

**The 4th Turkish Studies Project of the University of Utah
Conference**

**THE CAUCASUS AT IMPERIAL TWILIGHT:
NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY & NATION-
BUILDING (1870s-1920s)**

June 5-8, 2013

Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia

Wednesday, June 5

Reception & Keynote Lectures (17:20-20:10)

Holiday Inn Hotel

1, 26 May Square, Tbilisi 0171, Georgia

Welcoming Remarks

Alexander Kvitashvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State
University)

M. Hakan Yavuz (University of Utah)

Asbed Kotchikian (Bentley University)

Armaz Akhvlediani (Director of the Tbilisi School of Political
Studies)

Keynote Session

Chair: **Peter Sluglett** (President of MESA; National University
of Singapore)

Keynote Speakers:

Gerard Libaridian (University of Michigan Ann Arbor,
Retired)

Hakan Erdem (Sabanci University)

Mehmet Arisan (TED University), *Disavowing Family Resemblances:
The Formation of Azerbaijani & Armenian National Identities.*

Thursday, June 6

Panel I: Empires & Nationalism (8:20-11:00)

Tbilisi State University

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Metin Hulagu** (President, Turkish Historical Society)

Michael B. Bishku (Georgia Regents University Augusta, USA), *Disunity & Conquest: The South Caucasus' Experience with Independence, 1917-1920.*

Peter Sluglett (National University of Singapore), *The British, the Ottomans & the Russians in North Iran & the Caucasus, 1917-21.*

Feroz Ahmad (Yeditepe University), *From Empire to Republic.*

Michael Reynolds (Princeton University), *Shattering Empires.*

Zafer Toprak (Bogazici University), *Ankara & the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, 1920.*

Tetsuya Sahara (Meiji University), *Incorporation into the Capitalist World System & Ethnic Violence: A Comparison between the Ottoman Empire & Tsarist Russia.*

Panel II: Subjects & Citizens of Empire (11:10-13:10)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **David Matsaberidze** (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)

Serhun Al (University of Utah), *Millets into Minorities: Ottomanism & Imperial Citizenship.*

Erdem Sönmez (Bilkent University), *Ahmed Rıza: An Intellectual between Two Generations of Constitutionalism.*

Umüt Uzer (Istanbul Technical University), *Between Turkism, Westernism & Islam: Ali Bey Huseynzade & his Impact on Nationalist Thought in Turkey & the Caucasus.*

İbrahim Özdemir (Hasan Kalyoncu University), *Major Social Problems of Ottoman Kurdistan during 1900-1916 according to Said Nursi.*

Lunch Break (13:15-14:00)

Panel III: Great Powers & the Caucasus (14:00-16:00)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Nigar Maxwell** (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences)

Masoumeh Daei (Payame Noor University, Tabriz), *The Role of the Caucasus in the Competition between Russia, England & the Ottoman Empire for a Transit Corridor for the Commerce of Iran in the 19th Century.*

Moritz Deutschmann (European University Institute, Florence), *Caucasians in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution.*

Norman Stone (Bilkent University), *The concept of Empire: Britain, Russia and the Ottoman Empire.*

Houman A. Sadri (University of Central Florida) & **Phikria Asanishvili** (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *The Great Game & the Evolution of Ties between Georgia & Persia.*

Babak Rezvani (University of Amsterdam), *Irano-Russian wars and their ethno-political consequences in the South Caucasus.*

Panel IV (A): The Circassians (16:10-18:10)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Sevtap Demirci** (Bogazici University)

Isa Blumi (Georgia State University, USA), *Breaking with Empire: The Possibilities of Violence in the Ordering of Imperial Collapse.*

Walter Richmond (Occidental College, Los Angeles), *Russo-Turkish Competition & the Origins of Circassian National Identity.*

Eugeniy Bakhrevskiy (Russian Strategic Studies Center, Moscow), *The History of the Caucasus in the 19th & 20th centuries & Modern Conceptions of “Genocide.”*

Georgy Chochiev (North Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian & Social Studies), *Constructing Circassia in Istanbul: North Caucasian Diasporic Nationalism in the Early Second Constitutional Period.*

Mehmet Hacısalihođlu (Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi), *Memory of Wars against Russia in Trabzon.*

Panel IV (B): Making of Georgian Nationalism (16:10-18:35)
Auditorium №101

Chair: **Francesco Mazzucotelli** (Catholic University of the Sacred Heart)

Tedo Dundua & Giorgi Zhuzhunashvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *Changing the Imperial Pattern: Life in South-West Georgia under the Ottomans & the Russians (1870-1914).*

Revaz Gachechiladze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *The Effects of the Wars of the 19th & 20th centuries on the Emergence of Modern Nations in the South Caucasus.*

David Matsaberidze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *The Formation & Consolidation of the Georgian Nation: The European Way of Nation-Building?*

Giuli Alasania (Ivane Javakhishvili State University, Vice-Rector of International Black Sea University), *The Making of the Georgian Nation by Interaction & Confrontation with Empires.*

Salome Dundua (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *Religious Minorities & Nation-Building in Georgia.*

Mariam Chkhartishvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *Conceptualizing the Georgian Nation.*

Dinner (19:00-21:00)

Holiday Inn Hotel

Friday, June 7

Tbilisi State University

Panel V: Making of Georgian State (8:20-10:20)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Asbed Kotchikian** (Bentley University)

Maia Manchkhshvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *The Political Basis of the Fight of the Georgian People for Independence in the 1910s.*

Zviad Abashidze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *Nation-Building & Ethnic Accommodation in an Ethnically Fragmented Society: The Georgian Experience in 1918-21.*

George Khelashvili (Centre for Social Sciences Tbilisi State University), *Realism, Socialism & Nationalism: The Sources of Georgia's Foreign Policy, 1917-1921.*

Malkhaz Matsaberidze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), *Between Empires: Problems of State-Building in the States of the South Caucasus (1918-1921).*

Maia Mestvirishvili, Khatuna Martskvishvili, Luiza Arutinov & Natia Mestvirishvili (Tbilisi State University), *Then & Now: Historical Trends & Current Tendencies of Citizenship Representation in Georgia.*

Panel VI (A): Azerbaijan in Transition (10:30-12:30)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **John Bragg** (New Jersey City University)

Zaur Gasimov (Leibniz-Institute of European History), *Azerbaijani Discourses on National Language at the Beginning of the 20th century in the Media: The Satirical "Molla Nasraddin," "Füyüzat" & Some Other Journals.*

Ozan Arslan (Izmir University of Economics), *The Ottoman Military Expedition to Azerbaijan in 1918 & Memories of a Multi-Actor State-Building Process.*

Mustafa Mirzeler (Western Michigan University), *Re-remembering Karabagh: History vs. Memory.*

Heydar Mirza (Strategic Research Center, Baku), *Salafi Threat in Azerbaijan in Current Political Context: Myth or Reality?*

Irada Baghirova (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Social Changes in Russian Empire & the Role of Political Organizations in the Formation of 20th Century Azerbaijani National Identity.*

Panel VI (B): The Republic of Azerbaijan (10:30-12:30) (Some papers of this panel will be in Russian)
Auditorium №101

Chair: **George Khelashvili** (Centre for Social Sciences Tbilisi State University),

Nigar Maxwell (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Turkish Influence on Azerbaijan Independence 1918-1920.*

Sevinj Aliyeva (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Mountain Republic & the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan: The Creation of a Single State.*

Djabi Bahramov (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *The Oil Factor in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia & Relations with the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918-1920.*

Nigar Gozalova (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Genocide against the Azerbaijani people in the archival documents of the British Library (1918-1919).*

Shamil Rahmanzade (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Decision of the Zakatala Council in 1918 in the Context of Ethno-Political Identity.*

Lunch 12:35-13:35

Panel VII: Armenian-Ottoman Relations (13:40-15:40)
Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Gerard Libaridian** (University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Retired)

Brad Dennis (University of Utah), *The Spread & Development of Armenian National Liberationism in the Caucasus & Eastern Anatolia 1870-1898: A Reassessment.*

Ramazan Erhan Güllü (Istanbul University), *The Crises of the Armenian Church in Russia (1903-1905) & its Impact on Ottoman-Armenian Relations.*

Garabet K Moundjian (Independent Historian), *Armenian-Young Turk Relations, 1895-1914: Trying to Explain Issues Pertaining to the ARF “Aye” & the Hnchag “Nay”*.

Erman Sahin (SOAS, United Kingdom), *Armenian- Russian Rapprochement & the Campaign for Reforms in Eastern Anatolia 1912-1914*.

Onur Önoł (Birkbeck College, University of London), *Judgment in the Caucasus: The First Phase of the Dashnaksutiun Trial (1907-1910)*.

Panel VIII: Redefining Armenian Identity (15:50-17:50)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Zafer Toprak** (Bogazici University)

Michael Gunter (Tennessee Tech University), *Conceived in Genocide? The Armenian Massacres in World War I & the Birth Pangs of Modern Turkish & Armenian National Identities*.

Eyal Ginio (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), *Debating the Nation in Court: the Torlakyan Trial (Istanbul, 1921)*.

Anush Hovhannisyan (Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS, Armenia), *Remembering for the Future: The Project on Personal Memories of the Past in Armenia & Turkey*.

Mehmet Ö. Alkan (Istanbul University), *Ethnic Identity, Political Identity & Nationalism: “Living Together in Diversity” during the Second Constitutional Period*.

Matt Haydon (University of Utah), *The Search for Identity: An Armenian-American’s Perspective & Power through Victimization*.

Dinner (19:00-21:00)

Holiday Inn Hotel

Saturday, June 8

Panel IX: Treaties & Memories (8:20-10:20)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Ali Husseini** (University of Utah)

Kemal Cicek (Ipek University), *The Role & Impact of the Internal Security of Eastern Anatolia on the Minority Politics of the Unionists During WW I.*

Candan Badem (Tunceli University), *Southwest Caucasus in the Struggles between Bolshevism, Menshevism, Kemalism & the Dashnaks, 1919-1921.*

Ara Papian (Head of Modus Vivendi Centre, Yerevan, Armenia), *Woodrow Wilson's Arbitral Award on the Turkish-Armenian Boundary.*

Sevtaç Demirci (Bogazici University), *From Sèvres to Lausanne: The Armenian Question.*

Halil Ozsavli (Kilis University), *Armenian Uprising in Urfa.*

Panel X: Nationalism: Turks & Kurds (10:30-12:30)

Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Pamela J. Dorn Sezgin** (University of North Georgia, USA)

Kezban Acar (Celal Bayar University), *Imperial Rivalry & Border Politics: Russian & Ottoman Policies toward the Kurds in the 19th century.*

Tibet Abak (Russian Academy of Sciences), *Russian-Kurdish Relations, 1908-1914.*

Levent Küçük (Ardahan University), *The Caucasian Frontier between 1914-1918 in the Georgian Press.*

Hakan Özoğlu (University of Central Florida), *Kurds in the Caucasus.*

Lunch 12:35-13:35

Panel XI (A): Literature & Nationalism (13:40-15:40)
Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Kemal Cicek** (Ipek University)

Ruben Melkonyan (Department of Oriental Studies, Yerevan State University), *The Memory of the Armenian Genocide in Modern Turkish Literature.*

Serdar Poyraz (University of Montana), *The Georgian Connection: Mehmed Tahir Münif Pasha (1830-1910), Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878) & the Politics of Alphabet Reform in the Ottoman Empire.*

Mertcan Akan (Ege University, Izmir), *The Caucasus through the Eyes of a British Traveler in the 19th century.*

Hakan Erdagoz (University of Utah), *What Ömer Seyfettin Saw: The Literary & Intellectual Grassroots of Turkish Nationalism.*

Kadir Dede (Hacettepe University), *Ömer Seyfeddin as a Patriotic Agitator: Miroslav Hroch's Social Preconditions & Phase B of Turkish Nationalism.*

Panel XI (B): Literature, Art & the Nation (13:40-15:40)
Auditorium №101

Chair: **Hakan Özoğlu** (University of Central Florida)

Ahmet Seyhun (Winnipeg University), *Ottoman Islamist Intellectuals during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1920).*

Pamela J. Dorn Sezgin (University of North Georgia, USA), *Imam Shamil's Enduring Legacy: Islam, Pan-ethnicity, Transnationalism, & the Arts in Constructing Political Memory.*

Inanc Atilgan (Vienna, Austria-Turkish Forum of Sciences), *Cum grano salis; On the Dilemma of Franz Werfel.*

Dominika Maria Macios (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw), *The Caucasus in Polish Art, Literature & Press Between 1870 & 1920.*

Can Ozcan (University of Utah), *Memoirs as Representations of the History: Discourse Analysis of the Selected Memoirs on 1915.*

Panel XII: Transforming & Transformed Empires (15:50-17:50)
Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Chair: **Feroz Ahmad** (Yeditepe University)

Ramazan Hakki Öztan (University of Utah), *Developmentalism & Modernization: Regional Imperatives after the Collapse of the Ottoman, Romanov, & Qajar Empires.*

Serkan Keçeci (London School of Economics & Political Science), *Between Imperial Centre & Periphery: A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov & His Position on “Non-Russians” In the Caucasus (1882-1890).*

John Bragg (New Jersey City University), *Sheikh ‘Ömer Lütfi & the Maladministration of Caucasian Refugees in Late Ottoman Zile.*

Elena Kobakhidze (North-Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian & Social Studies), *The Central Caucasus in Imperial Policy in the Late 19th & early 20th centuries: The Practice of “Russification” as a Prologue to the “National Question.*

Gozde Yazici Corut (University of Manchester), *Mobility & the New Allegiance of the Muslims of the Kars Oblast on the Russian-Ottoman Frontier.*

Concluding Remarks (17:55-18:15)
Petre Melikishvili Auditorium (№115)

Asbed Kotchikian (Bentley University)
M. Hakan Yavuz (University of Utah)

Dinner (19:00-21:00)
Holiday Inn Hotel

Organizing Committee

Alexander Kvitashvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)

Umut Uzer (Istanbul Technical University)

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Irade Baghirova, (The National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Azerbaijan)

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The Turkish Studies Project of the University of Utah, Turkish Coalition of America; Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University; Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA); Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences; Strateji Araştırmalar Mərkəzi (SAM); Hasan Kalyoncu University; Yıldız Technical University

Mehmet Arisan, (TED University, Ankara), “Disavowing Family Resemblances: The Formation of Azerbaijani and Armenian National Identities.”

This paper aims to point out the similar social political and historical circumstances that led the emergence of two distinct and usually hostile national identities. While pointing out the similarity of the conditions that led to the emergence of these nationalisms, this paper will also emphasize the different influences of these conditions in the process of formation of each national identity. In almost every process of modern nation building there is a discourse of heroism that goes parallel with a certain discourse of grief and pain. As being the remainder or consequence of the catastrophic collapse of three significant imperial polities, the Ottoman Empire, Tsarist Russia and Qajar Iran, these national identities tried to differentiate themselves from the imperial social and political heritages and from each other. These differentiations were realized by means of selective readings or appropriations of history, including the imperial heritage, and by referring to a pre-imperial free and pure form of existence to demarcate a period of oppression. The paper does not merely intend to make an analytical and comparative reading of the two nationalist discourses but will also refer to the geostrategic conditions of the first decades of the 20th century, which were basically structured by World War I. These conditions had an important role in shaping the particular territories that these nations have occupied so far. In this respect, the advent of the peculiar relationship of these nations with each other and with other surrounding regions will also be evaluated from such a geostrategic perspective. As this paper will demonstrate, it is quite difficult to understand the family resemblances between the formation of these two nations without considering their roles within international politics which are certainly not limited with the particular conditions of their formative period but throughout the changing conjuncture of world politics.

Michael B. Bishku (Georgia Regents University Augusta, USA), “Disunity and Conquest: The South Caucasus’ Experience with Independence, 1917-1920.”

This paper will review and analyze the brief periods of independence of the republics in the South Caucasus during the latter part of the First World War, along with its immediate aftermath. It was a time of contention between the newly created states as well as disunity within their own respective borders. Furthermore, these republics were caught between the political struggles of two European military alliances as well as two of their nearest neighbors. Given such conditions, these countries were naturally unsuccessful in maintaining national sovereignty and became subjected to the Soviet experiment as well as a reinstatement of Russian colonialism. However, nationalist

tendencies and historical memory continued to exist in a more muted form. What lessons did these states that got a second chance to fulfill their dreams with the demise of the Soviet Union learn from their first experience? How was nationalism and historical memory shaped by those events?

Peter Sluglett (National University of Singapore), “The British, the Ottomans and the Russians in North Iran and the Caucasus, 1917-21.”

During the First World War, Iran, although not a belligerent, was occupied by Russian, British, and Ottoman troops. After a century of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Iran, an Entente between the two powers was signed in August 1907, essentially dividing the country into a Russian sphere of influence in the north, a British sphere in the south, and a neutral sphere in the middle. As well as ‘betraying’ the Iranian opposition, the general effect was to give Russia a much freer hand in Iranian politics than had previously been the case, although what turned out to be Britain’s considerable interests in Iranian oil (the fields were located in the ‘neutral sphere’) would have more lasting impact.

The upheavals of the period between 1907 to 1914, which included the invasion and military occupation of the north of the country by Russia, initiated more than a decade of chaos and devastation in Iran. After the fall of the Tsarist government at the end of 1917, Soviet, British and Ottoman forces attempted to seize or consolidate territory in northern Iran and the Caucasus, and after the War the British made an unsuccessful attempt to impose a protectorate on Iran. The paper will try to elucidate the main parameters of this confused and confusing chain of events.

Feroz Ahmad (Yeditepe University), *From Empire to Republic*.

Examined from hindsight, the Ottoman decision to enter the Great War is seen as a great blunder that cost the Ottomans their empire. But in 1917 there was optimism that Germany would win the war; not only would the Ottoman Empire survive but it would even be enlarged, having regained its Arab provinces but also Egypt and Cyprus. The failure of Germany’s final offensive of 8 August 1918 put an end to such optimism. On 30 October the signing of the armistice of Mondros marked the end of the Ottoman Empire. Thereafter Sultan Vahdettin placed his dynasty totally in British hands relying

on 'British goodwill'. The harsh terms were imposed by the Treaty of Sevres and the Ottoman dynasty was limited to a rump state in Anatolia.

The Greek landing at Izmir on 15 May 1919 altered the situation dramatically. On 19 May Mustafa Kemal landed at Samsun and launched the national struggle, ending in Greek defeat in September 1922. By the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923 the new Turkey acquired the international recognition of her independence and virtually of all the borders of the 'National Pact'. There was disagreement among nationalist leaders about what the character of the new Turkey ought to be. Some, including Kazim Karabekir Pasha, and Rauf Orbay, would perhaps have preferred the continuity of constitutional monarchy established in 1908. But on 29 October Mustafa Kemal had the Assembly proclaim a Republic with himself as its first president. While the Sultanate had been abolished in 1922, the Caliphate had been retained. His nationalist opponents formed the Progressive Republican Party on 17 November 1924, possibly with the intention of making Caliph Abdülmecit president when they won the election and came to power. But the outbreak of a Kurdish rebellion in February 1925, one of whose aim was to restore the Caliphate (abolished on 3 March 1924) ended the possibility of multi-party politics. The 'Law for the Maintenance of Order' was passed on 4 March, a law allowing the regime to crush all opposition and carry out revolutionary program.

By proclaiming a republic, the Kemalists proclaimed their commitment to modernity and equality rather than the modernization and hierarchy of the old order. They rejected the very foundations on which the old order had rested so as to establish a new society.

Zafer Toprak (Bogazici University), Ankara & the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, 1920.

The Congress of the Peoples of the East held in Baku in September, 1920 holds a special place in the history of the Communist and Nationalist movements. It was the first attempt to appeal to the exploited and oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to carry forward their revolutionary struggles under the banner of Marxism and with the support of the workers in Russia and the advanced countries of the world. It was first planned by a Tatar Bolshevik, Mirsaid Sultan-Galiev, also known as Mirza Sultan-Galiev. He rose to prominence in the Russian Communist Party in the early 1920s, and later known as the forerunner of National Communism.

