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Ms. Katerina Sakellaropoulou



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University of Athens
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ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

International Conference
12 & 13 JUNE 2023
Athens, Greece

100 YEARS SINCE
THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE
LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD

12 June

National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens
A. Argyriadis Amphitheater

13 June

Municipality of Athens
Cultural Center
Antonis Tritsis Amphitheater

International Conference
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100 YEARS SINCE
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LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD



12 June

**National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens**
A. Argyriadis Amphitheater
Panepistimiou 30

13 June

**Municipality of Athens
Cultural Center**
Antonis Tritsis Amphitheater
Akadimias 50



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Welcome message by the Rector of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens



*Your Excellency,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you all to Athens and to the inaugural session of the international conference marking the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. The conference, which is taking place under the auspices by Her Excellency, The President of the Hellenic Republic Ms. Katerina Sakellaropoulou, has been organized jointly by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). A joint effort indeed! I am personally excited by the fact that the conference is based on an idea which originated from esteemed colleagues at the University of Athens who are also pillars of Greece's leading think tank, ELIAMEP. And that, most importantly, this idea has been jointly implemented by ELIAMEP and the University of Athens. Let me stress at this point that the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens has a tradition of honouring significant events in the history of modern Greece. Indeed, just last year, the University of Athens essayed a critical reflection on the "Catastrophe in Asia Minor" in 1922 through a series of symposia, conferences, and publications.

It would be unwise for an oncologist to refer to specific aspects of the Lausanne Treaty, not least when addressing such a distinguished audience of historians, international lawyers, and international relations experts. Still, I cannot fail to acknowledge and highlight the importance and resilience of the Lausanne Treaty, which to represent to this day a durable instance of political innovation regarding borders, geopolitics, populations, minorities, and ideology.

It will now be up to the outstanding international line-up of speakers at this conference to enter into an in-depth, international, cross-disciplinary dialogue on the Treaty and its provisions, its relevance today, and its role in the evolution of relations between Greece and Turkey as well as the geopolitical balance in the wider region. Today and tomorrow, we shall have the opportunity to work through a well-structured and exciting agenda which revolves around the most interesting and rewarding aspects of the Lausanne Treaty. The conference will conclude with two panels which will set out to examine the significance and relevance of the Lausanne Treaty today through the lenses of Greek and Turkish academics and diplomats who dare to ask what it will take to sustain the Lausanne legacy and make it the basis for a productive dialogue between Greece and Turkey.

We are proud and honoured to have you here, and we are looking forward to discussing an issue of extreme importance for the future stability and growth of the Mediterranean region.

Professor Meletios-Athanasios Dimopoulos



Welcome message by the President of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP

*Your Excellency,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

On the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne, ELIAMEP has joined forces with the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens to organise this conference that will take stock of the legacy of the Treaty and hopefully draw lessons for the future. For Greece and Turkey, two neighbours with a difficult past, the Treaty of Lausanne was first and foremost a peace treaty that followed a long and bloody war. It provided the foundation for peaceful co-existence for our two countries for several decades. Greece and Turkey took a step further in 1929 by signing a friendship agreement. After the Second World War, they both became members of the Atlantic alliance and subsequently they both shared the same European aspiration. Greece became a member of the then European Community in 1981, while Turkey has been a candidate for membership since 1999 albeit with remarkably little progress in its accession negotiations.

For almost twenty years now, the distance between our two countries has grown ever wider and we have repeatedly found ourselves on the brink of war. To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war as the saying goes. In other words, dialogue is much preferable to war mongering. But dialogue requires patience, perseverance and a sincere attempt to put oneself even occasionally in the other's shoes. This does not come naturally to many politicians who may be tempted to score nationalist points at home. If dialogue is indeed difficult, let us think of the alternative and look around our region to remind ourselves of the awful things that come with war. Let us also draw lessons from our two great statesmen of the previous century, Eleftherios Venizelos and Kemal Atatürk.

I extend a warm welcome to our participants from other countries and wish all a very successful conference.

**Loukas Tsoukalis, Emeritus Professor
of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens**



**Opening address by H.E. The President
of the Hellenic Republic Ms. Katerina Sakellaropoulou**

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I open today the proceedings of the International Conference for the “100 Years since the Treaty of Lausanne: Looking Back, Looking Ahead”.

