Panel 6: Legal Aspects

CANEFE, Nergis:

Title: *Perpetual Peace or Capitulations: A Longitudinal Legal Analysis of the Lausanne Treaty*

Abstract:

Lausanne Treaty has a unique place among the peace treaties that the victors of WWI signed with the remnants of the defeated Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. In Turkey, Lausanne is commonly considered a testament to the tenaciousness of the Turkish national resistance movement and accepted as the key signifier of the Turkish Republic. During the last ten years, the Treaty has also become politicized and became a marker for conspiracy theories. Indeed, the current Turkish president repeatedly insinuated that Lausanne Treaty was in fact a form of capitulation regime and it ceded territories that should have remained part of the Turkish Republic. This conservative and neo-Ottomanist take on Lausanne is indicative of the disbelief in the merits of international law in general.

Acknowledging the historical significance of the Lausanne Treaty's unique position among post-WWI settlements in the Balkans and the Middle East, this paper seeks to reconsider its aftermath from a critical international law perspective, albeit not a neo-Ottomanist one. The ethnic cleansing and demographic engineering of Anatolia which started in the aftermath of the Congress of Berlin through the strategic settlement of Muslim refugees in areas through the reduction of the numbers of non-Muslims in select regions 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 tacitly endorsed the outcomes of such policies in the aftermath of the war. Subsequent emergence of minority regimes in southeastern and eastern Europe and the Middle East have led to the conclusion that international law both encouraged and consolidated such practices in the name of sanctioning post-colonial/post-imperial nation-states. The complex and enduring legacies of the Lausanne Treaty in contemporary Turkey and beyond is evidenced in the ongoing debates and problems concerning citizenship regimes and difficulties concerning minority rights protection that do not fit into the main principles of international law that framers of the Lausanne Treaty had in mind. The paper will discuss the foundational principles of the Lausanne Treaty in international law and the limits of the monolithic nation-state model that it espoused.

MUSLU, Zülâl (Tilburg University):

Title: *Revise or not revise the Lausanne Treaty: a non-legal debate*

Abstract:

Will the Treaty of Lausanne lose its legal value on July 23th, 2023 after the stroke of midnight? Heated debates about an alleged caducity of the Treaty after 100 years have taken over the social and sometimes traditional media. If both the extinction of treaties and the revision do exist in international law, they require specific conditions and do not imply a retroactive effect as seems to believe most of these fantastical polemicists, who do not deserve more credit than their abusive tone. However, they also point national initiatives and claims, which confusingly raises interrogations that challenge the Treaty of Lausanne. But to what extent do these debates have a legal ground that would call for a revision?

The last decade has witnessed growing legal debates and evolutions that touched upon parts of the Lausanne Treaty. For instance, the famous case *Molla Sali v. Greece* (2018), an inheritance dispute in which the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) addressed the claim of a member of a Muslim minority community. It condemned Greece for discrimination – and thus its Court of Cassation – which had ruled on the basis of the minority protection provisions of the Treaty. However, the Treaty has never been at the core of the ECtHR's legal reasoning. It rather targeted its national (mis)use, i.e. a lack of proper legal pluralism and of its subsequent practice of forum shopping, which thus led the minority protection provision of the Lausanne Treaty to be turned into a discriminatory weapon. Therefore, far from a disavowal of the Treaty and its validity, this case shows both the admission of its continuous validity by Greek higher jurisdictions and the defense by the ECtHR of the spirit of minority protection. The case primarily reflected internal tensions. Along this line, my paper intends to extent its argumentation with the examples of the recent Turkish maritime claims and following regional tensions, and the Kurdish claims too often grounded on a misinterpretation of the Treaty of Sèvres. On the basis of national and international jurisprudence as well as legal doctrines, my paper argues that there is no legal debates on whether or not the Lausanne Treaty should be revised, but firstly political and diplomatic ones that can ultimately lead to legal amendments or deeper renegotiations to hopefully better answer the challenges and criteria of our moving international society.

ROBSON, Laura (Penn State University):

Title: *The concept of amnesty in the Treaty of Lausanne*

Abstract:

It is rarely noted that the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne contains a set of clauses declaring an amnesty on wartime crimes. “No person who inhabits or who has inhabited Turkey, and reciprocally no person who inhabits or who has inhabited Greece,” it declares, “shall be disturbed or molested and reciprocally in Greece [or Turkey], under any pretext whatsoever, on account of any military or political action taken by him” between 1914 and 1922. This formulation of both national and international amnesty for wartime offences – which in this case presumably included those associated with the Armenian genocide – encompassed similar guarantees from the British, French, and Italian governments vis-à-vis Turkish and Greek prisoners, and placed the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and if those failed the League of Nations, in the role of choosing an “umpire” to adjudicate claims of property or injury.

Prior to Lausanne, although mass pardons were a periodic feature of governance across Europe, there had been few internationally guaranteed amnesties of this kind. This treaty, then, created another new tool for the international arbitration of conflict alongside its novel promotion of forcible mass deportation: a broad claim of international authority to absolve both individual and state crimes, including those that qualified as crimes against humanity. Lausanne’s amnesty decree was clearly at odds with other contemporary legal formulations of accountability for war crimes, particularly those recommended by the postwar Commission of Responsibility established just a few years earlier, and it aroused immediate objection and controversy. Across the subsequent decades, the idea that international authorities could issue or mediate amnesties as tools of “conflict resolution” became both a frequently deployed strategy for international bodies and the site of a contentious debate about who had the legal, political, and moral capacity to grant such blanket absolutions and under what circumstances.

The gradual emergence of a complicated body of law around amnesty at both the national and international levels failed, by and large, to resolve the dispute, and by the 1970s many human rights organizations were lobbying to end the practice of treaty-granted amnesties for war and wartime crimes. Still, it was not until 1998 that the foundation of the International Criminal Court partially blocked the path to internationally guaranteed amnesty that the Treaty of Lausanne had opened up some seventy years earlier. Lausanne’s little-discussed amnesty decree, in other words, should be recognized alongside its promotion of forcible population exchange as a deeply consequential legal innovation that continues to shape the international arbitration of war and peace more than a hundred years on.