However Joseph Stalin prevented Sultan-Galiev from attending the congress, fearing that he would help consolidate separatist movement within communist movement.

It was attended by, amongst others John Reed, Karl Radek, Bela Kun and British Communist Tom Quelch, Manabendra Nath Roy refused to go, dismissing it as 'Zinoviev's circus'. The Congress brought together representatives of the Communist Party, particularly from Russia, with those from national liberation struggles. Some of the debates centered on the question of the relationship between the two movements.

The summons to Baku was issued by the Second Congress of the Communist International, which met in July and August in Moscow. In making this call, the Second Congress made a conscious break with the neglect of the national and colonial question by the Second International, based as it was almost exclusively on European parties. It recognized both that it was a prime duty of working class revolutionaries to support the struggle of their colonial brothers and that the colonial revolution could be a valuable ally in the overthrow of imperialism in its strongholds. Further, in 1920 the whole colonial and semi-colonial world was aflame, especially in the countries bordering the Soviet republic, so that these movements could be of direct assistance in warding off the offensive of the imperialists, notably the British, with the aim of establishing their power on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The same year, Mustafa Kemal was initiating the National Struggle in Anatolia. This was the atmosphere in which the Congress met.

Its delegates came from former Tsarist colonies now fighting to become Soviet republics, from Turkey and Persia, then in revolutionary ferment, and even from China, India and Japan. For some of them the journey was hazardous. The Russian historian Sorkin describes how the British imperialism tried to prevent delegates from Turkey and Persia from getting to the Congress. British navy based in Istanbul patrolled the Black Sea coast, and only when stormy weather caused them to put back into port did the Turkish delegates succeed, at great risk, in getting across to Tuapse, from where they proceeded to Baku. In the Caspian British aircraft, based in Persia, bombed the ship in which Persian delegates were crossing to Baku: two were killed and several wounded.

Although of the 1,900 delegates who flocked to Baku some around 1,200 were recorded as Communing, few of them had much experience in the Marxist movement. From ethnic point of view, Turks represented the largest delegation with 235 participants, followed by 192 Persians & Farsis and 157 Armenians, There was a leaven of seasoned revolutionaries, including some who had been members of the Bolshevik Party in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Kazakhstan since well before the 1917 revolution.

Baku, the great oil capital of Russia, had been a stronghold of the party, with its large and cosmopolitan proletarian population drawn by the prospect of jobs in the petroleum industry. After joining the Revolution, the city had been temporarily lost and had only recently again been brought under Bolshevik rule when the Congress opened. It was, however, a most appropriate place in which to hold such a gathering, by virtue of its revolutionary traditions and the successful struggle to hold it for the revolution so recently concluded. Moreover, it was familiar to Turks and Persians as well as the former subject peoples of the Tsarist Empire as a great industrial and cultural centre, and, for many, as a place of work.

In his concluding speech, Zinoviev spoke of the Congress as ‘a great historical event’. He pointed out that people the bourgeoisie had looked upon as draught animals were now rising in revolt and that nationalities separated by language and historic enmities were now coming to recognize their common interests in a struggle against imperialism. ‘Our congress has been heterogeneous, motley, in its composition,’ he pointed out, but it had been united on all fundamental questions. There is little doubt, unfortunately, that Zinoviev’s optimism was premature. The follow-up to the Congress did not fulfill its promise, nor was it possible to resolve the difficulties and differences resulting from the national and colonial question with speeches alone.

Tetsuya Sahara, (Meiji University), “Incorporation into the capitalist world system and ethnic violence: a comparison between the Ottoman Empire and Tsarist Russia.”

The social sciences often disregard an important factor in the human history : violence. wars, uprisings, persecutions, and mass-killings were usually considered exceptional phenomena that had nothing to do with the normal function of socio-economic entities. However, it is also true that the unprecedented scale of destruction of the American continents contributed much to the genesis of the modern system of the world wide division of labor, or the capitalist world system. The capitalist world system was born in the seventeenth century with its center in the western tip of the Eurasian continent. Since then, it has continued to incorporate other parts of the world. What particular form of violence took place when one region was incorporated into this global capitalist system? I take up the cases of the Russian and the Ottoman empires during the second half of the nineteenth century to explore this theme in more detail.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, both the Russian and the Ottoman empires were incorporated in the world market. This brought about drastic changes in their socio-economic structures. It has also been reported that ethnic violence took place in the two empires toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of

the twentieth century. The Russians saw three waves of Jewish Pogroms. On the other hand, the Ottomans saw three phases of Armenian persecutions. Was there any link or similarity in the Jewish Pogroms and the Armenian persecutions? According to the traditional historiography, the answer is no.

One can see, however, a strong synchronicity in the both cases. The three waves of pogroms took place in 1881, 1903-06, and 1918-19, while the Armenian persecutions were in 1894-96, 1909, and 1915-16. The synchronicity does not seem to be a simple coincidence. Although it is necessary to scrutinize these events more carefully, we can say that the three waves took place in analogous circumstances. The 1881 pogroms were influenced by the international agricultural depression of 1878-1879, while the Armenian persecutions of 1894-96 were stimulated by the international financial crisis of the mid-1890s. The second pogrom and the Adana persecution broke out immediately after revolutions: the first Russian revolution and the Young Turk revolution. The general social disturbance as a result of revolution apparently affected the mass violence. The third pogrom and the events in the Ottoman empire 1915-16 took place in the extremely precarious situation brought on by the First World War.

We can also find several important similarities in the forms of violence of anti-Jewish pogroms and Armenian persecutions. The apparent pertinence of popular violence can be observed in the three waves of pogroms as well as the Armenian persecutions. The atrocities were mainly perpetrated by mobs, and/or bands of freebooters. Those violent masses were, by and large, composed of people coming from the lower layers of society. In Russian case, the ranks of pogromists were filled with impoverished urban dwellers like low waged workers, peddlers, and day-laborers. In the countryside, the violence was usually initiated by the most destitute elements like homeless peasants wandering the countryside in search of work and food. The same was true in the case of Ottomans. Kurdish tribesmen, Circassian bands, and newly colonized refugees played crucial roles in the disturbances of Anatolian countryside.

The sudden fluidity of the existing social order can be observed as well. The 1881 pogrom broke out after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. The event shocked the Russian society and brought about temporary confusion in the social order. The first Armenian persecution, especially during its culmination from October –November 1895, was triggered off by the Sultan's acceptance of reforms in the Eastern Anatolia. The Muslim popular mass considered it as the granting of autonomy to the Armenians, and much excited. The rest of the cases had occurred in the conditions of extreme instability either caused by revolutions or total wars. The instability means the

weakening of state authorities to control social conflict, and, as a result, it created the conditions that the social cleavages would come to a fore.

The role of rumor also merits attention. In the 1881 pogroms, the violence erupted by the spread of rumor that “the tsar had given orders to beat the Jews, because they had participated in the assassination of Alexander II.” Rumors played also important role in the second wave of pogroms in 1903-06. During the events, the stories of “the Jews will rule over us” provoked fear and hostility among the Christian mobs. The Armenian persecutions of 1894-96 also broke out by the spread of rumor that the Sultan ordered to take the lives and property of the rebellious Armenians. As for the Adana incident of 1909, the wide-spread rumor that the Armenians revolted and they would massacre Muslims ignited the Muslim fears and instigated them to take up arms to fight against the Armenians.

These rumors suggest us the basic ideology of the perpetrators. Originally the pogromist ideology was simple indignation to the Jewish well-being in a Christian state, often mixed-up with old-fashioned theory of blood libels. As the rising wealth of Russian Jews was becoming more and more conspicuous, the anti-Semites found additional pillars in various theories of Jewish intrigue; “Jews are building a state in our state,” “Jewish international capitalism is conspiring to dominate Russia,” and “the Bolshevik movement was a Jewish conspiracy.” As a result, Jews were blamed more as agents of international capitalism, socialism, and/or communism, rather than as infidels. The Ottoman case, the process was more or less identical. Economic prosperities of Armenians were originally regarded as dishonor to the Muslims. Then, they began to be blamed as an agency of the foreign capital. And finally, they were identified with extreme nationalists who were pursuing an independent Christian state supported by western powers.

We can also discern identical position of the victims in their respective socio-economic structure. The Russian Jews and the Ottoman Armenians had the emblematic existence as mercantile groups in the rural societies. They were the major suppliers of manufactured goods and credits to the peasant mass. They had also marked characteristic as diaspora communities. The Russian Jews lived in the area densely populated by Slavic Orthodox Christians. The Armenians lived in the areas with the Muslim majorities. It is undeniable that the peasants had strong hatred toward the merchants and the enmity sometimes took violent forms. But the Pogroms and the Armenian persecutions were not the sheer repetition of the traditional peasant discontents. The Russian and Ottoman empires have almost simultaneously

experienced structural incorporation into the world market. The incorporation first started in the export section and slowly affected the other section. As a result, two parallel developments were under way until the early decades of the twentieth century. The highly modernized institutions were rapidly consolidated in the sections directly connected to the world market. On the other hand, traditional system survived with strong endurance in other sections. The dualism was most vividly expressed in the agrarian sector. The commercial transaction of export oriented agrarian products and transport sectors were rapidly modernized during the nineteenth century.

It was the Jews and the Armenians that profited much from the development. As the traditional carrier of the cross-cultural trades, they were in much better position to accommodate into the western penetration and ensuing development of the capitalist commercial procedures. On the other hand, overwhelming majority of the peasants engaged in the subsistence farming using very archaic method of cultivation. As a result, a clear social stratification along the ethnic line emerged. The mergence of new regional division of labor seriously damaged the traditional social tissue of both Russian and Ottoman lands.

The commercialization at the same time brought about the pauperization of peasants mass. The peasants began to see the minority mercantile groups with growing hostilities. In the Ottoman case, Armenian merchants were regarded as agencies of Western capital. The protégé system of capitulation and the western military intervention under the pretext of the Christian human rights prepared the ground for their suspicion. In the Russian case, the rise of some handful Jewish bankers and industrialists produced the effect to emblemize the Jews as capitalists. Jews were suspected either as the agency of “international capitalism,” or intrigues of “Jewish state” within Russia.

Many contemporaries considered the violent phases of social confrontation as a predominantly religious phenomenon, but the crisis was merely one of the multifaceted aspects of the dismemberment of society. This explains why the most brutal persecutions of Jews and Armenians after the 1880s were the act of popular masses. The main body of brutal mobs was composed of the people coming from the lower strata of the society. They were the most vulnerable elements to the globalization, as the ruling institutions failed to provide them with safety measures.

The destruction of Ottoman and Russian empires was no coincident. Both of them could no longer cope with the structural transformation of the global economy. In the

long run, they were destined to be replaced by the new systems that were more capable to absorb the stress and to cope with the reactions caused by the incorporation into the world market. The answer was either nation state or renewed “empire” in a “socialist” form. Nation state could better cope with the open hatred to the socio-economic inequality due to the vertical ties that the shared fantasy of ethnic community created. The Soviet Union, needless to say, pursued the policy to reinstate autarkic economic system within its territory. This shift was the fatal blow to the existence of the two mercantile “peoples.” They were excluded from both of the new systems. The illusion of “national economy” encouraged “domestic capital” at the cost of “compradors.” The socialist autarkic economy was equally hostile to the “bourgeois mercantile class,” as it no longer felt indispensable to attract foreign capital.

Panel II: Subjects & Citizens of Empire (11:10-13:10)

Serhun Al (University of Utah), “Millets into Minorities: Ottomanism and Imperial Citizenship.”

Under what conditions do states change their policies toward minorities? States, either imperial or national, have experienced the political dilemmas of pursuing homogeneity or heterogeneity in their organization of ‘imagined communities’ since the forces of modernity articulated new forms of legitimacy and governance. While some states seek the identity of body politic in the ethno-cultural or religious core of the community, others refer to a constitution as the overarching source of political identity. In such institutional choices, there are specific historical contexts and temporal sequences in which the state chooses one over the other. Yet, such institutional choices do not necessarily refer to a fixed and permanent adoption by the state. In fact, as the historical context changes and the internal and external status quo is no longer legitimate, the state’s institutional setting of the imagined community may well be subject to change. I attempt to explain the institutional change within the interplay between the ‘imagined community’ and the state through theoretically informed historical analysis. For this study, the question of “timing” is essential. Yet, this field is under-theorized within studies of nation-building, state formation, and the question of minorities.

The roots of many contentious political debates over nationality, majorities, and minorities in contemporary Middle East and the Balkans lie in the social and political changes that took place in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. The idea of Ottomanism and imperial citizenship was the first step towards legally defining the institutional setting of Ottoman nationality and its relationship with the state. The advent Ottomanism and imperial citizenship was a critical departure from the

traditional organization of the Ottoman millet system where subordinate non-Muslim communities enjoyed a degree of autonomy from the central state. The analytical question here is: under what conditions did the Ottoman state put imperial citizenship forward? Again, the issue of timing is crucial in the theoretical understanding of the necessary and sufficient conditions for institutional change. Why did Ottomanism not come to the fore of Ottoman politics in the late 18th century or the early 20th century, but instead through the second half of the 19th century? What was the state's reasoning for embracing imperial citizenship and Ottoman nationality? How did the millets perceive the state's intentions? How was the political meaning of "minority" and "majority" perceived by the political elites at the center and the millets at the periphery?

In my theoretically informed historical analysis, I borrow from a theory of foreign policy-- neoclassical realism—and the comparative-theoretical perspectives on the state in order to explain the specific timing of and the causes behind the idea of Ottomanism in the mid-nineteenth century of the Ottoman Empire. As my preliminary hypotheses suggest, I argue that Ottomanism refers to a shift from a pluralist (millet system and anti-assimilation) and legal exclusion (subjects not citizens) institutional setting toward an assimilation-oriented (uniform settings of education, language, etc.) and legal inclusion (citizens not subjects) institutional setting that reorganized the relationship between the state and the community under its authority. By categorizing the causes behind the rise of Ottomanism under both background factors (systemic shift and legitimacy crisis) and the immediate factor (the return of the strong state), I plan to provide some insights on the issue of the timing of this policy change.

Erdem Sönmez (Bilkent University), "Ahmed Rıza: an intellectual between two generations of constitutionalism."

Ahmed Rıza, who is considered to be the major ideologue, intellectual and one of the most significant leaders of the Young Turk opposition in many respects, stood between two generations of constitutionalism: the Young Ottomans and the Unionists. His life, intellectual framework and political thought bore traces of both of these generations that came before and after him. For one, he worked and got his informal training in the Translation Bureau, as many of the Young Ottomans did before him. Similar to that of the Young Ottomans, his constitutionalist opposition and propaganda in Paris is considered to be an intellectual activity, rather than an organizational action of the Unionists. While Islam, which was heeded with great care by the Young Ottomans, was replaced by Positivism in the political thought of Ahmed Rıza, in line with the spirit of his time, he nevertheless pointed out the benefits of it for sake of progress, as did the Young Ottomans. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of education, another significant theme that had been apparent in the writings of the Young Ottomans, whereas it was not a crucial question in the discourse of the Unionists.

Intellectually, he was not as sophisticated as the Young Ottomans, yet he was not eclectic like the Unionists either.

His relationship with “state circles” resembled that of the Unionists, rather than the Young Ottomans. His understanding of opposition and his relations with the Palace were not flexible, as was the case with the Young Ottomans, but rather intransigent. Besides, he had an organic bond with the constitutionalist generation that came after him via key figures as Doctor Nazım and Bahaeddin Şakir, the former being his protégé. He was the most prestigious figure in the early stages of the Second Constitutional Period, which was attained through means of violence by the Unionists, yet he persistently refused to employ them. Lastly, a proponent of Ottomanism, he did not lean towards the idea of Turkish nationalism. In comparison with the pan-Turanism of Ziya Gökalp, Ahmed Rıza was considered to be a much more cosmopolitan Ottoman intellectual.

This presentation attempts to explore the intellectual framework and the political thought of Ahmed Rıza vis-à-vis the features of the two constitutionalist movements in the Ottoman Empire. Analyzing these characteristics will also be useful in contextualizing the Young Turk and the Unionist movements and review the current literature with a critical perspective.

Umut Uzer (Istanbul Technical University), “Between Turkism, Westernism and Islam: Ali Bey Huseyinzade and his Impact on national thought in Turkey and the Caucasus.”

Ali Bey Huseyinzade was an extremely significant Azerbaijani Turkish intellectual who had a direct impact on Ziya Gökalp, one of most influential founders of Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey. Huseyinzade’s formulation of the triple processes of Turkification, Islamization and Europeanization was widely adopted by the Azerbaijani and Ottoman Turks in the Caucasus and Anatolia-Thrace respectively. This paper aims to discuss the ideas of Ali Bey Huseyinzade, especially regarding nationality, religion and Westernism and their impact on the intellectuals and policy makers in the Caucasus and Turkey. His physical odyssey from tsarist Russia into Ottoman Empire is indicative of his ideological proclivities and his subsequent influence on the Turkish-speaking peoples in the two major empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

İbrahim Özdemir, (Hasan kalyoncu University), Major Social Problems of Ottoman Kurdistan during 1900-1916 according to Said Nursi.

Bediuzzaman Said Nursi was born in eastern Turkey in 1877 and died in 1960 at the age of eighty-three. He was a scholar of the highest standing having studied not only all the traditional religious sciences but also modern science and had earned the name Bediuzzaman, Wonder of the Age, in his youth as a result of his outstanding ability and learning. Young Said spend 30 years of his early life in the major cities and among the tribes of southeastern Anatolia, the region used to be called by Ottoman authorities as Kurdistan. He was travelling over wild, mountainous, backward, and impoverished region.

Sometime we see him preaching to nomads and peasants and discussing with them the wisdom of constitutionalism as early as 1900. Moreover, we see him as giving a sermon in Arabic to Arabs on the pulpit of Umayyad Mosques in Damascus in 1911. As Vahide underlines “he had never been content with the status quo; something within himself had perpetually pushed him to seek fresh, new, better paths. As his horizons expanded, his path became clearer”.

Said was a good observer of what he calls the book of nature and social life of his countrymen. He tries to discover the major problems; he prefers to call social sicknesses, of his time and then tries to offer some responses from the pharmacy of the Qur'an. He argued that the major “six dire sicknesses” of the Muslims are as follows: Firstly, the coming to life and rise of despair and hopelessness in social life. Secondly, the death of truthfulness in social and political life. Thirdly, love of enmity. Fourthly, not knowing the luminous bonds that bind the believers to one another. Fifthly, despotism, which spreads like various contagious diseases. And sixthly, restricting endeavor to what is personally beneficial. This paper will outline the major problems of people in the southeastern Anatolia in the first decade of 20th century according to Nursi's observations and then to outline his remedies for these problems.

Panel III: Great Powers & the Caucasus (14:00-16:00)

Masoumeh Daei (Payame Noor University, Tabriz), “The role of the Caucasus in the competition between Russia, England and the Ottoman Empire for a transit corridor for the commerce of Iran in the 19th century.”