Allow me to congratulate the organizers for taking this very important initiative and inviting such distinguished foreign and Greek speakers, thus paving the way for a fruitful exchange of views and in-depth reflection on key issues related to this International Treaty, which continues to be of crucial importance for the region and the world.

The Treaty of Lausanne is indeed a landmark Treaty, which established national borders in our immediate neighborhood and the Middle East and aimed to restore peace in the aftermath of the disastrous First World War. The centennial anniversary of its signing provides an excellent opportunity to reaffirm its validity and the solid multilateral framework it created that continues to be the pillar of peace in the region.

Undeniably, one of the most radical elements of the Lausanne Conference, from which the Treaty of Lausanne emerged, especially from a humanitarian perspective, was the mandatory population exchange between Greece and Türkiye. In fact, this was the only exchange of this kind in world history dictated by virtue of a convention between states. The Muslims of Western Thrace and the Greek Orthodox Christians of Constantinople, Imbros and Tenedos were excluded from the exchange, with the Treaty explicitly defining the framework for the protection of the rights of the two minorities. It would be remiss of me not to refer to the thriving Muslim minority in Thrace, in sad contrast to the constantly shrinking Greek minority in Türkiye.

Of course, Lausanne did not only settle issues between Greece and Türkiye following the end of the Greek-Turkish War, which marked our country’s disastrous withdrawal from Asia Minor and the cruel fate of the centuries-old Greek population there.



100 YEARS SINCE
THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE
LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD

As a multilateral instrument, signed by Türkiye on the one hand and the Allied and Associated Powers on the other, the Treaty had a wider geopolitical significance, as it defined —and continues to define— Türkiye’s borders with its neighbors, from the south-eastern edge of the European continent to the north-western fringes of the Middle East.

Few international treaties have shown as much durability as Lausanne. The signatory states, by concluding a treaty defining borders and territorial sovereignty sought to achieve stability and finality. Any attempt to overturn it would inevitably undermine peace, stability and an equilibrium which has remained unchanged for a century.

After all, according to fundamental principles of international law, treaties defining borders cannot and do not “expire”. Neither can they be revised unilaterally by one contracting party, without the consent of the others.

I take this opportunity to point out that the definitive territorial settlement is the very cornerstone of the Treaty. Only on such a solid foundation, can the friendship between peoples and the peaceful coexistence of states persevere.

As revisionism, nationalism and illegal aggression rear their ugly head once more on our continent, I remain confident that this Conference will shine a light on Lausanne’s legacy as a model for peace building, that may also inspire us and others in the future.

I wish every success in the proceedings.

The Scientific Committee

Pavlos Apostolidis, Ambassador (ad hon.), Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs; former Director of the National Intelligence Agency and former Minister of Administrative Reform, Board Member, ELIAMEP

Mustafa Aydin, Professor of International Relations, Kadir Has University

Helen Gardikas Katsiadakis, Researcher emerita, Centre for the Study of Modern Greek History, Academy of Athens

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Photini Pazartzis, Professor of International Law, Faculty of Law, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Constantine G. Karamanlis Chair of Hellenic & European Studies, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Loukas Tsoukalis, Professor Emeritus, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Professor, Sciences Po, Paris; President of the Board, ELIAMEP

Thanos Veremis, Professor Emeritus, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Vice-President of the Board, ELIAMEP

The Organizing Committee

Maria Gavouneli, Professor of International Law, Faculty of Law, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Director General, ELIAMEP

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University; Senior Research Fellow, Head of the Turkey Programme, ELIAMEP

Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, Professor of Postwar History, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Secretary-General, Hellenic Parliament Foundation for Parliamentarism and Democracy

Triantafyllos Karatrantos, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

Irene Keremidou, Project Manager & Researcher, ELIAMEP

George Pagoulatos, Professor of European Politics and Economy, Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB); Ambassador to the OECD

Panayotis Tsakonas, Professor of International Relations, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Senior Research Fellow, Head of the Foreign Policy & Security Programme, ELIAMEP



Monday 12 June

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, **Great Hall**

09:00 - 09:45 **Arrival & registration**

10:00 - 10:30 **Welcome**

Welcome remarks

Professor Meletios-Athanasios Dimopoulos, Rector,
National & Kapodistrian University of Athens

Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Professor Emeritus, National
& Kapodistrian University of Athens; Professor, Sciences Po,
Paris; President of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP

Opening address

H.E. The President of the Hellenic Republic
Ms. Katerina Sakellaropoulou

10:30 - 10:45 *Break*

Monday 12 June

National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Argyriadis Amphitheater

10:45 - 12:00 Panel I: The socioeconomic and political framework of the Lausanne Treaty

Moderator: **Vassilis Nedos**, journalist, Kathimerini

- The Treaty of Lausanne and the new international legitimacy
Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, Professor of Postwar History, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Secretary-General, Hellenic Parliament Foundation for Parliamentarism and Democracy
- Turning the page: The Greek-Turkish population exchange as a legal paradigm of constituent violence
Konstantinos Tsitselikis, Professor in International Human Rights Law, Dean of the School of Economic and Regional Studies, University of Macedonia
- Assessment of the ‘Lausanne cases’: Analysis of the statistical data related to the cases on the Treaty of Lausanne filed before the domestic courts

Esra Ünal, Visiting Lecturer, Public International Law, Kadir Has University

Keynote Speaker

- The economic consequences of the Treaty of Lausanne [online]
Şevket Pamuk, Professor of Economics and Economic History, Bogaziçi University

12:00 - 13:15

Panel II: The political and institutional framework of the Lausanne Treaty

Moderator: **Linos-Alexander Sicilianos**, Professor of International Law; Dean, Faculty of Law, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens

- The 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty and International Law
Photini Pazartzis, Professor of International Law, Faculty of Law, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Constantine G. Karamanlis Chair of Hellenic & European Studies, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
- Where tradition meets innovation: The Treaty of Lausanne as a political turning point
Konstantina Botsiou, Professor of History and International Relations, University of Piraeus; General Director, Council for International Relations (CFIR)
- The 1923 Lausanne Treaty: The cornerstone of sovereignty
Petros Liacouras, Professor of International Law, Director of the MSc in International & European Studies, University of Piraeus
- A legacy of Lausanne: Conflicting perceptions on the status of the Aegean islands
Yücel Acer, Professor of International Law, Ankara Yildirim Beyazıt University

Keynote Speaker

- Is the Treaty of Lausanne a factor of rapprochement or tension in Greek-Turkish relations?
Evangelos Venizelos, Professor of Constitutional Law, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki; former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

13:15 - 14:15

Light Lunch

14:15 – 15:30 Panel III: The Treaty of Lausanne as a model for peace-building

Moderator: **Eirini Chila**, Professor of International Politics,
University of Piraeus

- The Treaty of Lausanne: Peace through realism and not the rule of law

Constantinos Antonopoulos, Professor of Public International Law,
Faculty of Law, Democritus University of Thrace

- Changing Turkish nationalism and transformation of the state-narratives in relation to Lausanne, 1923

Ayhan Aktar, Professor of Sociology (ret), Istanbul Bilgi University

- Challenging the Lausanne Legacy: European Integration and the Evolution of the Greek-Turkish Relationship.

Emmanuel Comte, Senior Research Fellow, Ariane Condellis
European Programme, ELIAMEP

- A Key to Peace Building: Towards a People's History of Lausanne

Onur Yildirim, Professor of Economics, Middle East Technical
University

15:30 – 16:45 Panel IV: The negotiation – Key players and the role of personalities

Moderator: **Ino Afentouli**, Executive Director, Institute of
International Relations – IDIS, Panteion University

- ‘Tishy Curzon’: The British delegation at Lausanne

Jonathan Conlin, Professor of Modern History, University of
Southampton; Co-Founder, The Lausanne Project

- His major diplomatic achievement: Venizelos at Lausanne

George Th. Mavrogordatos, Professor of Political Science (ret),
National & Kapodistrian University of Athens

- Falling on deaf ears: Ismet Pasha's negotiation tactics and diplomacy at Lausanne [online]

Ozan Ozavci, Assistant Professor of Transimperial History, Utrecht University; Expert, The Lausanne Project

- Two Western Adversaries [online]

Thanos Veremis, Professor Emeritus, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Vice-President of the Board, ELIAMEP

16:45 – 17:00

Break

17:00 – 18:15

Panel V: The evolution of Greek and Turkish foreign policy

Moderator: **Asterios Huliaras**, Professor of Comparative Politics and International Relations, University of the Peloponnese

- Greece and Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne: From the Cold War to the post-Cold War era

Sotiris Rizas, Director, Research Centre for the Study of Modern Greek History, Academy of Athens