In the beginning of nineteenth century, European capitalist and industrial governments competed with each other in order to transmit their products and manufacturers to east and also to transmit their raw materials from east to west. They were forced to construct new ways to surpass each other and to minimize their transportation expenditure in

order to be successful. Commercial transit that could reach Iran from the east port of the Black sea had been given special importance from the beginning of nineteenth century. At the same time, the commercial activation of the Black sea and the opening of the Suez canal made the trade from the east of the black sea strategic important from a commercial and political point of view. There were two routes that competed with each other for transit trade from the east coast of the Black sea: The Trabzon, Arzrum, and Tabriz roads, and, for Russians in the Georgia coast, the Sukhumi port or Batumi port to Tbilisi and Tabriz. In order to secure the “half colonization” situation in the north region of the Caucasus while also making the Caucasus region more commercial the Russian government tried to make the Caucasian commercial and transit routes more attractive. This was done to give financial assistance to their merchants so that they could compete with the English wares that came to Iran via Ottoman trade routes. In the middle of 1820 English wares first came to Iran via the Persian gulf. The English were against these Russian economic expansions, while the Russians were concerned that their influence in the region was slowly degrading despite their best efforts. The selling of English wares increased in Iran, while the English tried to access new and shorter maritime routes into the region. One of the shortest of these routes went through the Black sea. This article attempts to rethink this route by studying Iranian commercial and transit issues and, despite the negative influence of foreign presence in the region, to survey the existence of these routes within the Iranian economy in the nineteenth century. This article tries to understand how and why the roads and trade routes in the Caucasus caused political and economic competition between the Russian and Ottoman governments, while also specifying England’s attempts to seize the routes the Ottomans depended on.

Moritz Deutschmann (European University Institute, Florence), “Caucasians in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution.”

My paper is concerned with the revolutionary movements in the Caucasus and Iran during the time of the Revolution of 1905 and the Iranian Constitutional Movement (1905-1911). It focuses on the role of Caucasians in the Constitutional Revolution and tries to show how the specific political configuration of the Caucasus influenced the trajectory of the revolution in Iran. The paper will mainly be based on Russian-language archival material from Moscow and Tbilisi, as well as on some secondary literature in Persian. The participation of Caucasian revolutionaries in the Iranian Constitutional Movement has often been depicted as an example of “internationalist” solidarity between left-wing groups with different religious, ethnic and national background. It is indeed well known that Caucasian and Iranian revolutionaries worked together during the revolution; they also shared a number of experiences and political practices: traditions of rural banditry, for example, appear prominently among Georgian as well as Muslim revolutionaries; labor migration, domestic as well as international, was another crucial factor accounting for the similarities in the

revolutionary cultures of the different groups. However, in my paper I would like to argue that the unfolding of the revolution in Iran and the substantial interaction between Iranian and Caucasian revolutionaries highlighted important cultural and ideological differences that in the end were more important than the above-mentioned commonalities.

The relative distance to the culture of the wider Russian revolutionary movement and the position within an imperial hierarchy had a decisive impact on the programmatic choices of different revolutionary groups and their political practices. Most importantly, different attitudes to statehood influenced the positions of the revolutionaries and their understanding of the revolutionary process. Georgian and Armenian revolutionaries sometimes saw themselves as the more advanced representatives of the revolution, and tended to belittle the role of Muslims in the events. As the example of the Dashnak Efrek Khan, who played a prominent role in the military forces of the Constitutionalists, exemplifies, they often appeared as advocates of a centralized state. This position conflicted with the identity of some of the Muslim revolutionaries like Sattar Khan, who came from a milieu of rebellion against statehood. Looking at reports of Caucasian revolutionaries, as well as at secret police reports about the activities of the revolutionaries can therefore give important clues to the understanding of the transition from imperial to post-imperial forms of government in the Russo-Iranian borderlands, the way this transition continued after the October Revolution, as well as to the history of the Iranian left.

Houman A. Sadri (University of Central Florida) and Phikria Asanishvili (Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University), “The Great Game & the Evolution of the Georgian-Persian Ties.”

This paper analyzes Georgian-Persian relations during the Qajar Dynasty era, specifically in the 1870-1920 period. We discuss the nature, role, and functions of these ties at two levels. First, we examine their relations in the context of the rivalries between the Ottoman, Persian, and Russian Empires in the Caucasus region. Second, we investigate the causes of the growing sense of national identity among Georgians and Persians in this period.

The Caucasus region has been strategically significant for both Great and regional powers since the modern era. The 1870-1920 period is crucial to understanding the affairs of the Caucasus and is the root of many of its current political challenges. The rivalries among Ottoman, Qajar, and Russian Empires influenced the formation of ethnic and national identity in the Caucasus. Moreover, the growth and demise of these empires have further influenced the development of national identity among local ethnic and religious groups.

“The Great Game” is used to refer to the headline-catching rivalry among Great Powers in the Caucasus region. However, it is important to examine how the regional players fit into global politics. Beyond the impact of regional variables, it is crucial to pay more attention to the domestic factors which led to the development of ethnic and religious identity in the Caucasus, especially among Georgians and Persians.

The theoretical aspects of this paper are based on the “Linkage Politics” of James Rosenau, who championed the connections between domestic and foreign policy factors. Methodologically, the paper is based on qualitative research in which we use event data to identify important developments that influenced the Georgian-Persian ties as well as the evolution of national identity among them.

This proposal addresses the following conference theme:

1. Center-Periphery Interactions
2. State & Nation-Building
3. Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Religion
4. Caucasus as Borderline
5. Interstate and Inter-Communal Rivalries

Moreover, this proposal addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the connections between diplomatic and social history in theorizing about and understanding the ethnic or religious conflicts?
2. How did the imperial rivalries clash with local power struggle?
3. How did local power struggle bring external interventions?
4. What were the major socio-economic factors in the formation of nations in the region?
5. How did these ethnic and cultural groups evolve into nation?

Babak Rezvani (University of Amsterdam), *Irano-Russian wars and their ethno-political consequences in the South Caucasus.*

The Irano-Russian wars, in the 19th century, have changed the political realities in Transcaucasia drastically. They have altered the demographic and social situation at the expense of the Shiite Muslims, Christians, notably Armenians, were Russia’s favorite. The Russian policy has and awarded the emerging Armenian nationalism a homeland. Today, many Azerbaijanis are enraged about Iran’s neutrality in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Despite their rhetoric now, Azerbaijanis have been loyal Iranian allies during the Irano-Russian wars. The current political developments and conflicts are either direct or indirect consequences of those wars. The current (political) realities would have been very different without them.

Isa Blumi (Georgia State University, USA), “Breaking with Empire: the Possibilities of Violence in the Ordering of Imperial Collapse.”

Honor codes among certain Ottoman subjects, especially those of Caucasian origin, have long animated the literature on the region, most famously linked to formulas produced in popular travelogues and policy orientated scholarship. Beyond assertions about how “natives” interact, the myth of Circassian/Chechen-style honor is tied to the dangers of breaking these codes of honor. It is the functional CONSEQUENCE of an honor code that I believe is useful to analyze in the context of attempts by various states to shape the collapse phases in the Caucasus and throughout the Ottoman Empire. In other words, whether or not these tropes speak of a truth about Chechen/Circassian honor codes, there may be something behind the manner in which state administrations in the regions—the Great Powers, Tsarist and Ottoman Empires, and Qajar Iran—interacted with local interlocutors and their use of possible violence.

In this paper I explore administrative decisions/reactions to local events through a prism distorted by tropes of indigenous patterns of conflict-resolution. In particular, the concern with “revenge” politics, an extension of systems of “honoring spilt blood” most consistently linked to Caucasus-origin communities in the late 19th century Eastern Anatolia and Syria/Iraq, may explain shifts in administrative policy towards these areas. As the most notorious manifestations of indigenous social order in the region, the infamous Circassian code of honor makes its way into the nomenclature of all the state administrations operating in the region. Locally-based officials knew their superiors would understand its intended meaning when referenced in official documentation.

And yet, the implications of its use in this way are neglected by scholars of often competing ethno-national agendas. All have fetishized “Chechen” codes of honor but neglect the implicit logic behind its usage in official exchanges. I, on the other hand, suggest that what lurks under the surface is the stubborn association these regions have with the violence Ottoman officials feared. The reports of Circassian traditions connote violence; not necessarily actual violence, but also a possibility of violence. With a willingness to think in terms of the state/constituent imperatives at various moments in time, it is possible to see that the evocation of Circassian tradition translates to either productively using potential violence (in terms of using indigenous actors as proxies) or a form of conflict-resolution or even preventing conflict. Put differently, state authorities (and their local surrogates) evoke the Circassian’s honor codes to instigate policy adjustments, not explain actual events. The notion of Chechen revenge is, in other words, a means by officials and indigenous interlocutors to translate concerns of potential violence to produce results.

The threat of violence, in other words, is an animating factor in how states engage the region throughout the 1914-1920 period. Seeing the use (and abuse) of tropes about Circassian violence through this prism can thus help “break” with the essentialist burden past scholarship has imposed on indigenous social history when evoking Circassian honor codes. It will also help broaden our ability to study the productive side of how these “tribal values” are represented textually, as well as the way in which its evocation informs a “logic of practice” by a range of actors that goes beyond its assumed indigenous function to account for how certain policies were adapted that shaped the process of imperial collapse as it affected the Caucasus.

Walter Richmond (Occidental College, Los Angeles), “Russo-Turkish Competition and the Origins of Circassian National Identity.”

Both the Russian and Ottoman Empires hoped to fully incorporate Circassia into their empires in order to control the northeastern coast of the Black Sea. At the beginning of this struggle, the Circassian people were divided into tribal alliances and could be described as a single ethnic group, but not a nation in the modern concept of the term. By the end of the conflict, which culminated in the Circassian genocide of 1864, the Circassians had developed a clear notion of their national identity and even took steps to create a central government. While their efforts in Circassia failed, the notion of a Circassian nation took hold and continued to develop even as the vast majority became more and more dispersed in the diaspora. This paper will analyze the process through which the Circassians developed their sense of national unity.

The Circassians began to develop the notion of a unified nation after the 1829 Treaty of Adrianople. Prior to the treaty, the Russians were restrained by the Treaties of Küçük Kainarca (1774) and Jassy (1792), which stipulated that Circassia was under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Circassians considered themselves independent and the Porte exercised no control over them. However, in the Treaty of Adrianople the Porte relinquished its claim on Circassia and the Russian Empire began its full-scale assault on the Circassians. The Russian blockade on the Black Sea coast ended the lucrative trade the Natuhay and Shapsug tribes enjoyed with Turkey, and so now these peoples saw that their common interests were to lie with the mountain tribes, who had been fighting the Russians since the 1790s. Additionally, British agents began to arrive in Circassia in the early 1830s and encouraged the tribes to unite as a single nation to combat Russia.

Imam Shamil’s third Naib (deputy) in Circassia, Muhammad Amin, succeeded in creating a standing army and a police force in the 1840s and helped the Circassians develop mechanisms to enforce decisions made by their ad hoc legislative body the hase. Unfortunately, following the Crimean War and Shamil’s surrender in 1859, the Russians directed all their military resources against Circassia. The result was one of

the first ethnic cleansings in modern history in which hundreds of thousands of Circassians died from massacres, starvation, and the elements. Several hundred thousand more were forced to immigrate to the Ottoman Empire. Although tribal affiliations followed them, the survivors found such distinctions less and less important as they attempted to survive as a nation in diaspora. In a sense, it was only under the extreme conditions of diaspora that the Circassians became a fully unified nation, perhaps the first nation ever created outside its homeland.

**Georgy Chochiev (North Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian and Social Studies),
“Constructing Circassia in Istanbul: North Caucasian Diasporic Nationalism in
the Early 2nd Constitutional Period.”**

This paper investigates the establishment of the agenda, formal institutions, and functional instrumentation of the Circassian (i.e. North Caucasian diasporic) movement in the Ottoman Empire in the period between the 1908 Revolution and the beginning of World War I. This is embodied primarily in the activities of the Circassian Society of Unity and Mutual Assistance (CSUMA). Circassian ethnic nationalism, being one of the latest and most specific phenomena of this kind in the country, from the outset was aimed at creating conditions for consolidation of the diaspora North Caucasians’ identity in their adopted state, and at strengthening their ties with the lost Caucasian homeland and influencing, to the extent possible, the contemporary situation there.

Some of the questions we intend to address in order to evaluate the ideological principles of the Circassian movement of the specified period are as follows: To what extent did the collective trauma associated with the Russo-Caucasian War and deportations of the 19th century effect the formation of the ethno-national ideology of the North Caucasian diaspora? What was the real content of the notions of “homeland” and “nation” in the Circassian intellectuals’ outlook and their vision of a prospective “Circassian nation”? How and in what way (including probable interaction and conflict) did Ottoman and Caucasian patriotism determine the main vectors of identity and loyalty of Circassian activists? What were their responses to the contemporary trends and challenges of Ottoman political and ideological life, including the rise of Turkism? What was their conception of the potential ways of reintegrating the diaspora with the ancestral homeland? What was the Circassian nationalist attitude towards Russia?

Also we intend to consider the practical nation-building efforts of the CSUMA, particularly its socio-reformative, educational, linguistic, historiographical and economic projects, targeting both the diaspora and indigenous population of the North Caucasus, as well as to define its role and place in the Ottoman society of the period. For the assessment of the Circassian nationalists’ views and initiatives, as well as of

their effectiveness, the available foundational and program documents and periodical and non-periodical publications of the CSUMA will be used among other sources.

Preliminarily, it can be argued that the program and activities of the CSUMA in general fit quite well into the pluralistic Ottomanist context of the early years of the Constitutional era, while they proved increasingly ineffective and unfeasible in the changing socio-political conditions of pre-war and war time. They did, however, lay some groundwork for North Caucasian diasporic ethno-nationalism in Turkey.

Mehmet Hacısalihođlu (Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi), “Memory of Wars against Russia in Trabzon”

The paper will deal with the war memory in Trabzon, particularly among the Ayan families (Notables), which played an important role in the wars against Russia in the 18th and 19th century. There are oral stories about the Russian occupation in Trabzon during the First World War, among the Ayan families, however, there are also stories on the earlier Ottoman-Russian wars, particularly in the 19th century. The collection and evaluation of these wars, which is the main aim of this paper, will help us to analyse the image of the Russians as “enemy” in the Eastern Black Sea region, on one hand, and on the other hand it will help to analyse the self-image of the Ayan families as “defenders” of the Ottoman lands. A very important aspect of this analysis will be the comparison the image of the own non-Muslim groups such as Greeks and Armenians with the Russians. The main source of the war stories will be my own family (Hacı-Salih-Zade) and the families related to it (such as Saka-Zade etc.)

Eugeniy Bakhrevskiy (Russian Strategic Studies Center, Moscow), “The History of the Caucasus in the 19th and 20th centuries and Modern Conceptions of “genocide”.

The notion of genocide was formulated in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948, as a result of the tragic events of World War II: the purposeful destruction in the Third Reich of Slavs, Jews and Gypsies, and of the Chinese by Japan..

Meanwhile the notion of genocide, as it was formulated in the Convention, is still not well-established and sparks heated discussions both among political groups and among scientists and experts. In the 20th century different forms of genocide and policies similar to genocide were applied, that further demonstrates the complexity and

importance of this notion. These are phenomena like deportation, ethnic purges, ethnocide (the destruction of a people's culture, bringing about its disappearance by means of assimilation, without physical extermination of people itself), and other forms of forced changing of self identification among ethnic groups.

The acquisition of reparations by the Jewish people from Germany after the recognition by Germany of the Jewish genocide in the Nazi state has induced the leaders of national movements to form a guilt complex by staking their claim of genocides, real or imaginary.

The Caucasus is one of the most complicated regions of the world from an ethno-confessional point of view, and its geopolitical situation on the "joint" of civilizations and empires has led to numerous conflicts. Practically all of the Caucasian peoples declare their own genocides in different forms during 19th and 20th centuries: Armenians, Kurds, Georgians, Azeris, Ossetians, Abkhazians, Svans, Mingrelians, Russians, Nogays, Lezgins, Chechens, Turks, Karachays and Malkars, Cherkesses, Ubikhs, Talishs, Greeks, Cossacks... This list might not even be complete. Traditionally the empires (mostly Russian and Ottoman) are accused of Caucasian genocides, but the last few genocide accusations have been levied on new national states – Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Abkhazia. For instance Karachays accuse of their genocide Adige peoples, which used for it the help of Russian Tsar. This paper will criticize the reductionist approach used in most histories of the Caucasus. It seeks to answer questions like: What was the main political goal of the major Western institutions who attempted to reduce the complex Russian and Ottoman history in the Caucasus into genocides? Why does everybody in the Caucasus seek to be a victim? What kind of effects follow the construction of nearly all Caucasian national histories as genocide histories?

Panel IV (B): Making of Georgian Nationalism (16:10-18:35)

Tedo Dundua and Giorgi Zhuzhunashvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), "Changing the imperial pattern: life in South-West Georgia under the Ottomans and the Russians (1870 - 1914)."

The following common features can be seen in the Ottoman and the Russian Empires starting from the 70's of the 19th century onwards:

1) Byzantinism – both Empires saw themselves as heir to the "Kingdom of the Romans," i.e. East European hegemonic power, the former rapidly regressing, the latter being a desirable protector.

- 2) Continental imperialism - these multinational Empires existed in both Europe and Asia. European and Asian provinces had different statuses, Asians usually being less favored.
- 3) Both metropolises (Eastern Thrace and Anatoly, for the Ottoman Empire, and Russia itself, for the Russian Empire) still possessed prominent agricultural regions.
- 4) At a certain degree, both metropolises used a state socialist apparatus to run the economy (state property was especially prominent in Russian industry).
- 5) Moderate rates of modernization.

And the differences are as follows:

- 1) Non-hereditary autocracy in the Ottoman Empire, and hereditary monarchy in Russia.
- 2) The absence of estates (i.e. a privileged restricted group) in the very heart of the Ottoman Empire and, on the contrary, the existence of estates everywhere throughout the Russian Empire.
- 3) The Ottomans had a reputation for cosmopolitanism while selecting the beaurocracy in the centre, and respect for national feelings in the provinces. The Russian Imperial structures were served by the Russian aristocracy.
- 4) Russian aristocracy, who held the Imperial offices, were all Orthodox Christian, and Islam was a necessary prerequisite to have a job in the Ottoman structure.

In 1878 the Russians captured the Ottoman provinces of Kola, Artaani, Erusheti, Shavsheti, Tao, Klarjeti. For Georgia, now mostly within the Russian Empire, that clearly meant economic reintegration, as these regions are considered historical parts (South-West) of Georgia. Economic profit was one of the reasons for native Muslim Georgians to avoid protesting this transformation of power. Besides, there were other reasons for them to stand aside. It just so happened that the Georgian timariots, after this system had been totally abolished, lost their military positions as sipahis, but they received nothing: they were not allotted with a land from which they would pay taxes to support the reformed army. Towards the midst of the 19th century the officials there were mostly Turks. The local population never wanted them to be substituted by the Russians. Indeed, they never cared much for neither Sultan nor Tsar – they both were far away. On the other hand, reunification with the rest of Georgia was welcomed. So, the two Empires offered the same life for the population of South-West Georgia and as a result, Georgians cared more about national integrity, than under whom it could be done.

Revaz Gachechiladze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), “The effects of the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries on the emergence of modern nations in the South Caucasus.”

The Russian Empire entered the South Caucasus on the eve of the 19th century, challenging the authority of the Middle Eastern powers. The successful wars with Persia (1804-1813 and 1826-1828) and the Ottoman Empire (1828-1829 and 1877-1878) established the southern border of the Russian Empire. Petersburg’s intention was total incorporation within its realm of the territories acquired in the region, exploiting local natural resources and using the area as a spearhead for advancing further to the south. But unintentionally Russian imperial domination encouraged, especially in the last decades of the 19th century, nationalism among the major ethnic groups of the South Caucasus.

The territorial results of the Turco-Russian war of 1877-1878 led to almost complete incorporation within a single Empire of the old medieval Georgian kingdom which disintegrated in the 15th century. This was a factor in the consolidation of different Georgian subethnic groups into a nation; unity was not based solely on religion, as many of those who lived in territories annexed by Russia in 1878 were Sunni Muslim (the bulk of Georgians are Orthodox Christian). Key-words for the Georgians were names like kartveli and sakartvelo (Georgia), designations of their common identity. Traditionally, their cultural and, later, political center was Tbilisi, ancient capital city of the medieval kingdom.

A major unifier of the Armenians was self-identification as hai, and their religion – the Armenian Apostolic Church. Armenians embraced European-style nationalism quite early, but a dispersed settlement pattern made their territorial claims vulnerable. Before the end of the WW1 the cultural centers for Armenians were in the multi-ethnic cities of Constantinople (Istanbul) and Tiflis (Tbilisi). The advance of the Russian imperial army in Eastern Anatolia in the early stages of the First World War and its retreat after the 1917 Russian revolutions, played a negative role in the fate of the Armenians (e.g. the tragic events in Anatolia). Concentration of this ethnic group in the territory of the modern Republic of Armenia, with the center in Yerevan led to nation-building there.

The self-identity of Turkic linguistic groups in the territory of the modern Azerbaijanian Republic during Russian imperial domination was predominantly based on religion (Shi’a Muslim). Multi-ethnic Baku started to play the role of the centre of Azerbaijani culture in the second half of the 19th century, and it ultimately became a political center after 1918. The settlement pattern of Azerbaijanians quite frequently coincided with that of Armenians and was a factor in the disputes over territorial sovereignty.

The results of WWI in the South Caucasus revealed the formation of three independent political entities – the Georgian, Azerbaijanian and Armenian Republics, which even after their forced Sovietization (1920/21) and inclusion in the USSR, retained actual autonomous status (formally proclaimed “sovereign states” by the Soviet Constitution). This status provided for the emergence of the new nations in the South Caucasus after the restoration of independence in 1991.

David Matsaberidze (Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University), “The formation and consolidation of the Georgian Nation: the European way of nation-building?”

This paper aims to comprehend the process of formation and consolidation of the Georgian nation, primarily the crystallization of the Georgian national project of Tergdaleulebi by the end of the 19th century in light of European theories of nationalism like the Imagined Community of Benedict Anderson and the “three phases” of nation formation by Miroslav Hroch. This study will be an attempt to sketch some future lines of analysis of the Georgian nation-building process and re-conceptualize the role of printing press, namely the newspaper Iveria, the role of language reform and the role of the Manorial Bank in cementing the Georgian nation. The analysis will revolve around the famous triad offered by Ilia Chavchavadze – language, motherland, faith – to highlight the flexibility of understanding the Georgianness by those craftsmen of the Georgian nation.

For analysis of the language aspect, this study explores the inter-generational clash of “fathers” and “sons” regarding the reformation of the Georgian language for its everyday usage, which led to the split of clerical and state language. To this end, peasants and nobility united into the single nation. In terms of motherland, the study refers to the case of re-unification of Adjara (at that time also termed as the Muslim Georgia⁰ into the territorial framework of Georgia after the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, in order to highlight dynamics of the above-mentioned “holy triad” for consolidation of the Georgian nation. It is here where the interlock of motherland (patria), shared history, and common language vs. religion, the pillars of the Georgian nation, is the most visible in its essence.

All in all, the paper will demonstrate how the different markers (language, religion, shared past, motherland-territory) of a nation in general, and the Georgian national identity in particular, were emphasized and re-emphasized according to mainstream political and religious milieu the country found itself in at different times. That is, the flexibility of markers of the Georgian national identity will be highlighted. Thus, the transformation of the main external challenge to the Georgian nation-formation process – the Muslim environment – as the main threat to the “Georgian self” into the Tsarist Russification policy as the threat to the Georgian language, will be

understood. This paper will be a case study of the nation-formation process on the periphery of the Tsarist Empire; that is, it will demonstrate how an educated nobility of the periphery was transformed into intellectualism putting themselves in the service of the nation-building process.

Giuli Alasania (Ivane Javakishvili State University, Vice-Rector of International Black Sea University), “The making of the Georgian nation by interaction and confrontation with Empires.”

The making of the Georgian nation through interaction and confrontation with Empires, according to the view of the 11th century Georgian chronicler Leonti Mroveli regarding the newly unified Georgian state emerging in the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Statehood was linked to independence, a common territory, a common language (King Parnavaz in the 3rd century BC, “spread the Georgian language and no other tongue was spoken in Kartli except the Georgian one”), a common religion, and a common historic memory, which refers to ethnic self-consciousness. Since the 3rd century BC those characteristics, either as a fact or as a tendency, are featured throughout the history of Georgia, whether it was united and powerful, or broken apart and divided into kingdoms and principalities.

Georgia, which has longstanding statehood traditions (since the 13th century BC), was frequently surrounded by superpowers throughout its history. The most typical political situation was the division of Georgian territory between invaders into two main parts – western and eastern (accordingly, Byzantines and Sassanid Persians, Byzantines and Arabs, Mongols for a time in eastern Georgia only, and later, Ottomans and Safavid Persians). All of those forces invaded from the south, south-west and south-east. There was also the north, actively involved in the process of the making of the Georgian nation, either as invader, or ally (Caucasians as well as late-comers – the Huns, Khazars, Kipchaks, and Russians). In the early 19th century Russia invaded Georgia and abolished its statehood and autocephaly of the Orthodox Church. Foreign rule and interference in Georgian affairs varied from state to state. However, while having restricted international activities in some cases, the Georgian state as a rule preserved its domestic autonomy, monarchy and autocephaly of the church until the 19th century, which helped the Georgian nation preserve its ethnic identity, national culture and historic memory of statehood.

Annexation and domination by alien forces doesn't necessarily mean the loss of national consciousness and national culture. The threat of assimilation in some cases paradoxically spurs national consciousness. The onslaughts of the Ottomans and the Persians in the 16th-18th centuries resulted, on the one hand, in cultural interaction and adaptation, and on the other hand, in the extremely acute perception of the necessity of defense from everything “Persian,” which was interpreted as alien. The

principle requirement of Georgian literature in the 16th-18th centuries was the protection of the Georgian language and a priority of the national motive. Regardless of obstacles and the attempted impediment of the consolidation of the Georgian nation under Russian rule during the 19th century (social-democratic and Marxist movements, with a cosmopolitan spirit denying all things national, the “divide and rule” policy introduced in Georgia by the Russian Empire, which included artificially created Megrelian, Svan, and Apkhazian alphabets in addition to the existing Georgian, etc.), the national ideology survived and developed, thanks to the viability of statehood traditions in Georgia. The idea of establishing a Georgian University was born among Georgian students studying in Russia, and was carried out in January 1918, at a time of independence from Russia.

A crucial time for Georgia was WWI, the outbreak of which brought independence to the country for a short time (1918-1921), while its ending didn't ensure its sustainability. Bolshevik Russia, Turkey and Europe were actively involved in the decision-making process concerning the future of Georgia. In February 1921, Georgia was forcibly included in Soviet Russia by the Bolsheviks, with the formal or silent approval of Turkey and the West, where it remained as one of the Soviet Republics until 1991.

Panel V: Making of Georgian State (8:20-10:20)

Maia Manchkhvili, “Fight of the Georgian people for independence and its political grounds (1910’s).”

The ancient Georgian nation met the new century without statehood. The strategic location of the geographic area where the genesis of the Georgian nation took place over the centuries often posed a great threat to it. The issue of state independence is often faced with great challenges for a small nation state, no matter how great a civilization it creates. The political history of Georgia has undergone such a stage several times and nothing unexpected was happening in the early 20th century at a glance. But at this time, the invader –Tsarist Russia – was distinguished from other invaders by one key factor: the aim of the enemy coming as a friend was the degeneration of a nation, while the primary goal of other invaders was to seize the territory and control geographic passages.

The Georgian nation is a bearer of a great civilization code, which is shown by the creation of their own alphabet and the existence of a state unit as early as the 2nd century B.C. We find data on the topic in old Hellenic writings: the Georgian nation appeared to be unable remain a nation and form a state. Many nations do not succeed in achieving this success, but the issue of maintaining independence was in no way

less complicated for a small state like Georgia. The country lost freedom several times throughout her history, but it did not lose its originality and managed to restore independence at proper moments. Having regained independence, the country continued to exist and grow as a civilization.

After going through the century-long tradition of state independence and similar civilizational development, Georgia lost its independence again in the 19th century and suffered under Russian control for decades. However, it never reconciled with this fact and fought desperately for the restoration of independence. The entire conscious life of many Georgian public figures was dedicated to this fight.

In the early 20th century there was an interesting precedent: The attempted formation of three independent Transcaucasian republics, though they were unsuccessful. It could not have been expected otherwise: the idea of unity of the Caucasus, as a voluntary act, has never been implemented throughout history, due to many internal political reasons. The reasons for that should be sought not so much in the interests of Russia, Persia or Ottoman Empire, but instead in the different political interests of the Transcaucasian states.

In such political situations, in the early 20th century, the tactics of strategic waiting and proper preparation for the stage of gaining independence were vitally important for Georgia. As the facts suggest, the political elite of Georgia were not able to foresee many things well, though historic experience gave them reason to think about restoring state independence under such pressure. The political elite, which undertook this task, had no experience in the administration of an independent state, though national interests and historic memory appeared to be the major impetuses to make it take this step. There is no discontinuity in the history of existence of state independence in the Georgian consciousness. The idea of independence and identity has always been alive in the consciousness of the nation. Despite the fact that the attempt to restore independence was unsuccessful, the idea did not die and the fight continued.

**Mariam Chkhartishvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University),
“Conceptualizing the Georgian nation.”**

According to widespread academic opinion, nations are modern phenomena. Only with a certain degree of conditionality can one speak of pre-modern nations as, for example, A.D. Smith does while elaborating on concept of nation. I also do so while describing the Georgian community’s development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I refer to some previous works of mine in which I, being inspired by Smith’s ideas, had proposed the the existence of a pre-modern Georgian nation.

However, in general, most scholars connect nations exclusively with modern times while distinguishing between two principal types: nations being direct products of the modernization process (they are referred to as paradigmatic models though according to L.Greenfeld, the only model of this was the English nation) and the nations that emerged on the ground of nationalisms. In the latter case the idea of “nation” predates the emergence of nations.

From the above typology it is clear that the process of nation-building is different in the cases of different nations. If for so-called paradigmatic nations the objective factors (for example, economic development) are decisive, while for nations being products of nationalisms, the subjective factors (self-awareness of common values and symbols, collective memory) are central. The modern Georgian nation, which had been shaped in the period between the second half of the nineteenth century up to the first quarter of the twentieth century, belongs to the latter type. Accordingly, for proper representation of its history it is necessary to discuss the insights of Georgian nationalism and the role of Georgian intellectuals in making and disseminating it. In Georgian historiography of the Soviet period, nationalism was labeled as ‘false bourgeois ideology.’ Because of such treatment it was considered an issue beyond academic interests. Hence, Soviet scholars, while representing the history of the Georgian nation, completely neglected nationalism and were focused instead on economic developments. In result of this practice the representation of the history of Georgian nation building was at least one-sided, if not simply incorrect. The above approach continues to be the dominant tendency in current Georgian discourse on nation as well. In previous works of mine I have challenged this misleading practice from the position of an ethno-symbolist approach and investigated the Georgian national idea aiming to display the process of the Georgian nation’s conceptualization. In the present paper I intend to continue this research in the same spirit. In particular, I shall discuss views proposed by the famous Georgian writer and public figure Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907). The ideas of Chavchavadze represent the core of the concept of a Georgian nation. For the above purpose I have studied poems, novels, and published papers by Chavchavadze.

This presentation falls into following sections: Key Concepts and Theoretical Background, Historiography, Historical Preconditions, The Georgian National Narrative Designed by Chavchavadze. The sub-sections of the last section are divided as follows: Principal Ideal, Georgian Nation as Sacred Communion, Georgians’ Ethnic Past and Georgian Nation’s Present, Georgian Nation as a Mnemonic Collectivity, and the Georgian National Narrative: Ethnic or Civic?

Zviad Abashidze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), “Nation-Building and ethnic accommodation in an ethnically fragmented society: nation-building and ethnic accommodation in contemporary Georgia through the experience of the 1918-21 Republic.”

Georgia has traditionally been a fragmented society from the perspectives of its ethno-cultural composition. Consequently, there has always been, at least on the public level, the problem of peaceful coexistence between different segments of society in one political space. After the collapse of communism that superficial legitimacy which was based on fear and terror was destroyed and consequently, along with social and economic problems, the problems of ethno-cultural accommodation have been raised. Still today, Georgia suffers significantly from its ethnic diversity. Weak democratic institutions are unable to guarantee the transformation of society into one civil unit. Consequently, in Georgian reality the level of alienation from the perspectives of ethnic accommodation is significantly high. Thus, Georgia along with other countries with a communist past, is still suffering from the presence of ethnic elements in politics and therefore must seek to ‘de-ethnicize’ the public sphere.

The goal of this presentation is to look at contemporary Georgia through the perspectives of the first Democratic Republic of 1918-21. Despite the ancient history of Georgia, the first modern nation-state is seen in the period from 1918-1921. The Constitution of the first democratic republic declared the “nation” as the only source of legitimacy, regardless of the country’s cultural diversity. The Constitution guaranteed the civil and political liberties of the citizens, including ethnic groups’ rights, permitting them to use their language and other cultural ties publicly. According to Constitution of 1921, the Georgian Republic became a unitary-decentralized state with two autonomous formations within the state’s borders (the Abkhazia and Muslim groups).

From my point of view, the experience of the first Republic in the sense of ethnic accommodation and Nation-Building is interesting, and the usage of its spirit in the contemporary period seems to be relevant. Four major models of ethnic coexistences can be distinguished in modern practice: a) “assimilation”, b) “differentiation”, c) “multiculturalism”, e) “integration”. The model of “integration” is most relevant for Georgian realities if we regard its modern perspectives. “Integration” is the most balanced model among other extreme exclusionist and inclusionistic ones. The experience of the 1918-21 Democratic Republic of Georgia was more inclined to the “integrationist” model and therefore, reflection on such a past is necessary and useful for contemporary realities.

George Khelashvili (Centre for Social Sciences Tbilisi State University), “Realism, socialism and nationalism: the sources of Georgia’s foreign policy, 1917-1921.”

This paper focuses on the intellectual debates among the Georgian elite in the wake of the First World War, following decades of national awakening and the emergence of new social forces. Georgia’s foreign policy during the short-lived First Republic (1918-1921) was opportunistic and, ultimately, unsuccessful. The Georgian social-democratic government failed to secure the country’s sovereignty, independence, or sufficient international recognition for survival. Nevertheless, this short-lived independence laid the groundwork for a later attempt at secession from the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s, and it laid a solid foundation for Georgia’s so-called ‘pro-Western policy’ of the 1990s and the 2000s.

This paper analyses sources of Georgia’s foreign policy conduct from 1917 to 1921, asking whether it was the structure of post-WWI international politics, the romantic nationalist legacies of the age of Enlightenment, or the influence of newly-adopted world socialist tendencies that drove Georgia’s foreign policy. The paper is based on archival work conducted in Tbilisi and on secondary literature written by contemporary and later Georgian, Russian and European authors on the First Republic. The major contribution of the article to existing literature is the discussion of intellectual infatuation with conflicting doctrines and worldviews at the turn of the Century in Georgia.

Malkhaz Matsaberidze, “Between Empires: The Problems of State-Building in the Countries of the South Caucasus (1918-1921).”

A peculiarity of Caucasian geopolitics could be seen in the history of Georgia in the 16th-20th centuries. The peoples of Caucasus could attain and maintain their independence either through manipulations of neighboring great powers or through their weakness and decay.

In 1864-1917, the Russian domination in the Caucasus reached its peak, when she conquered these territories and forced Iran and Turkey to withdraw out of the region. Between 1918-1920, some preconditions for the independence of South Caucasian countries were in place: A). Ongoing Civil War in Russia, when the Russian imperial forces did not intervene in the Transcaucasus; B). The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War and the resulting internal problems within the empire; C). The politics of Entente countries, which tried to avoid interference in the Transcaucasus and were ready for recognition of de-facto states within borders that they managed to secure.

The building of a common state of the South Caucasus proved unsuccessful due to internal contradictions and different foreign orientations of the main constituent

peoples: Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis. The mutual territorial claims of these entities were the main impediment for the nation-states of these countries. From 1920 the South Caucasian countries were found in radically different situations: A). The Bolsheviks emerged as winners out of the Russian Civil War, whereas the new Turkey under Ataturk was formed in Anatolia. B). Both of these forces were in conflict with the Entente and sought the creation of an alliance “against imperialism.” C). The traditional Russo-Turkish enmity was put aside by common interests.

The Russian-Turkish alliance had a disastrous affect for the South Caucasian states, as during this period the Entente left the South Caucasus. Bolshevik rule was imposed first in Azerbaijan (April, 1920), then in Armenia (November, 1920). By 1921 only one independent state existed in the Caucasus – Georgia, which was caught between Red Russia and Turkey. The state-building of Georgia was unsuccessful due to internal state conditions. Under the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party Georgia pursued the model seen in Scandinavian countries.

The project of Georgian nation-state building was suppressed by the two neo-imperial aspirations – on the one hand by the Soviet Russia, which had commenced “building the world-wide Proletariat” and Communism, and which tried to impose its control on the territories of the former Russian empire, and by the new Turkish state project, which fought for territories of the Ottoman Empire. The Democratic Republic of Georgia was defeated after an attack by the Soviet Russia, which broke the Russian-Georgian treaty of 7 May, 1920.

The projects of the Russian and Turkish states, emerging after the destruction of the Russian and the Ottoman Empires were radically different from each-other: Soviet Russia declared that she was ahead of solving the national issue and opted for nation-state building. According to this paper Georgia was cut off from its territories and was incorporated within the framework of the Soviet Union as one of the member state; whereas the new Turkish state-building project totally neglected the national context.

Maia Mestvirishvili, Khatuna Martskvishvili, Luiza Arutinov, Natia Mestvirishvili (Tbilisi State University), “Then and now: historical trends and current tendencies of citizenship representation in Georgia.”

Researchers agree that national identity is a multidimensional concept, which is altered by different social and historical changes and is represented in three ways: civic, ethnic and cultural.

This research aims at: 1) Examining historical and conceptual background of national identity representation in Georgia. 2) Empirically validating existence of ethnic, civic

and cultural citizenship representation styles 3) Defining predictive value of attitudinal and cultural constructs for different citizenship styles.

The research explores two related sets of evidence: historical data and empirical findings.

After reviewing the writings of 19th-20th century public figures it becomes obvious that national identity was understood as a unity of elements, which includes attributes of civic, ethnic and cultural citizenship representations. The simple and elegant formula of Georgian nationality, "Fatherland, Language and Faith" created by Ilia Chavchavdze, became the mainstream idea of the epoch. National feelings were defined as "...something that is inherent and entails the elements such as language, historical past, prominent public figures, territory, Georgian literature, etc." (Vaja-Pshavela, 1905). Later, the concept of national identity was expanded by adding several features such as: "culture, art, faith, mythology, traditions and worldview" (Qiqodze, G., 1908). Taking historical data into account we find that by the end of nineteenth century, national identity was defined as a constellation of historical, cultural and social elements where religion, language, common culture and history prevailed.

Searching for those elements in modern reality, we conducted a survey on 600 BA and MA students at different Universities in Georgia. Our data confirm the presence of three citizenship styles in Georgian youth: 56% of respondents represent cultural style of citizenship, 25% civic and 19% ethnic citizenship. Further analysis shows interesting correlational patterns between the different constructs of national identification: the cultural citizenship style is positively associated with patriotism ($r=.544, p<.01$), nationalism ($r=.489, p<.01$) and orthodoxy ($r=.422, p<.01$), whereas, the civic citizenship style has no association with nationalism and is only weakly associated with orthodoxy and patriotism ($r<.3; p<.01$). The ethnic citizenship style is also positively associated with nationalism and orthodoxy ($r=.518; r=.358, p<.01$) but has only a very weak association with patriotism ($r<.2$).

Present research on Georgian adult sample empirically proves the co-existence of three citizenship representation styles. Generally we found that modern national identity is strongly associated with culture rather than with civic rights or ethnic origins. We also defined predictors for each representation type of national identity. It became clear that the elements of national identity, religion, language culture, etc. which were defined a

century ago, are still embodied in people's cognition and have high predictive value for different aspects of identity representations.