- An account of myths, misconceptions and misrepresentations of the Treaty of Lausanne in Turkey

Serhat Güvenç, Professor of International Relations, Kadir Has University

- The importance of the seas in the Turkish political considerations: 'Blue Homeland' in the Turkish Grand National Assembly debates

Zuhal Mert Uzuner, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Marmara University

- How to resolve the Greek-Turkish conundrum

Panayiotis Ioakimidis, Professor Emeritus, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens

Tuesday 13 June

Municipality of Athens Cultural Center, **Tritsis Ampitheater**

09:30 - 10:00 Arrival & registration

10:00 - 11:15 **Panel VI: The role and politics of the Great Powers**
Moderator: **Xenia Kounalaki**, Journalist, Kathimerini

- The Great Powers priorities and aims at the Lausanne Conference 1922-1923
Manolis Koumas, Assistant Professor of the History of International Relations, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens
- The Great Powers at the twilight of the Eastern Question
Odile Moreau, Professor of History, University Montpellier III
- The bitter struggle for peace: London v. Ankara at the Lausanne negotiations 1922-1923
Sevtap Demirci, Director, Atatürk Institute, Boğaziçi University
- Italian diplomacy and Near Eastern affairs from Sèvres to Lausanne
Antonis Klapsis, Assistant Professor of Diplomacy and International Organization, University of the Peloponnese

Keynote Speaker

- Great powers for 'Global' Peace and Order
Kanehara Atsuko, Professor of International Law, Sophia University; Member of the Governing Board for UN IMO International Maritime Law Institute (IMLI)

11:15 - 12:30

Panel VII: The geopolitical implications and the new balance in the Middle East

Moderator: **Konstantinos Filis**, Associate Professor & Director of the ACG Institute of Global Affairs, American College of Greece

- The death of The Archipelago
George Prevelakis, Professor Emeritus, Panthéon-Sorbonne University (Paris 1); Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Hellenic American University
- The Treaty of Lausanne and Turkey's Middle East policy in the interwar period
John Sakkas, Professor of History and Geopolitics, University of the Aegean
- Greek-Turkish Strategic Relations Before and After the Treaty of Lausanne
Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University; Senior Research Fellow, Head of the Turkey Programme, ELIAMEP
- Turkey in a period of disorder
Ayşe Zarakol, Professor of International Relations, University of Cambridge

12:30 – 13:30

Light Lunch

13:30 - 14:45

Panel VIII: The formation of the new Greek state: territorial, political, economic, and social aspects

Moderator: **Prokopis Doukas**, Journalist, ERT

- The making of the urban fringes: The refugee settlement process in Greece and its spatial legacy
Kalliopi Amygdalou, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

- The refugees in Greek Macedonia between the wars: Aspects of demographic engineering and their political, social and economic implications

Iakovos Michailidis, Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

- After 1923: The long-standing crisis of democratization and the social question

Dimitris P. Sotiropoulos, Professor of Contemporary Political History, University of the Peloponnese

14:45 – 16:00

Panel IX: The significance of the Treaty today

Moderator: **Pavlos Tsimas**, Journalist, TA NEA & SKAI TV

Keynote Speaker

- The continued relevance of the Lausanne Treaty today

Christos Rozakis, Professor Emeritus, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

A round table discussion

- **Mustafa Aydin**, Professor of International Relations, Kadir Has University
- **Ahmet Evin**, Professor Emeritus, Sabanci University; Senior Scholar, Istanbul Policy Center – IPC
- **Maria Gavouneli**, Professor of International Law, Faculty of Law, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Director General, ELIAMEP
- **Panayotis Tsakonas**, Professor of International Relations, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens; Senior Research Fellow, Head of the Foreign Policy & Security Programme, ELIAMEP

16:00 – 16:30 *Break*



16:30 - 18:00

Panel X: The Lausanne Legacy – The Diplomats View

Moderator: **Odin Linardatou**, Head of Communications,
ELIAMEP

A round table discussion

- **Pavlos Apostolidis**, Ambassador (ad hon.), Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs; former Director of the National Intelligence Agency and former Minister of Administrative Reform, Board Member, ELIAMEP
- **Fatih Ceylan**, Ambassador (ad hon.), Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; President of the Ankara Policy Center
- **Elias Clis**, Ambassador (ad hon.), Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **Faruk Loğoğlu**, Ambassador (ad hon.), Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; former Member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly

More information about the International Conference



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