Panel VI (A): Azerbaijan in Transition (10:30-12:30)

Zaur Gasimov (Leibniz-Institute of European History), “Forging oneself by ‘othering’ others: Azerbaijani Discourse on Nation and Islam in 1900-1920s.”

At the beginning of the 20th century the Azerbaijani intellectuals scattered between Tiflis, Baku and Tabriz observed the political processes at the borderlands of the Russian and Ottoman Empires as well as of Persia. The gradual liberalisation of center-periphery relations in the Russian Tsardom after the Revolution of 1905 caused a re-flourishing of the Muslim media in the Caucasus, which became an important medium for debates on religious, national and cultural identity. In Baku, Nakhichevan, Tabriz and particularly in Tiflis the Azerbaijani intellectuals could observe the political and cultural developments of the neighbouring Christian communities of Armenians, Georgians as well as of Russians. It had a strong impact on Azerbaijanis' own discourse on identity.

By ‘othering’ the Christian neighbourhood the Azerbaijani intellectuals focused firstly on forging a Muslim identity pleading for a better Muslim education. Simultaneously, some of the Azerbaijani journals began to differentiate the Azerbaijanis from the ‘rest’ Muslim world by ‘othering’ the Ottomans and Persians, while other media was developing the idea of Turkishness. Both phenomena were interconnected and emerged in the context of circulation of ideas between the Baku-Tiflis-Istanbul/Tabriz triangles (to some extent Paris and St. Petersburg).

The presentation will focus on the nation and religion debates in the Azerbaijani newspaper “Füyüzat” (1906-1907), which was edited by Ali Bey Hüseyinzade (Turan) and the satiric journal of “Molla Nasraddin”, which was founded and headed by Mirza Djalil Mammadquluzade

Ozan Arslan (Izmir University of Economics), “Ottoman Military Expedition to Azerbaijan in 1918 and Memories of a Multi-Actor State-Building Process.”

Towards the end of WWI the Ottoman Empire started to pursue an active policy of creating closer relations with the Turkic and Muslim populations in the former

domains of the defunct Romanov Empire. After the war between the Ottoman and Russian empires ceased in December 1917 following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Sublime Porte launched an active diplomacy urging the secession of Azerbaijani Turks from the imperial Russia, first within a “Transcaucasian Federation” and later as a completely independent state, through the peace conferences of Trabzon (March 1918) and Batumi (May 1918). These diplomatic efforts were accompanied in the summer of 1918 by an Ottoman military expedition to the Russian Azerbaijan. The expeditionary corps named the “Caucasian Army of Islam (Kafkas Islam Ordusu)” defeated the “Baku Commune” and the “Centrocasian Dictatorship” - supported at different times by Armenian Dashnakist, Cossack/White Russian and British forces - and captured the Caspian city of Baku on behalf of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in September 1918.

The corpus of literature on this specific period of WWI in the Caucasus consists of memoirs, war diaries and personal accounts of the military operations of the Ottoman expeditionary corps and of the negotiations between several allies and foes alike, written not only by numerous Ottoman and/or Azerbaijani servicemen, military commanders, diplomats and politicians but also by several Russian, German, British, French and Austro-Hungarian military and intelligence officers, diplomats and statesmen involved in the war on the Caucasian front during WWI. On the Central Powers’ camp, many of the German and some of the Austro-Hungarian officers and diplomats serving in the Ottoman Empire during this latter’s war in the Caucasus published their memoirs after the Great War. On the Entente Powers’ camp, in a similar way, some former members of French and British military missions to the Caucasus published their personal accounts about the post-Bolshevik revolution politics with shifting allegiances and military operations in the region. Moreover, several veterans of the Russian Caucasus Army joined the White Russian émigré community in Western Europe or in the USA at the end of the Russian Civil War and they published their war memoirs in Russian, French, and English, contributing to the literature on the Ottoman war in the Caucasus in WWI.

Based on this multi-national documentation, I intend to analyze in my paper the post-WWI memories of the Ottoman military expedition to Azerbaijan in the last year of WWI. The paper will treat not only the accounts of the original actors of the Turkic expedition into the Eastern Transcaucasus – the Ottomans and the Azerbaijanis – helping the state-building process of the post-WWI Azerbaijani republic, but also of their allies and adversaries, and will compare the narratives of different military and diplomatic elites of the local and imperial actors within the post-WWI memory.

Mustafa Mirzeler (Western Michigan University), “Re-remembering Karabagh.”

To remember what transpired in Karabagh that inspire the victims of displaced Azeri to remember their forced migration in terms of soykirim (genocide) nearly ten years after my initial interviews. The victims detail a posttraumatic repertoire of memories—one in which victimization by the violence of genocide is a powerful act of redemptive remembering, animating the political currency of genocide and reconciliation articulated by Azeri national politics. Such remembering closely resembles the burgeoning Armenian heritage claims that transform the political violence of World War I into redemptive histories. The contemporary Azeri storytellers render their narratives of violence through the tropes of genocide. In fact, the storyteller’s memories craft victimization by genocide, enigmatically recuperating key political scenarios that have yet to be heard by the international community. This paper reconstructs some of these key scenarios through the act of remembering, unfolding the outlines of violent genocide, unrest, and resistance represented by the voices of Azeri storytellers as political documents, testimonies, commentaries and anecdotes. These memories and narratives are juxtaposed by the same memories and narratives the same storytellers shared with me nearly a decade ago. In this essay therefore, I analyze the changes and transformations in the memories of genocide, by unpacking the dialectics of remembering and its productive effects on the semiotics of political history, memory, and idioms of violence in the context of contemporary national and international state discourse.

Heydar Mirza (Strategic Research Center, Baku), Salafi Threat in Azerbaijan in Current Political Context: Myth or Reality?

This paper will examine the radical Islamic challenge in Azerbaijan. A year passed since the Ministry of National Security of Azerbaijan (MNSA) made public statement on success in special operation against wide network of radical salafi extremists in Azerbaijan. Geography of the operation included capital Baku, two other major towns, Sumgait and Ganja, also Qakh, Zaqatala, Sheki, Qusar regions. The result – 17 members of “Forest brothers” armed salafi extremist group arrested, one killed, two more wounded. During the operation one officer of the task force was killed in action, three more wounded. Huge amount of light arms and ammunition was seized by the government forces. Also number of extremist salafi literature forbidden in Azerbaijan was confiscated. And again – existence of radical and armed sunni extremists had already come several times before in local newswire. Haji Magomedov’s gang destroyed by Azerbaijani commandos in 2003 in Balakan region, series of special operations in 2007 – 2008 in northern regions of the country, Abu Bakr mosque bomb blast in 2008 with subsequent series of arrests, - these are just several examples. The paper will focus on the following questions: Are salafis a real threat for stability in Azerbaijan? How high are chances for growth of Islam’s role in Azerbaijani politics? Does in general such a phenomenon like political Islam exist in Azerbaijani society?

These questions, as we think, can be answered in best way only if historic and current political context is reviewed thoroughly.

**İrada Baghirova, (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences),
Social changes in the Russian Empire and the role of political organizations in the
formation of national identity of Azerbaijanis in the early 20th century.**

The formation of an Azerbaijani national self-consciousness and its separation from the common Muslim identity is rooted in the political and social processes that took place in south Caucasus during the 19th and 20th centuries. An important factor which came to shape the historical destiny of the people was undoubtedly the integration of north Azerbaijan into the Russian Empire.

The political processes which characterized the situation at that time played an everlasting role. The relatively stable epoch of the 19th century ended with powerful cataclysms in the first quarter of the 20th century. In extreme situations, the political struggles were carried out by people with the ability to generalize ideas and lead certain parts of the society with these ideas. The new generation of progressive intellectuals of Azerbaijan issued a public discussion on a number of long taboo topics, and among them were the question of national literary language, the reform of Islam, public education, the problems of women's emancipation, all giving rise to the cultural transformation of the traditional Eastern society and formation of national identity. For the first time in Azerbaijani history, the beginning of century was marked by development of the first political parties and the organizations which have played an important role in the formation of the first in the Moslem world democratic republic in Azerbaijan and the creation of national identity.

Panel VI (B): The Republic of Azerbaijan (10:30-12:30)

**Nigar Maxwell (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences),
*Turkish Influence on Azerbaijan Independence 1918-1920.***

The lessons of historical relations between the Azerbaijanis and Turks in the period between 1918 and 1920 are still relevant today for the independent development of Azerbaijan, at a time when Turkey has again become the most important object of Azerbaijani foreign policy Azerbaijan is one of the priorities of Turkish policy as well. This discussion aims to take an objective look at the ideological principles, beliefs, and political attitudes, which determined the Azerbaijani-Turkish relations during this

period, and also to assess the positions and roles of both players in the independent South Caucasus region. The Turkish factor played an ambiguous role with regard to Azerbaijan independence. This dual nature of Turkish politics in the Caucasus can be observed throughout the history of the Independent Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918. There is no doubt that at the very beginning of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Turkish state fulfilled its own strategic interests, by providing military and political support for the young state, by securing Azerbaijan's borders, and by supporting its quest for international recognition. It must be noted that the strategic aspirations of Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia were partly responsible for the eventual collapse of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, and the occupation of Azerbaijan by a foreign power, based on the mutual support and interest of both these regimes. In the spring of 1920, Turkish nationalists and communists joined forces, and began to provide open support to the plans of Moscow and Baku Bolsheviks to seize Azerbaijan. The pendulum of Turkey's pragmatic foreign policy, which swung to protect the people of Azerbaijan during the genocide by the Dashnak-Bolshevik alliance, and also the efforts of Azerbaijani patriotic forces to establish an independent state, then swung in the opposite direction - the Turkish factor played a crucial role in the subsequent occupation of Azerbaijan, and its conversion to a Soviet Republic.

Shamil Rahmazade (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), The Decree by the Zaqatala District Council in 1918 in the context of ethno-political identity quest.

This article is dedicated to the analysis of the situation in the Zaqatala district at the time of social and political crisis between 1917 and 1918. The article accordingly examines the activities of different political parties and leaders at that time. In our opinion, ethno-confessional factor played a main role in political consolidation of Zakatala's society that found the logical expression in a choice for the benefit of the Azerbaijan statehood. This choice was recorded in the well-known decision of Muslim National Council of district dated June, 26, 1918. In this study, the given decree has been analyzed, revealing the motives and circumstances, which caused the choice. With this purpose, the report of session from June, 26 has been subjected to analysis. We came to the conclusion that the district politicians' choice to develop an act of ethno-political identification was predetermined by the existing political and socio-cultural factors.

**Sevinj Aliyeva (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences),
Mountain Republic & the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan: The Creation of a
Single State.**

This paper will examine the political attempts of Caucasian Muslims to create a joint state. In the early twentieth century, the ethnic identification of peoples of the Caucasus reached its climax. Muslim identity in some people has been replaced by a national identity. The process of nation-building and national statehood, their form quest to create their own state, to get independence and separation from the Russian Empire was complicated and multi-faceted. In the North Caucasus, where the Muslim nations were of different ethnic and linguistic affiliation, process was particularly interesting. The paper also analyzes the reasons of the failure of these attempts. Once at the end of 1919 appointees of the Entente were defeated in the South and South-Eastern Front, and in Turkey itself the political course has changed, March, the 20th, 1920 Nuri Pasha, together with the staff officers and Azerbaijani volunteers was forced to return to Azerbaijan. In the current situation, the British High Commissioner Oliver Wardrop wrote to F.Kh. Khoyski: "On the issue of Dagestan, I would not recommend taking any movement beyond the current borders of Azerbaijan». Despite the rebel movement of the North Caucasians, Bolsheviks came up to Derbent, to the borders of Azerbaijan. And on the night of April, the 26th to the 27th, 1920 troops of the XI Red Army crossed the border of Azerbaijan. Attempts to form a single state in the Caucasus have crashed. This idea continued to be discussed Caucasian immigration, but wore a declarative and debatable character.

**Djabi Bahramov (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences),
*The Oil Factor in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia & Relations with the
Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan in 1918-1920.***

Oil sector and the issue of Azerbaijan's independence recognition in the United States and Soviet Russia's foreign policy (1917 - 1920)

The article is dedicated to the United States and Soviet Russia's relationships with Azerbaijan from the oil factor perspective and its controversial role in development of Azerbaijan's independence in 1917 - 1920.

Basing on the archives and original sources the author touches the core of the South Caucasus policy of the Soviet Russia in the said period.

The article contains data evaluating the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic's government, particularly efforts of Azerbaijani foreign affairs minister Fatali Khan Khoyski to establish equal relationships with the Soviet Russia. At the same time, the US policy

towards Azerbaijan was also controversial. During the Versailles Conference president Woodrow Wilson was pressured by Standard Oil Company which was not interested in existence of independent Azerbaijan. Basing on historic facts the author underlines that Baku oil played the major role in Soviet Russia's aggressive intentions, what brought to occupation of the Northern Azerbaijan in April 1920, a serious blow on Azerbaijani national independence.

Nigar Gozalova (Institute of History, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences), *Genocide against the Azerbaijani people in the archival documents of the British Library (1918-1919).*

Afer the collapse of the Soviet Union and establishment of Azerbaijan's independence opportunity grew to build unbiased picture of the historic past of Azerbaijanis. Many facts come out which had been top secret before and these facts bring light to closed topics create oppornities for objective evaluation. Genocide of Azerbaijanis in 1918 - 1920 is one of the most uncovered topics in our history. Documents revealed from the British Library bu us show the real tragedy that Azerbaijani population of the South Caucasus lived in 1918 - 1920.

Armenian nationalists mass-murdered Muslim population of Shamakhy, Baku, Guba, Gekcha, Kurdamir, Nakhcivan, Zangezur. Archives of the British Empire still contain files with facts basing on which one can imagine the scopes of genocide and looting.

Panel VII: Armenian-Ottoman Relations (13:40-15:40)

Brad Dennis (University of Utah), *The Spread & Development of Armenian National Liberationism in the Caucasus & Eastern Anatolia 1870-1898: A Reassessment*

Between 1870 and 1900, a large number of Armenians strongly believed that the larger Armenian community in the Caucasus and especially in Eastern Anatolia was under unjust rule and in need of political liberation. Yet the concept of what a liberation was supposed to be and how it was to be undertaken was greatly contested among different actors in the Armenian community. The topic of the Armenian liberation has been greatly discussed by scholars. However, in much scholarship there has been a tendency to cast the development of movements towards a national liberation of Armenians during the late nineteenth century in retrospective light as a linear phenomenon, as if it underwent a logical process of set steps to a specific destination. However, when viewing the different national liberation movements from the

perspective of the past-forward (not in hindsight), it appears that the trajectory of these movements often defied the expectations of many powerful and influential actors in the Ottoman, Russian, and Armenian communities. This paper seeks to identify what the expectations of the Armenians, Ottomans, and Russians were vis-à-vis the Armenian question and how they informed them. It attempts to explain how and why socialist-oriented movements comprising a select few intelligentsia and organizers who endorsed violence as a legitimate tactic managed to prevail as a force majeure among Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Russia by the 1890s, despite a remarkable set of odds against them. It looks at competing voices within the Armenian community and attempts to explain why some garnered more attention than others did. Furthermore, it traces how Armenians viewed their relationship with different ethnic groups within the empire, and whether or not it identified an alliance with them as beneficial to their movements. I use a number of British, Ottoman, Russian, and Armenian sources, including journals, government reports, and memoirs to develop the narrative and substantiate the claims of this paper.

Ramazan Erhan Güllü (Istanbul University), “The crises of the Armenian church in Russia (1903-1905) and its impact on Ottoman-Armenian Relations.”

Beginning from the time of Tsar Alexander III who ascended the throne in 1881, the policy of "one state (Tsardom) one nation (the Russians) and the only faith (Orthodoxy)" began to be active in Russia. This policy was adhered to during the period of Tsar Nikola II who was replaced with Alexander III in 1894. This policy, which attempted to “Russificate“ Armenians together with the other Russian dominated nations, would cause an increase in general unrest in the region. For the enforcement of these policies, Tsar appointed Prince Golitsin to the General Governorship of the Caucasus. Prince Golitsin has become a symbol of the Russification policy in the Caucasus, hardening the attitudes of Armenians. This policy took shape more clearly in 1903. In June of 1903, on the advice of the Governor General of Caucasus Prince Golitsin, Tsar Nikola II ordered the confiscation of the properties belonging to the Armenian Church and the transference of Armenian schools to Russian authority. Golitsin aimed at speeding up the policy of Russification to break the power of the Armenian revolutionaries. In fact, by interfering with the church, Golitsin was confronting not only the committee members but also the entire Armenian community. At that time Malachia Ormanian was serving as the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul and Mıgırdiç Khrimian, who had previously served as the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul, was Etchmiadzin Catholicos.

Khrimian, in the face of above mentioned Russian policies, chose to get closer with the Ottoman State, with which he had previously experienced many problems. He wanted help from the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul Ormanian in this area. However, the Patriarch Malachia Ormanian, who had good relations with Abdulhamid II, refrained from being in close contact with catholicos. In this paper, the influence of these policies which had applied until the Revolution of 1905 in Russia, greatly impacting relations between the Ottoman State and the Armenians and the role of the Armenian leaders in these relations, will be examined.

Garabet K Moundjian (Independent Historian), “Armenian-Young Turk relations, 1895-1914: trying to explain issues pertaining to the ARF “Aye” and the Hnchag “Nay”.”

In the annals of Armenian Young Turk relations in the second half of the rule of Sultan Abdulhamid II, certain discrepancies can be observed that beg to be treated from a historical standpoint. While the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) went ahead with such a relationship, the Social Democratic Hnchagian Party (SDHP) stood adamant in its refusal to have any such dealings with Turkish revolutionaries who also vied for the fall of Abdulhamid and the reestablishment of a secular, constitutional political order for the Ottoman Empire.

What were the reasons behind the ARF’s “Aye” and the SDHP’s “Nay” to such an association? Why did the ARF go ahead and participate in the two Anti-Hamidian conferences of 1902 (Paris) and 1907 (Vienna), while the SDHP remained aloof, if not totally against, such contacts? Moreover, why was it that even after the constitutional revolution of 1908, when the SDHP reformulated its program and genuinely removed the “problematic” demand for an Independent Armenia from it, that it still refused to have any dealings with the ruling CUP elite and rather concentrated its efforts to work from within the opposition—reformulated through Prince Sabaheddin and his “League of Decentralization” (Ademi Merkeziyyet) and later the “Party of the Free” (Ahrar Firkasi)—as the only viable alternative for an empire based on the tenets of secular Ottomanism? The answers for these and similar questions will be at the crux of this presentation, which will also show that Armenians were never united in their embracing of the CUP as the only alternative. The examination of these concerns will ultimately engender paradigmatic shifts within the existing Armenian and even the Turkish historical paradigm vis-à-vis the epoch under discussion. It might even suggest a totally new historical model, which can really explain the subtle issues at the core of such disagreements that have not yet been brought to light.

The paper will further discuss the intra-Armenian dimension of this ARF-SDHP dichotomy and how it affected pan-Armenian politics in the decades that followed the Armenian genocide, especially within the Armenian Diaspora that emerged after 1915.

Onur Önoł (Birkbeck College, University of London) “Judgment in the Caucasus: The First Phase of the Dashnaksutiun Trial (1907-1910).”

This paper looks at the motivations of the Tsarist Government in initiating a grandiose political trial of the Dashnaksutiun which proved to be critical for both the Dashnaksutiun itself and the Tsarist Armenians in general. From its inception, the trial helped the Tsarist authorities shape their policies regarding their Armenian subjects in the region.

Between 1903 and 1907, the Tsarist administration in the South Caucasus had various problems with many segments of its Armenian subjects. It initially started with the confiscation of the properties of the Armenian Church in 1903 on imperial orders. The conflict between the imperial authorities and the Armenians in the region went on when the Revolution of 1905 shook the Russian Empire. Soon, the empire began to show signs of recovery under P.A. Stolypin, as did the Caucasus under Viceroy I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov, whose correspondence with St. Petersburg in the aftermath of the revolution revealed that a new course of action against the Dashnaks was in the offing.

Considered a key threat for the stability in the South Caucasus by the St. Petersburg and Tiflis, the Dashnaks in the region faced a mass political trial which resulted in the imprisonment of many of its members. The first phase of this trial (1908-1910) demonstrated several aspects of the Tsarist attitude not only the regarding the Dashnaksutiun but also the Tsarist Armenians in the South Caucasus, a vital element in the broader national question. By scrutinizing the trial documents and other correspondence between various agents of the Tsarist administration, this paper aims to explain how the initial phase of this trial was carried out and its repercussions on the relations between the Tsarist government and the Armenians in the South Caucasus.

Parallel to the general trends in the empire, the revolutionary organizations were targeted by the Tsarist authorities in the Caucasus in the aftermath of the first Russian revolution. By 1908, the Dashnaksutiun represented a grave threat to the Tsarist authorities in the region because of its mass support base, its operational experience both in the Caucasus and abroad and its recent involvement in the European socialist movement. The first phase of the trial demonstrated how the Russian authorities

perceived this threat and formulated its policies to stamp it out from the region so that they could reformulate their relations with the Tsarist Armenians.

Panel VIII: Redefining Armenian Identity (15:50-17:50)

**Anush Hovhannisyan (Institute of Oriental Studies, NAS, Armenia),
“Remembering for the future: the project on personal memories of the past in
Armenia and Turkey.”**

My presentation will be on a project in which I was involved as an expert. The book *Speaking to one another* is a product of the research project, “Adult Education and Oral History Contributing to Armenian-Turkish Reconciliation,” conducted under the auspices of dvv international (Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association) between August 2009 and February 2010. This project, financed by the German Foreign Ministry, brought together ten university students from Turkey and ten from Armenia who received training in October 2009 in conducting oral history interviews from qualified social scientists. From October 2009 to February 2010, two teams, including the students, conducted oral history research into the events of 1915. The basic idea was to facilitate a dialogue among members of the Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish communities about their common past. Since, for obvious reasons, there were no direct survivors involved, the participants were second and third generation survivors, whose knowledge of the 1915-related events had been passed down to them by parents and grandparents. The persons interviewed came from the Armenian diaspora, many in Turkey, and also from the Republic of Armenia.

Well over a hundred interviews were conducted, and a selection (13 in Turkey and 35 in Armenia) was then published in Turkish, Armenian, and English, in a volume entitled, *Speaking to One Another*. There are two levels on which the activities and achievements of the research groups should be evaluated: first, there is the wealth of specific information about the genocide. The other level is that of the trans-generational dialogue which unfolds through the exchange between the interviewers and interviewees.

What is the significance of memory in Armenian and Turkish societies? In both, though in different ways, the past continues to weigh heavily on the present. The destinies of both societies have changed radically as a result of their past. Much about the past has been silenced in various ways, though these silences have been challenged

substantially in recent years. In both countries, it is imperative to study how the past is viewed in the present, as the past, especially through its reconstruction through memory and postmemory, has great purchase on the present and the future.

Placing the stories in this book side by side will make it possible for people in Turkey and in Armenia to engage in conversation, to speak with and to listen to one another. We hope that this project will contribute to the dialogue between the two societies concerning the past, the present and the future.

Michael Gunter (Tennessee Tech), “Conceived in Genocide? The Armenian Massacres In World War I & the Birth Pangs of the Modern Turkish and Armenian National Identities.”

An enormous amount has been written about the Armenian deportations and massacres in the Ottoman Empire during World War I—a cataclysmic event termed genocide by the Armenians and many others, but a characterization disputed by the Turks and others. Without denying the resulting suffering, this paper will seek to explain these events more accurately as one of the final acts of violence between these two nascent nations for hierarchy and mastery in the modern Caucasus that was emerging from the collapse of the Ottoman, Russian, and Persian Empires during and immediately after World War I. Indeed, as a result of the post World War I renewal of the Turkish-Armenian struggle, in part the modern Turkish nation-state emerged. On the other hand, the nascent Armenian nation-state was sunk into the new Soviet Union as one of its supposed federal Republics, only emerging into real independence when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. This actual history challenges the selective memories of supposed genocide, suffering, and victimization still harbored by some. In addition, what really occurred more accurately explains modern national identity formations and stratifications in the Caucasus. Thus, this paper will address the following major conference themes: imperial collapse; nationalism, ethnicity and religion; popular memory and politics of memory; the Caucasus as the borderland; and interstate and intercommunal rivalries. This paper also will deal with such conference thematical arguments as 1.) What are the main narratives of national historiographies of the Caucasian peoples? 2.) What are the main issues and questions in the historiography of the new nation-states in the Caucasus? 3.) Which methods have been effective and ineffective in studying the processes of nation and state-building? 4.) How do Turkish and Armenian societies try to preserve and construct the memories of major wars and external interventions? 5.) How does selective memory come to dominate? 6.) What are the norms for describing brutality, suffering and victimization? 7.) How does each

nation construct itself as a victim of external forces? 8.) What were the short and long-term effects of World War I and related wars on the identity formations and the emergence of modern nation-states in the Caucasus? Finally this paper will argue that the Turkish-Armenian struggle for hierarchy in the Caucasus continues today in the struggle over Nagorno-Karabakh/Artsakh.

Eyal Ginio (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), “Debating the Nation in Court: The Torlakyan Trial (Istanbul, 1921).”

On 21 July 1921, towards midnight, a cheerful group was approaching the Pera Hotel when a figure opened fire on them. One of the group’s members, a man called Behbud Han Cevanşir, was murdered. The identity of the shooter was revealed as well: He was a young Armenian named Misak Torlakyan who was from Trabzon. The previous relations between the shooter and his victim were easily disclosed and clearly led to the city of Baku during the late months of 1918: Cevanşir served there previously as the Minister of Internal Affairs of the short-lived independent Azerbaijan; Torlakyan was staying in Baku during Civanşir’s tenure.

The trial of the Armenian youngster in Istanbul by a British military court is at the center of this paper. Within a short period of time this trial turned into a bill of charge formulated by the defense; it chose to ignore the actual act of murder and focus on the motives that it believed had brought the defendant to commit the crime. The Armenian defense lawyers used the trial to criminalize the victim due to his role as Minister of Interior Affairs at the time of the massacre which took place in Baku and lasted for three consecutive days and nights in September 1918. On the one hand, the court and the prosecution – both manned by British militaries – enabled the defense to formulate its case by raising accusations against prominent officials in addition to the victim and against wider groups and ideas including the national pan-Turkish movement and its representatives in the Ottoman State during WWI. On the other hand, the prosecution wanted to emphasize the guilt of the Armenian shooter and see him as part of a wider group of Armenians who betrayed the countries in which they lived in the name of Armenian nationalism. The court was asked to decide upon central issues of citizenship versus betrayal; patriotism versus persecution of minorities. The two opposing parties perceived the trial as a major arena in which they could present their narratives in a clear and succinct manner. The various judicial strategies, the formulation of the testimonies and their presentations allow us to offer a discussion on the shaping of new identities and discourses in court against the background of WWI, the following demise of empires and the construction of new national identities.

My discussion of the trial is based on the papers of the Ottoman journalist Ahmed Cemalettin. My paper concentrates on the relation between nationalism and the judicial arena in which new terminologies and national narratives are defined, contested and defended and transformed from the realm of individual intellectuals to the much wider public arena.

Mehmet Ö. Alkan (Istanbul University), "Ethnic Identity, Political Identity and Nationalism: "Living together in diversity" during the Second Constitutional Period."

There appeared a revival of nationalisms after the promulgation of the constitution in 1908 Young Turk Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, which were to a great extent suppressed during the reign of Abdülhamid II. In the course of Second Constitutional Period the ethnic identities rapidly turned into political identities and transformed into nationalisms. During this particular period different societies were constituted and were based on Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Albanian, Arab, Kurdish identities.

However 31 Mart 1325/13 Nisan 1909 turned out to be a turning point and legal obstacles were created to hinder the politicization of ethnic identities and desires of “separation” of particular communities. In this context, 120th article was added to the constitution, which bestowed the right of organization, yet which also put forward obstacles against its disposal. These obstacles against the utilization of the right of organization in the constitution and in the law of societies, which was based on the constitution itself, were quite the same. Though they were formulated in different words it was banned to “separate Ottoman elements politically”

Besides, the 31 March Incident paved the way for initiatives for “living together” and life experiences to co-exist in peace. Furthermore, different ideological initiatives came out which propagate the ideal of living together. Some of these organizations were, “Cemiyet-i Siyasiye-i Osmaniye”, “Osmanlı Hürriyet ve Teavün-i Milli Cemiyeti”, “Meşrutiyet-i Osmaniye Kulübü”, “Cemiyet-i Müteşebbise”, “Nesl-i Cedit Kulübü” One of those was a political initiative which was called the Committee for the Union of Ottoman Elements (İttihad-i Anasır-i Osmaniye Heyeti). This society was established in 23 July 1909 in the first anniversary of the revolution, the so-called “announcement of the freedom.”

The aim of the Committee for the Union of Ottoman Elements was explicated in the first article of its constitution:

“It is constituted by taking justice into consideration as a guide to its activities, to ensure earthly and spiritual interests of the holy and common motherland, to enhance the ties in between individuals who are not separable ethnically and religiously and bare the name of sublime Ottoman, to comply with the principle of equality, to create necessary solidarity, to propagate the idea of justice.

Its’ members are comprised of representatives sent by the worldly and spiritual leaders whose religious establishment was acknowledged by the government; representatives sent by the presidents of societies and clubs who did not have religious establishment; and names proposed by prominent individuals who did not have any establishments.

According to the constitution of the organization its’ founders were listed in order: Armenian Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Turks, Jews, Latins, Greek Orthodox Melchids, Chaldeans, Circassians, Syriacs, Protestants, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Catholic Syriacs.

Besides, the Ottoman elements who reside in İstanbul were counted in the constitution as follows: Turk, Greek, Catholic Armenian, Jew, Greek Melchid, Syriac, Circassian, Arab, Albanian, Kurd, Chaldean, Protestant, Catholic Syriac, Latin, Bulgarian, Serbian, Catholic Bulgarian and Vlach.

Furthermore, it was also stated that those who can prove their permanent existence on Ottoman land and those who does not have a spiritual establishment in İstanbul such as Marunites and Nestorianists could also be included to this union.

My Presentation will focus on the Committee for the Union of Ottoman Elements (İttihad-i Anasır-i Osmaniye Heyeti) and its activities within the context of ethnic and political identities and nationalisms in the Second Constitutional Period and the will to live and coexist together.

Matt Haydon (University of Utah), “The search for identity: an Armenian-American’s perspective and power through victimization.”

Not Available

This paper is not only a study about the Armenian identity, but it is an effort to understand parts of my identity. It is an attempt to understand why I feel the way I do about the history surrounding my family. It is also an attempt to understand why the Diaspora Armenians have different views than those of the Armenians from Armenia. I am not making a judgment about the past, that debate is for the historians; I am looking at the dynamics of the Armenian identity. Why is this identity ingrained in

certain Armenians and not others? The Diasporan Armenians do not have any historical connection with modern-day Armenia, most of them have a link to the ancestral homeland that is now in present day Turkey. As I started to interact with other Armenians as an adult I realized something. I realized that most of the Armenians I met portrayed themselves as a victim. A victim to the aggression of the Ottomans, Turks, Persians and the Russians, the idea of being a victim was a part of their identity. The notion of being a victim was foreign to me and I did not understand why a person would subscribe to an identity that would foster such a notion. Who is a victim? When is a person considered a victim? Why would an individual or a group want to be considered a victim? A constructivist approach must be first examined when trying to understand victimhood or victimization. In identity creation the constructivist approach identifies ethnic identity as a dependent variable. Chandra (2009) and Anderson (2006) stress that constructivism is “a way of thinking about ethnic identities as fluid and endogenous to human action” (Chandra 2009).

Constructivism sprawls across culture, structure and rationality. There are some other aspects to constructivism. Whereas primordialism creates a cognitive map that allows humans to know our environment and guide our orientations in life, there is disconnect between the primordialist approach and the modern world. This is why Chandra espouses primordialism as the old way. Constructivism is a different mode of understanding human conduct and identity formation. In constructivism everything is socially constructed; ideas such as religion, nation, and state are modern human creations. Humans create these concepts to establish order in a chaotic world, and humans then attach meanings to these words to strengthen the bonds to human development. Human agency is in search of meaning, interest, and symbols.

Interactions between humans are key to creating zones of meaning. So in the modern political landscape are there any advantages for the Armenians to claim the victim status? According to Hagan (1989) victimization inherently implies a power relationship in which one party dominates another. This relationship was definitely true in the case of the events of 1915. However, in today’s political landscape the Armenians are looking to refine their position of power from one of weakness to one of strength. They hope to take the past that came very close to the annihilation of the community to the glue that holds the community together.

Panel IX: Treaties & Memories (8:20-10:20)

Kemal Cicek (Ipek University), *The Role & Impact of the Internal Security of Eastern Anatolia on the Minority Politics of the Unionists During WWI.*

The discussion of the internment policy of the Ottoman Empire during WW1 and its consequences has so far been the subject of hot debates. The circumstances that led or forced the Empire to receive such a hard decision as to intern a considerable amount

of its own population mainly from the eastern parts of the empire has also been outlined in numerous works. Although the law of relocation of May 27, 1915 had not pointed to any specific group or people, practically it was the Armenian subjects of the Empire, which were the most effected from its execution. Naturally, debates over the internment of the Armenians have been taking place between historians approving the CUP's internment policies and those who disapprove it. No consensus has hitherto been reached as to the causes of the removal of Armenians from their ancestral homes. Armenians claim that the real intent of the government by the internment policy was the extermination of Armenians from Anatolia which they regarded as their homelands in order to homogenise Anatolia. Turkish historians in general highlight the military necessity. However, there is not a meticulous study of the local conditions in the areas, which necessitated the implementation of internment policy from the point of the government. In this paper, an attempt will be made to understand internal security of the areas from which the displacements had initially been made.

In order to conduct this study we have luckily abundance of sources in the Ottoman Archives of The Prime Ministry and the Military Archives of the General Staff, since governors, local administrators and also agents poured into the Ministry of Interior numerous reports about the local conditions and security problems before and during the implementation of the people from the war zones. These reports reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Armenian activities behind the army lines posed considerable danger not only to security of the Ottoman soldiers in the front but also of the civilian population especially in remote districts from central areas. In numerous reports we learn that long before the entry of the Ottoman Empire to the World War, well organized Armenian voluntary detachments and bands had prepared the ground for a full scale rebellion in an effort to help advancing Russian army. The decision of the ARF following the World Congress of Eastern Armenians in Caucasia to join Russia exacerbated the conflicts taking place between local Armenians and Kurds. Russia also provoked the Muslims against the Armenians, Armenians against the government, and often creating problems among the Muslims and Armenians. Thus, thanks to this policy, Russia was able to destabilize the whole region and Van, Bitlis, Adana, Mosul provinces in particular were dragged into turmoil; Needless to say, Russia's policy to pull Armenians in the Ottoman Empire to their side in order to ease their advance within the Ottoman territories must have been one of the main reasons which made the interment of the Armenians a military necessity. Nevertheless, there is no such study to define the extent, to which these conditions affected the minority politics of the then ruling party, i.e., CUP.

In this paper we shall attempt to bring forth Ottoman archival documents pointing to what kind of conditions led the CUP to give such a hard decision as to move the Armenians from war zones and settle them in the interior or safer places within the empire.

Candan Badem, (Tunceli University), “Southwest Caucasus in the Struggles of Bolshevism, Menshevism, Kemalism and the Dashnaks, 1919-1921.”

On the basis of new documents from Russian, Ottoman, Georgian and Armenian archives, as well as new works in the secondary literature, this paper examines the war between Turkey and the Republic of Armenia and the ensuing treaties of Alexandropol (December 1920), Moscow (March 1921) and Kars (October 1921), the last one including Soviet Russia as well as the Soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The paper discusses the legacy of Russian rule in the area beginning from 1877, and of WWI on nation-state building in the wake of the Russian Revolution.

Ara Papian (Head of Modus Vivendi Centre, and Former Ambassador, Yerevan, Armenia), “The Arbitral Award on Turkish-Armenian Boundary by Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America.”

This paper is the first attempt to conduct research on President Woodrow Wilson’s (1913-1921) involvement in the fate of Armenian people after WWI and the Republic of Armenia (1918-1920), especially in determining of boundary between Armenia and Turkey. This is the first-time disciplined analysis of Wilson’s Arbitral Award has been undertaken, according to the international law in general and United Nation’s official methodology in particular. This paper is focused on the historical background, legal aspects and political implications of Wilson’s Arbitral Award (November 22, 1920), officially entitled: *“Decision of the President of the United States of America respecting the Frontier between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory adjacent to the Armenian Frontier.”*

The study of this Arbitration has significance beyond Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-US relations. Border conflicts and relevant issues are high on the regional and international agenda today as well. American involvement in the Middle East is one of the key components of the United States’ present foreign and security policy.

Moreover, due to the detailed and extensive participation of the United States in the Armenian-Turkish relations through Wilson's Arbitral Award, the Arbitral Award is a logical starting point for a stronger historical, political and legal understanding of the conflict-prone region.

This article will also provide a contribution to understanding President Wilson's broader policy towards the Middle East during the complex period of 1917-1921 and its possible consequences for critical relationships in the region today.

Sevtap Demirci, (Bogazici University), "From Sevres to Lausanne: The Armenian Question (1920-23)."

From the mid 19th century until the beginning of the First World War the Ottoman Empire (the so called "sick man of Europe") faced multiple crises, most of which resulted in the loss of territory and subjects. The Eastern Question –the question of what should become of the Ottoman Empire- changed its character and the final liquidation of the Ottoman Empire in Europe soon followed its collapse in Anatolia. With the demise of the Ottoman Empire the Armenian issue in Anatolia -as in the case of the Christian subjects of the Empire in the Balkans- was brought to the forefront of the diplomatic forums in the international political system.

Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War the Allies were prepared to give the Armenian nationalists most of their demands from Turkey. With the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920) the Allies endorsed Armenian claims to East Anatolia in return for the latter's services to their cause during the First World War. However, the Nationalist victories both against the Armenians in the East and against the Greeks in the West made the treaty a dead letter and compelled the Allies to meet the victorious Turks on equal terms at Lausanne (24 July 1923). In other words, three years later when the Lausanne Treaty was signed, the text did not contain any reference whatsoever to an Armenian National home, let alone a state. In short, the Lausanne Treaty put an end to the centuries old Eastern Question as well as the Armenian Question which became the integral part of it.

Halil Ozsavli, (Kilis University), "Armenian Uprising in Urfa."

In 1915 Urfa was excluded from the scope of relocation and appointed as one of the regions on which were the deported Armenians will settle. After conflict in relations between the Muslim and Armenian inhabitants in 1895-96, the relations between two ethnic communities was never the same. As a result of the propaganda activities of the members of the Dashnak committee in Urfa the tension between Muslims and

Armenians was gradually increasing. Benefiting from this situation Dashnak committee members, gathered more followers with each passing day through the effect of propaganda of Armenian religious leaders.

in the summer of 1915, envoys of deported Armenians from eastern Anatolia began to reach Urfa. The Dashnak leader Mgrdich convinced all the Armenians living in Urfa to revolt, saying they will be deported and send to death to Syrian deserts. During a frisk search on 29th September in the Armenian quarter, some Dashnak members did not surrender and they went to battle with the gendarmerie troops. By the same minutes, as determined before, the church bells rang in order to give notice to other committee members to inform them the rebellion began. As of result of the sixteen day long rebellion, there were death many death from both Turkish and Armenian side. And also, Urfa Armenians who were excluded from the scope of relocation at beginning, deported to Syrian provinces Rakka and Rasulayn as a result of this uprising.

Panel X: Nationalism: Turks & Kurds (10:30-12:30)

Kezban Acar (Celal Bayar Universitesi), “Imperial rivalry and border politics: Russian and Ottoman policies toward the Kurds in the 19th Century.”

As a geographical term, Kurdistan was a large area extending from “south-eastern through the northernmost areas of Iraq and well into eastern Iran” and due to its position between the Near East and the Caucasus, it was strategically an important region which great powers such as the Ottoman Empire, Russia, England and Iran contested over. Based exclusively on Ottoman archival documents and primary and secondary Russian sources as well as modern studies, this paper examines imperial competition/rivalry between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the Eastern Turkey and Caucasia and the role Kurdish tribes played in it from 1820s to the 1890s. In this context, it also aims to analyze how Russian and Ottoman authorities/officials perceived the Kurds, whether as a part of nation, “citizens,” or as “foreigners/outside,” what policies they pursued toward them and how the Kurdish tribes reacted to their policies.

Russian interest and involvement in Kurdistan began as a result of its expansion into the Caucasus, and Russia contacted the Kurds first during the Russo-Iranian War of 1804-1813. Both Russian diplomats and military personnel were aware of the potentially significant role Kurdish tribes could play during the wars. In fact, one of those, Prince Ivan Paskevich, was “the first Russian official to have recognized the immense strategic importance of Kurdish lands that lay astride the approaches to the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Southwest Asia.” Russian diplomats like Paskevich and Russian military personnel like Prince Tsitsianov, commander-in-Chief in Georgia, saw the Kurds as potential allies that Russia could work with either by

obtaining their neutrality or cooperation during the wars with both the Qajar and Ottoman Empire. To achieve this goal, Russian authorities “offered Kurdish leaders Russian citizenship, promised to protect their power among their own people and to allow them large amounts of horses. They also tried to avoid angering them with any provocative warlike actions. At the same time they did not let the Kurds get away with any attack on Russian borders and punished them harshly and severely.” For instance, on the eve of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1806-1812, to obtain the neutrality of people living in Ottoman vilayets (provinces) in Eastern Anatolia, Paskevich wrote a letter promising those people that the Russian army wouldn’t harm anyone, especially unarmed civilians, or confiscate their goods.

Tibet Abak (Russian Academy of Sciences), “Russian-Kurdish relations, 1908-1914.”

On the eve of World War I, the South Caucasus, particularly the north-eastern corner of the Ottoman Empire, became a center of rivalry and conflict between the Porte and the Tsarist Russia. In many aspects the people living in the region were the most affected by this situation. They became an instrument of the imperial policies of these two empires. One of these peoples, inhabiting the Ottoman and Russian Empires, the Kurds, have been at the center of this conflict since the beginning of the 19th century.

The Porte attributed great importance to the Kurds regarding its own interests in the region as they were “the only reliable” and Muslim element against both the Armenian resistance and the Russian imperial forces in the Eastern Anatolia. In this context, the Ottoman officials have a strong effect on decisions of the Kurdish leaders, in particular striving to keep their rate of loyalty to the Porte as high as possible. Relations between the Russian military officers and some Kurdish tribal leaders were at their best since the beginning of the 19th, century particularly during the Russo-Ottoman Wars. The Russian imperial bureaucracy systematized its own policy over the Ottoman Kurds only prior to the World War I. On the one hand the Russian Empire strived to win some of the Kurdish tribal leaders over using financial ways, but on the other hand they encouraged them to surreptitiously carry on their banditry activities in the region. It was the first step in a series of moves that would lead the Russian Empire to complicating the situation and stirring up prospective troubles between the Kurds and the Armenians.

Levent Küçük (Ardahan University), “The Caucasian Frontier between 1914-1918 in the Georgian Press.” The Caucasian Frontier between 1914-1918 in Georgian Press

Georgian press attributed much importance to events occurring in the Caucasian Frontier and around the region during World War I. Events that attracted the interest

of the people were dealt with in Thibilisi newspapers such as “Sakhalkho Gazeti,” “Sakhalkho Purtseli,” “Klde,” “Samşoblo,” and “Sakartvelo.”

These newspapers represented various political ideas and fractions which were active in the Caucasia Region (especially the present Georgian territory) of Tsarian Russia, and they produced different results and comments in accordance with their political ideas. In addition to these direct comments and presentations made by the newspapers of the period, the reflections of the news presented by them in some European newspapers between 1914-1918 are also analysed. Further, the interviews of statesmen representing powerful countries of Europe have also been taken into consideration as presented in newspapers. Some columnists of European newspapers dealt with the events happening in the Caucasian Frontier. In this study, we aim to analyse and evaluate events that took place in the Caucasian Frontier in relation to their inner dynamics and the complex politics of the period

Hakan Özoğlu (University of Central Florida), “The Kurds of Transcaucasia: nationalism and identity formation.”

Some sources claim that a group of people who were labeled as Kurds have lived in the Caucasus region for a millennium. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these groups defined themselves as Kurds. For example, we know that the well-known Shaddadid dynasty lived in the region; and they are labeled as Kurds in the present. However, we know that the members of the Shaddadid emirate were not self-consciously Kurds. Defining an ethnic group is also a major problem for historians of the present. Such lack of clarity in identifying and categorizing this group of people in the Caucasus directly affects the historiography of the Kurds.

My presentation will focus on the Kurds in the Caucasus area during the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Based on earlier studies and published archival sources (British, U.S., Russian and Ottoman), my study will first examine the grand narrative on the composition of the Kurdish community in the region. I will make comparisons between different sources describing the Kurds of the Caucasus and analyze the reasons for the varying and similar descriptions of the Kurds in these primary and secondary sources.

There are a very limited number of scholarly works on the Kurds in the Caucasus, especially in the English language. The available ones make extensive use of articles by Ismet Vanli, and Kendal Nezan. I plan to examine the information in these secondary sources and will compare them to several documents in the British and U.S.

archives. In addition to examining the bias in secondary sources on the subject, if my findings permit, I will analyze documents from Ottoman, British and U.S. archives in order to demonstrate that even archival sources carry a degree of bias in the way that they describe the Kurds in the Caucasus.

I believe my presentation fits tightly into the first theme of the conference as I plan to examine the “main narrative” and “historiography” of the Kurds in Caucasus. In addition to the works of the above mentioned authors, I will introduce three original British archival documents—CAB/24/28, CAB 24/33, CAB 24/144 and CAB/24/45. These documents contain information about population statistics and Caucasian Kurds’ relations with the surrounding states, namely the Ottoman and Russian (later Soviet) empires.

Panel XI (A): Literature & Nationalism (13:40-15:40)

**Ruben Melkonyan (Department of Oriental Studies, Yerevan State University),
“The Memory of Armenian Genocide in Modern Turkish Literature.”**

It is known that literature mostly reflects the actual issues which bother society at the given moment and make them priority themes. But at the same time the atmosphere in the country and in the society also influences the choice of these literary themes. In this respect we should state that Turkish literature took the same stance in regard to a number of themes which had been considered taboo in the 20th century. Among those themes were the Armenian Genocide, expatriation and the issue of forcedly Islamized Armenians. One can state that despite some separate and scant allusion there had been no decent attention paid to Armenian subject in Turkish literature till recently.

The indifference or even hostility of Turkish writers’ adherence to conservative or nationalist inclinations to the national minorities in general and Armenians in particular can be explained by their ideology. The critic Omer Turkish mentions that in contemporary Turkish literature all other nations except Turks are presented as enemies, i.e. the most wide-spread and accessible way to create a negative character is his not being a Turk. But the silence of the progressive and socialist Turkish writers seems odd at the very least. Nevertheless, in the works of some Turkish writers, mainly of leftist orientation, we can find some thoughts between the lines, regarding the Armenian subject.

One may say that today in modern Turkish literature there is a trend regarding the issue of the Armenians, mostly women, who were captured or survived by miracle and were Islamized in 1915. We can say that in Turkey, Armenian subject matter with its distinctive features develops little by little: the most typical feature is that forced Islamization of Armenians in 1915 and their individual stories has become the stimulus and motivating force for reflection on the problem of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish literature.

Serdar Poyraz (University of Montana), “The Georgian Connection: Mehmed Tahir Münif Pasha (1830-1910), Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878) and the Politics of Alphabet Reform in the Ottoman Empire.”

Mehmed Tahir Münif Pasha (1830-1910), without a doubt, is one of the key figures in the history of the introduction of European ideas about science and education into the Ottoman Empire. During his long and industrious bureaucratic career, crowned by his appointments to the post of the Minister of Education on three different occasions during the reign of Abdülhamid II, Münif Pasha himself introduced or actively took part in the introduction of a number of significant cultural and educational reforms which altered the intellectual landscape of the empire.

In that regard, it is certainly noteworthy that although Münif Pasha was one of the first statesmen in the Ottoman Empire to come up with the idea of an “alphabet reform,” with the argument that a reformed Arabic alphabet better suited to the phonetic needs of the Turkish language would probably facilitate primary education and literacy in the Empire, he had serious doubts about the implicit negative cultural effects of such a sweeping change on society. In conjunction with this point, I will discuss Münif Pasha’s invitation to the Iranian intellectual Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh (also known as Mirza Fatali Akhundov, 1812-1878), who was at the time working as a translator for the Russian Imperial Administration in Georgia, to travel from Tbilisi to Istanbul in 1863 to give a talk to the Ottoman Scientific Society with a set of proposals for alphabet reform. Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh, one of the founders of modern Iranian literature, was born in 1812 into a wealthy landowning family in Nukha (present-day Shaki) Azerbaijan, when it was still a part of Iran. After getting his primary education there, he moved in 1834 to Tbilisi (Tiflis), where he eventually worked as a translator of the Oriental languages for the imperial Russian administration. From his post in present-day Georgia, Akhundzadeh launched an impressive literary and philosophical career, criticizing what he perceived as the backward social conventions of Iranian

society. Arguing that the Arabic alphabet actually hindered the education of the Turkish-and Persian-speaking public, Akhundzadeh saw alphabet reform as a step toward getting rid of “religious superstition”.

Understanding the reasons why, in the end, Münif Pasha and the Ottoman Scientific Society, after carefully considering Akhundzadeh’s ideas, actually rejected the radical Iranian intellectual’s proposals for alphabet reform might tell us a great deal about the complex personality of Münif Pasha, not to mention the cultural ambiguities inherent in the Ottoman reform project in the nineteenth century. To reiterate, even for the periods during which it seems that there was a straightforward linear movement from a “traditional” to a “modern” order in the Ottoman Empire, this movement was wildly contested and deemed culturally problematic by some of the Ottoman intellectuals who were at the forefront of the modernizing Zeitgeist.

Mertcan Akan (Ege University, Izmir), “The Caucasus Through the Eyes of a British Voyager in 19th Century.”

The Caucasus is a region with a very irregular outline lying between the Black and the Caspian Sea. It is bordered on the north by the Don Cossacks and Astrakhan, on the west by the Sea of Azov, the strait of Enikaleh and the Black Sea, on the south by Turkish Armenia, the river Arras and Iran, and on the east by the Caspian Sea. The strategic importance and sociological-demographic variety of the Caucasus has kept this region in constant flux. Furthermore, especially in the 19th century, these changes have gained momentum and greatly impacted the people living there.

The situation of people in the region in the 19th century was revealed in many travel books written by western voyagers. One of these travel books is “An Illustrated Description of the Russian Empire” written by the British voyager Robert Sears in 1855 which describes the geography of the Caucasus in a comprehensive way, and contains very important information about the socio-economic structure of people in this region.

Sears’ work contains a detailed profile of Russia, as well as the physical conditions of the empire, local government units and social life of the Baltic, Poland, Crimea, the Caucasus and Siberia. Moreover, the regions dominated by Russia are described in detail. Afterwards, discussing the subject of the cities of Moscow and St.Petersburg in a specific way, cultural, religious and economic activities of the people living in the

center of the empire are mentioned. In the last chapters of the work, perception of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Empire is dwelled on.

In the tenth chapter centered on the Caucasus states, Robert Sears first focused on Georgia and the city of Tiflis and explained the geographic and demographic structure of this region, as well as the economic, social and cultural activities in it. Also, he focused on Baku and Naphtha and, afterwards, described in detail physical features, sources of income, language and literature of Armenians. The next sections of this chapter describe the regions of Imereti, Mingrelia, Guria, Abkhazia, Circassia, the Caucasus and Dagestan. In the course of all of these descriptions, geographical conditions, social structure, trade, livelihoods, natural texture and history of these regions are widely explained.

Sears' work provides a detailed picture of the Caucasus from the socioeconomic point of view. Delving into this work and comparing it with other travel books written on the same subject and using historical sources, our study aims to show the characteristics by which this region was defined in the past.

Hakan Erdagoz (University of Utah), “What Ömer Seyfettin Saw: Literature and Intellectual Grassroots of Turkish Nationalism.”

Because it generates a national language and social solidarity and awareness, as Benedict Anderson would call ‘print capitalism,’ literature is one of the most interesting avenues to look at the intellectual backdrop of a nationalist discourse. This is especially true for Middle Eastern societies in which literature functions more or less as a form of social critique. Ömer Seyfettin, one of the milestones of Turkish nationalism and certainly not a typical Unionist, was an ardent entrepreneur of nationalism in the midst of a critical transition and transformation of late Ottoman society. One will not be surprised to see the legacy of Ömer Seyfettin in the Republican era given that his radical and dissimilar intellectual disposition concerning Turkism was far ahead of his contemporaries. By squaring nationalism discussions on the concept of modernity, I hope to delineate how Ömer Seyfettin as a political thinker in his literary writings appraised and responded to ongoing, broad Turco-Ottoman way of modernity. This is necessary because his writings clearly suggest that typical Ottoman intellectual's reception of modernity was flawed and weak on the ground that Ottoman intellectuals were far away remote from bridging the gap between the newly embraced culture and the masses. Equally important is how his political-cultural

writings and literary crafts, including stories, poets, and novels, constituted his disposition and intellectual deliberation vis-à-vis to nationalism. I intend to specifically analyze how Ömer Seyfettin's writings attempted to help create an imagined, horizontal ethno-religious community whose history traces back to time immemorial and youth, exemplified by his heavy emphasis on juvenile themes, is embedded in the future. The purpose of this paper thus is an intellectual reassessment of Ömer Seyfettin and his Turkism by squaring him on Turkish political thought.

Kadir Dede (Hacettepe University), “Ömer Seyfeddin as a patriotic agitator: Miroslav Hroch's social preconditions and Phase B of Turkish nationalism.”

The intention of this study is to present and describe Ömer Seyfeddin as a patriotic agitator in the light of Miroslav Hroch's definition of different periods of nation building. Hroch's main contribution to theories of nationalism is Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, and with this book, he divides national movements into three phases: “the period of scholarly interest (Phase A),” “the period of patriotic agitation (Phase B),” and “the rise of a mass national movement (Phase C).” Although he offered this categorization for smaller European nations, it is also relevant to understand a nation-building process on an experience after the collapse of an empire.

On this point, this paper claims that Ömer Seyfeddin - a well known author who lived between 1884 – 1920 - and his short stories are important instances to analyze the patriotic agitation period. A close reading of Seyfeddin's stories would enlighten the bridge between Phase A and C. The militarist constituents, heroic narrations, the nostalgia of old ages and restoration of will to power in these stories would be useful to understand how an academic interest was adopted and embraced by masses. Ömer Seyfeddin emphasized the need for a national language to bring in the masses. But his discourse surpasses the borders of a language discussion and gives clues about the main characteristics of Turkish nationalisms about the relation with “Other,” the perception of history and the shaping of memory. As a result, his simple language used in stories and establishment of unity through communication in the language of everyday life also achieved an important success for an agitation process. With this success it could be claimed that Seyfeddin's stories are in relation with Phase B, not Phase A that defined the activity of writers and poets who disseminated an awareness of the linguistic, cultural, and social ideas on Hroch's terminology.

This study provides a reading of a selection of Ömer Seyfeddin stories in Hrochian context and as a source about patriotic agitation. It aims to show the ways of national awakening and discuss the role of literature on this process. The study discusses Ömer Seyfeddin as a member of an activist generation, and also a figure that emerge and shape the next generations. Ömer Seyfeddin and his stories are important to answer how the memories constructed, what remembered and forgot and what the main themes were on nation-building/inventing process at the end of empire era. Discussing the stories of Ömer Seyfeddin and examining his discourse on these patterns will also be relevant to understanding the whole nation-building process on Caucasian area with its reflecting feature of the relation of Ottoman Empire with neighbour areas.

Panel XI (B): Literature, Art & the Nation (13:40-15:40)

Ahmet Seyhun, (Winnipeg University) One of the most important currents of the Second Constitutional Period was Islamism.

The Islamist intellectuals of the period could be divided into two groups: conservative-traditionalists and modernists. The first group was composed mainly of members of the ulema who had in the past enjoyed connections with the Hamidian regime. After the proclamation of the Constitution they organized themselves into a society called Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye (Society of Islamic Scholars). This society was founded in September 1908 and started to disseminate their version of Islamist ideas through a monthly periodical entitled Beyan-ül Hak, (The Statement of Truth). The traditionalist Islamist thinkers who rallied around Beyan-ül Hak defended a more conservative view of Islam. One leading writer of that journal, Mustafa Sabri (1869-1954), presented ambiguous opinions on the interpretation of Islam. While he openly declared that women and men were not equal in Islam he welcomed the Constitutional regime and wrote in favor of a parliamentary system, arguing that the real Islamic regime could only be parliamentary. The reformist Islamist group was represented by their periodical Sırat-ı Müstakim. That journal served as the mouth piece for the Modernist-Islamist Islamist intellectuals of the empire. Writers and thinkers like Mehmed Şemseddin (later Günaltay) (1883-1961) expounded their views there. When compared to other conservative Islamist thinkers, Günaltay appeared to be probably the most progressive Islamist intellectual of this period. Mehmed Şemseddin identified İslami with reason and science. Like Said Halim Pasha, Mehmed Semseddin explained the decline of the Islamic world as a result of the adoption of many non-Islamic values

and practices throughout the ages and the corruption of the pristine Islam by these cultural imports. He also accused the ignorant ulema for distorting the true religion.

According to the Islamists of the Second Constitutional Period, Islam is a social religion. It not only preached religious precepts but also laid down social principles to construct a just, equal, prosperous and peaceful society. To these writers in Islam religion was inseparable from politics. There is no division between the spiritual and the temporal like in the West.

Pamela J. Dorn Sezgin (University of North Georgia, USA), “Imam Shamil’s Enduring Legacy: Islam, Pan-ethnicity, Transnationalism, and the Arts in Constructing Political Memory.”

Imam Shamil (1796-1871), a political and religious leader of the Muslim tribes of the Northern Caucasus, led resistance against domination by the Russian Empire in the early nineteenth century. Shamil, a Naqshbandi Sufi and ethnic Avar, transcended tribal feuds, local elites, and ethnic differences to organize and implement significant opposition to Russian military intervention from 1834 until his capture/ surrender in 1859. Utilizing Islam as a recognizable element among diverse groups, he established the first unified state in Chechnya and Dagestan. After his exile to Russia and his eventual death in Mecca in 1871, his memory continued to serve as a symbol of resistance against Russian domination throughout the twentieth century and into the present, e.g., through the Chechen Wars (1940-1944, 1994 to 1996, 1999-2009).

This paper investigates the transnational and pan ethnic fascination with Imam Shamil via music, dance, poetry, and literature in the decades following his death. For example, Imam Shamil is immortalized in a folksong entitled, “Şeyh Şamil” which accompanies variations of the Caucasian dance, the lezginka. This song/dance is part of the Turkish Republican repertoire of national dances, usually associated with the city of Kars. In the 1960s and 1970s, most Turkish school children learned it. It is also part of the national folkdance repertoire performed in Dagestan, Chechnya, and Azerbaijan. Crossing ethnic and religious lines, the same dance and song is popular among the Mountain Jews of Dagestan and Azerbaijan who have immigrated to New York and Tel Aviv, and incorporate the dance into their wedding celebrations.

Religious sung poetry also memorializes this great resistance leader, as an ilâhi (hymn) exists in Islamic Sufi tradition. Another musical expression associated with Imam Shamil crosses religious boundaries in the Chasidic Jewish “Niggun Shamil,” a song without words composed by Rabbi Shmuel of Lubavitch (the “Maharash,” b. 1834) and still performed as part of Chasidic tradition, today. The melody is said to represent

Imam Shamil's strong desire to escape his imprisonment/exile which parallels the soul's desire to escape its physical body.

Images of Shamil and the Caucasian Wars became increasingly important in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within Russian literature and music. Examples include Leo Tolstoy's novel, *Hadji Murat* (written 1896-1904; published posthumously 1912/1917); Alexander Pushkin's poems about his adventures in the Caucasus: "The Captive of the Caucasus" and "The Fountain of Bakhchisaray" (1823); and Mikhail Lermontov's poem, "Valerik" (1843), commemorating the Battle of the Valerik River (1840). In Russian Classical music, fascination with the Caucasus region and its diverse ethnic groups led to the development of orientalism in Russian symphonic composition, a defining stylistic element for "The Five," composers in St. Petersburg (1856-1870): Mily Balakirev, César Cui, Modest Mussorgsky, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and Alexander Borodin. The musical trend continued with their students such as Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, composer of the "Caucasian Sketches" (1894-1896); and into the early twentieth century with Igor Stravinsky. His famous ballet, the "Firebird Suite" (1910) was based upon a familiar folktale from the Caucasus region. Despite being conquered by the Russian empire, the Caucasian cultures had a far reaching influence into the very essence of "Russian national style" in its Western art music and in its literature, as well.

Inanc Atilgan (Vienna, Austria-Turkish Forum of Sciences), "Cum Grano Salis on Franz Werfel's Dilemma."

Many authors have written about the circumstances which even today serve as a solid pillar of Armenian identity since the concern over the fate of Armenians began to manifest itself in literature. One of these authors was the Austrian Novelist of Jewish origin Franz Werfel, with his *40 Days of Musa Dagh* which is since 1934 a kind of red line within the Armenian political argumentations with regard to 1915.

There are many articles on this book and even on Werfel's ambitions concerning the necessity to write such a book. My contribution will deal with new questions around Werfel's identity situated in nationalism, ethnicity, religion and politics in his literature and trauma.

The primary value of this contribution will come from the results of my research in the archive of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). There I had the opportunity to immerse myself in the correspondence of Werfel, especially the correspondence with his wife, Alma Mahler Werfel. She played an enormous role not only in terms of the crises of her husband but also in terms of developing the idea of

the *40 Days of Musa Dagh*, which is supposed to be the monument dedicated to the fate of Armenians.

**Dominika Maria Macios (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw),
“Caucasus in Polish art, literature and press in the years 1870- 1920.”**

The 1870-1920 period is, for Poland, a time of partitions and a struggle for independence. Poles for centuries have been living parallel to the Caucasian nations. Their geopolitical situation and history, was very similar to the Polish- whose country didn't exist at the time on the map of Europe. For Poles the Caucasus was not only a magical place, very exotic and full of wildlife, but also because it managed to stay alive in Polish culture, it was considered a symbol of freedom.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, the Caucasus was a place of exile for thousands of Poles, who fought for the independence of their country: soldiers, insurgents, doctors, students, priests, poets, philologists, officials and scientists. Over the course of time, it has become a place of escape not only from Russian persecution, but also from the routine of everyday life, from etiquette and technological revolution. Moreover, Poles went to the Caucasus for work and very quickly assimilated with the local population. Many of them was in contact with compatriots in the country. Hipolit Jaworski, in his memories of an eleven-year stay in the Caucasus, wrote “[Caucasus was] for us especially close- there was no family in Poland, who had not relatives in the Caucasus.” The theme of the Caucasus was widely known throughout Polish society. Many articles about the history of Caucasus were published in Polish presses, in the memoirs of Poles living there, and in scientific publication and Polish literature.

In addition the Caucasus was one of the favorite themes in the Munich school of Polish painting created by Józef Brandt. His students were the most eminent Polish and Russian painters of the time, like Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski, Franz Roubaud etc. In their paintings they depicted the daily life of the Caucasian tribes, their history and struggle for independence.

**Can Ozcan (University of Utah), “Memoirs as Representations of the History:
Discourse Analysis of the Selected Memoirs on '1915'.”**

Personal memoirs constituted a substantial chunk of the texts through which the events of '1915' and the inter-communal relations in the Eastern Provinces of the Ottoman Empire have been discussed in the Armenian historiography of the late Ottoman era. Sarkis Torossian's *From Dardanelles to Palestine*, Ambassador Morgenthau's story, and Aram Andonian's *Memoirs of Naim Bey* are the major memoirs that describe the conditions that gave rise to the events of '1915.' The literature of the late Ottoman

Empire provides considerable research to understand how those memoirs tailor the historical events by subordination or accentuation of certain events. What is missing in the analysis of those memoirs is that these historical narratives not only reproduce the events they describe but also they tell us how to think about the historical instances. They charge our thoughts with distinct emotions. Deconstruction of the discursive practices in those memoirs will address the tension between history as a science and history as a reflection of collective memories. Within this perspective; the following questions will be raised to understand how the past is represented in selected memoirs about the `1915` events. A- How were late Ottoman era and inter-communal relations between Armenians and Muslims represented in the selected memoirs? B- What are the forms of historical representation and what are their bases? C- How does Orientalism come into play in the `memoirs` to articulate the Ottoman Empire, Muslims and Turks? D- What do memoirs selectively forget and remember in the light of the recent historical research regarding the social and political life of the late Ottoman Era?

This paper aims to demonstrate that the selected memoirs on the 1915 tragedies successfully create a dark age narrative and construct stereotypical images of the `Cruel Turk,` `Oppressed Armenian,` and the `Oppressive Ottoman Empire` which in return function as the agents of collective Armenian social memory based on victimhood and otherness to Muslims and Turks.

Panel XII: Transforming & Transformed Empires (15:50-17:50)

Ramazan Hakki Öztan (University of Utah), “Developmentalism and Modernization: Regional Imperatives after the Collapse of the Ottoman, Romanov, and Qajar Empires.”

Where to locate the role of religion in processes of nationalization and modernization? In the past two centuries, the West indeed marketed itself as the model for the rest of the world, including the Middle East. For Ottoman and Turkish statesmen, however, the West was both a source of inspiration and of fear. How did Ottoman and Turkish elites attend to this seeming duality? How did Turkish nationalism, as a modernizing and developmentalist project, address the strong religious attachments of the broader populations? In search for answers to such questions, I first chart the discourse of modernization and developmentalism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, as a project of inculcating loyalty on the ground, with comparative relevance drawn from Czarist Russia and Qajar Iran. The second part of the paper analyzes Ziya Gökalp’s

Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak (Turkification, Islamization, Modernization) as an attempt to understand the role of religion in nationalism and modernization. Gökalp was both an active member of the Young Turk movement in the Ottoman Empire as well as an influential nationalist figure in the early Turkish Republic. Furthermore, he was an intellectual, thus partially immune from the scholarly claims that references to Islam by politicians in late Ottoman and early Turkish Republican years were mere rhetorical tools, or pragmatic instruments at best, that provided cover for real political intentions. Gökalp's trilogy, however, was not an eclectic blend of epistemologies, peculiar to Ottoman and Turkish case, but rather it shared the fundamentals of the colonial and post-colonial condition elsewhere such as in India.

Serkan Keçeci (The London School of Economics and Political Science), “Between Imperial Centre and Periphery: A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov and His Position on “Non-Russians” in the Caucasus (1882-1890).”

This project examines the Caucasus in the Russian imperial imagination after the Great Reforms, from 1882 until 1890, Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Dondukov-Korsakov (1820-1893) was assigned to be the high commissioner of the Caucasus and commander of the Caucasian Corps. This period was significant because it was a litmus test for the pro-reformist emperor, Alexander the Liberator, in the Caucasus. On the other hand, Dondukov-Korsakov, although he wished for the powers and the independence of the viceroys, was not of the same mind as his predecessors who had introduced the Great Reforms into the Caucasus. Most of the reforms, he contended, were introduced into the Caucasus without enough preparation.

During the first year of his appointment to the Caucasus, Dondukov-Korsakov raised some concerns which remained points of contention throughout his rule. In his notes to the emperor, Dondukov-Korsakov repeatedly warned that ministerial interference had led to dangerous and embarrassing consequences for the local administration. Dondukov-Korsakov argued that the ministers were overburdened with responsibilities and could not effectively deal with the Caucasus, which was “too remote from the capital.” This was true but being too remote from the imperial centre was a good reason that did let Russian military commanders, serving in the Caucasus, legitimize their violent actions. Not only Muslim Tatars, Chechens, Dagestanis or Circassians but also Armenians, Georgians and all religious sectarians (Dukhobors, Molokans and Subbotniks, but not Old Believers) were not totally loyal subjects to the Russian Empire, according to Dondukov-Korsakov.

John Bragg (New Jersey City University), “Sheikh ‘Ömer Lütfi and the Maladministration of Caucasian Refugees in Late Ottoman Zile.”

In a paper entitled “Sheikh ‘Ömer Lütfi and the Maladministration of Caucasian Refugees in Late Ottoman Zile,” the writer proposes to analyze testimonials and tax records regarding the establishment of a religious mission for Caucasian immigrants in Zile, Turkey in the 1880s. The founder of the mission was Sheikh ‘Ömer Lütfi. Sheikh ‘Ömer had built a successful career as an ‘âlim in Istanbul, and he retired to his hometown of Zile to live out his final years. Evidence for the proposed study derives from a folio of forty-four manuscript documents collected from the Yıldız Perakende Evrakı (Y.PRK.UM 10.101) at the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul. The folio is unusually rich in biographical evidence and sociometric data. The reason for the richness of documentation was the extra scrutiny with which Ottoman officials examined Sheikh ‘Ömer’s claims to tax privileges. Istanbul had already begun experiencing difficulties in imposing its religious and legal norms through notable proxies by that time.

The article will explore issues emerging from exchanges between rural Anatolian communities and Caucasian refugee-migrant populations. In the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878, the Ottoman state effectively subcontracted the supervision of Caucasian refugees to Muslim religious notables like Sheikh ‘Ömer. Rather than easing Caucasian immigrants into Ottoman political culture, many such notables exploited their new positions for personal aggrandizement. The development echoed and abetted a longstanding trend toward administrative decentralization stemming from Tanzimat legislation. To accommodate the notables and suborn them into compliance with the larger Tanzimat agenda, the central Ottoman state enacted policies that compensated religious notables for losing certain traditional privileges by giving them new ones. The resulting tax regime pitted neighbors against neighbors and alienated Caucasian immigrants who were new to the region. The acrimony that resulted may have fed tensions in the coming years and added to the intensity of internecine conflict at the collapse of the empire.

Although the Ottoman state had maintained close ties of trade and diplomacy to the Caucasus since its earliest centuries, the exchange became intense and demographically significant in the nineteenth century. A closer examination of the scope, objectives, and execution of Sunni religious missions would inform key questions about political and religious reform in the Caucasus and Middle East during the period. The sources suggest the emergence of a new pattern of social activism

among the ‘ulema of the Empire just as religious and national identity issues began to press upon the core lands of the Middle East.

Elena Kobakhidze (North-Ossetian Institute for Humanitarian and Social Studies), “The Central Caucasus in Imperial Policy in the Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Centuries: the Practice of “Russification” as a Prologue of the “National Question”

As evidenced by the post-Soviet historiographical situation, in contemporary studies the problem of the relationship between center and periphery in the Russian state, formed in the late imperial period, acquired particular acuteness.

The priorities of Russian national policy were largely defined by both the nature of the Russian state and the specific tasks of maintaining the stability of the ruling regime and preserving unity and integrity of the country, extremely urgent due to the historically determined ethno-cultural and socio-political mosaicity of the Russian society. The specific management strategies were elaborated for different regions of the empire, but the dominant idea of St.Petersburg’s unifying policy appears to be its focus on the integration of the heterogeneous population within overall-imperial space – territorial-administrative, socio-political and to some extent economic. The ideological basis for forming the imperial universe was the idea of “Russification,” which had different social meanings in different periods of the center’s relations with national peripheries.

The fulfillment of the tasks of “Russification” was to a large extent assigned to the administrative practice, aimed at rearrangement of the local social structures and standardization of the variety of organizational forms of the local management. It was the managerial practices and mechanisms that institutionalized the empire-wide social space, strengthening the already dominant étatist component in the Russian state and providing the basic channels for the state’s influence over the society and its major institutions, including religion.

One of the elements of the “Russification” in the Caucasus was colonization of local territories, its social meaning having several important dimensions, as the Russian settlers not only changed the socio-demographic background of the region, but also brought with them a certain “imperial complex,” the core of which was initially formed by the idea of Orthodoxy, subsequently shaded by the politically colored ideologeme of “civicism” as a general national idea providing a basis for the state’s integrity, its “unity and indivisibility.” Patterns of positive (instrumental) motivation for

“Russification” among population of the Central Caucasus, smoothing over side effects of the imperial unification policies and allowing the Mountaineers to enter the world of “big society” in the least painful manner, are found in the field of education. Russian language and education became a powerful resource of socialization in the overall-imperial space, mastery of which took a Mountaineer beyond the traditional routine and opened the prospects of successful integration into another civilization, providing a sense of belonging to a much wider social community than any blood- or territorial-related patriarchal collective.

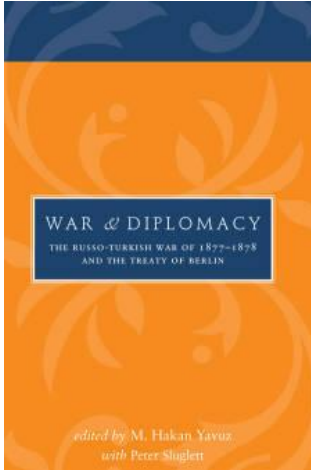
In general, however, the processes of imperial unification proved for the Central Caucasus fraught with a high potential for conflict: the meeting of indigenous social structures with the Russian state was inevitably accompanied by the break-up of the whole system of established traditional relations and social roles with simultaneous construction of new identities and shaping of new social motivations arising from recognition by every resident of the Empire of belonging to a single macrocosm – recognition, surmounting the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of Russian society on the basis of “identity of interests” in the economic, political and social respects.

Gozde Yazici Corut (University of Manchester), “Mobility and new allegiance of the Muslims of the Kars oblast on the Russian-Ottoman frontier .”

In my PhD research, I focus on the Muslim population of the Kars oblast, located at the peripheries of both the Russian and Ottoman Empires, in the period between Kars’s occupation by the Russian Army in 1877 and the beginning of World War I in 1914. In broad terms, this research problematizes the interplay of geopolitics and the policy of imperial citizenship in the formation of Tsarist policies towards the Muslim population in the region. This case study allows me to investigate continuities and ruptures in the techniques with which imperial Russia managed its frontiers in the Transcaucasus. My thesis explores stories of Muslims of the Kars oblast, who straddled two empires, with the view of ascertaining how people used opportunities with which the new tsarist rule presented them, while still experiencing the impact of the Ottoman legacy. Within this context, I aim to reveal the dynamics of interactions, transfers and competitive claims at this imperial frontier.

My paper is about the new Tsarist and old Ottoman subjects of the Kars oblast, who moved back and forth across borders and lived in both empires. According to both Russian and Ottoman archival sources, the dominant population of the Kars oblast was Muslim, and there was a minute number of Christians when the region came under the

rule of Russians. In accordance with the Treaty of Istanbul on 8 February 1879, whoever wished to migrate to the Ottoman Empire from the Kars oblast could move within three years after the signing of the treaty; otherwise, all would be counted as the subjects of Tsarist Russia. The Muslim population in the Kars oblast was reduced by half after the migration. However, the mobility of the Muslims in the region continued. This paper, while considering the reasons of this mobility until the beginning of World War I, focuses on the Muslim subjects in this part of the Transcaucasia, who were not prevented by the relationship between their host empires from getting involved in cross-border contacts. They had multiple identities, loyalties and aspirations which cannot be captured in center-periphery conflict. Moreover, both empires were capable of reflecting their influences and powers beyond their borders and managed to intervene in the internal affairs of the other side. The inevitable outcome of the aforesaid situations was the fierce interstate competition in these unstable borderlands. In my paper, the Muslims of the Kars oblast take part as agents of this imperial confrontation.



War and Diplomacy

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of Berlin

Edited by M. Hakan Yavuz with Peter Sluglett

Middle East Studies

Combining different disciplinary perspectives, *War and Diplomacy* argues that the key events that portended the beginning of the end of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire were the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of Berlin. The essays in this volume analyze how the war and the treaty permanently transformed the

political landscape both in the Balkans and in the Caucasus. The treaty marked the end of Ottoman hegemony in the Balkans by formally recognizing the independence or de facto sovereignty of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro, and the autonomy of Bulgaria. By introducing the unitary nation-state as the new organizing concept, the treaty planted the seeds of future conflict, from the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 and the First World War to the recent civil wars and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. The magnitude of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by Russia—and eventually by the other great powers—and the human, material, and territorial losses that followed proved fatal to the project of Muslim liberal reform and modernization that the Ottoman state had launched in the middle of the 19th century.

War and Diplomacy offers the first comparative examination of the treaty and its socio-political implications for the Balkans and the Caucasus by utilizing the theoretical tools and approaches of political science, sociology, history, and international relations. Representing the latest scholarship in the field of study, this volume documents the proceedings of a conference on the Treaty of Berlin that was held at the University of Utah in 2010. It provides an important contribution to understanding the historical background of these events.

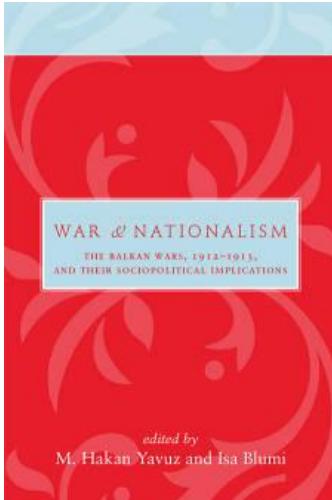
War and Diplomacy documents the proceedings of the first of three conferences:

1878 Treaty of Berlin (in 2010)

Balkan Wars (in 2011)

World War I (in 2012)

Proceedings of the final two conferences will also be published by the University of Utah Press.



War and Nationalism

The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications

Edited by M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi

Middle East

War and Nationalism presents thorough up-to-date scholarship on the often misunderstood and neglected Balkan Wars of 1912 to 1913, which contributed to the outbreak of World War I. The essays contain critical inquiries into the diverse and interconnected processes of social, economic, and political exchange that escalated into conflict. The wars represented a pivotal moment that had a

long-lasting impact on the regional state system and fundamentally transformed the beleaguered Ottoman Empire in the process.

This interdisciplinary volume stands as a critique of the standard discourse regarding the Balkan Wars and effectively questions many of the assumptions of prevailing modern nation-state histories, which have long privileged the ethno-religious dimensions present in the Balkans. The authors go to great lengths in demonstrating the fluidity of social, geographical, and cultural boundaries before 1912 and call into question the “nationalist watershed” notion that was artificially imposed by manipulative historiography and political machinations following the end of fighting in 1913.

War and Nationalism will be of interest to scholars looking to enrich their own understanding of an overshadowed historical event and will serve as a valuable contribution to courses on Ottoman and European history.

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