



## The Turkish-Greek Population Exchange and International Law

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### Introduction

The Turkish-Greek exchange of populations was the first compulsory exchange of populations that was bilaterally negotiated under the auspices of the Great Powers and agreed at a diplomatic table in pursuit of settling the terms of peace between two states, Greece, already a sovereign nation-state, on one side, and Turkey, an emerging state on its way to becoming a sovereign nation-state, on the other. Following the Mudanya Armistice that officially ended the war between Greece and the emerging Turkish state, the representatives of the two sides were summoned by the Great Powers to meet for negotiations at Lausanne on 22 November 1922. The signing of the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations on 30 January 1923 marked the end of the first phase of the Lausanne Peace Conference which was to conclude on 23 July 1923. With this convention the governments on two sides agreed to the displacement of their respective minorities within their newly drawn borders with the exception of two enclaves, namely, Constantinople and Western Thrace. While the conference continued to discuss a fully loaded package of unsettled issues of international law (e.g., borders, capitulations, minorities, etc.) related with the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, the two governments launched the implementation of the exchange convention that would affect the fate of the nearly one million Greeks who had already fled from Anatolia and Eastern Thrace to Greece during the Greco-Turkish War, approximately three hundred thousand Greeks scattered across Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, some hundred fifty thousand Greeks of Constantinople, and around half a million Muslims living in various parts of Greece including the islands in the Aegean (excluding those under Italian occupation) and lastly about two hundred thousand Muslims in the western part of Thrace (*Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations*, cited under Monographs and Collected Volumes). The convention also included in its scope the Greek and Muslim refugees displaced since the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) by granting them the same rights with those affected by the Greco-Turkish War. Although the Greeks of Constantinople and the Muslims of Western Thrace were exempted from the convention, their minority status was confirmed during the bilateral talks at Lausanne. At the time of the signature of the Greek-Turkish convention, the implementation of formerly signed agreement for a voluntary exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria at Neuilly-sur-Seine (27 November 1919) was still underway and the institutions such as the Mixed Commission established by this treaty were still operating in the field. Both Greece and Bulgaria were involved with hot-heated debates over the interpretation of the agreement's provisions especially regarding the property-related issues, the definition of the persons who had been displaced prior, the bases of the property appraisals, and the manner of payments. So Neuilly had already created the legal mechanisms, procedures, and principles required for the exchange of populations. The Lausanne Convention came to adapt them to a mandatory situation and integrated them permanently into the diplomatic parlance as well as the framework of the international law, a novelty that makes it one of the most crucial documents of the international law in the twentieth century.

### Monographs and Collected Volumes

The signing of the Lausanne Convention coincided with the increasing involvement of the League of Nations in minority and refugee affairs across Europe in the aftermath of World War I. The theory of international law incorporated all these developments into its expanding agenda through the writings of legal specialists during the interwar period. The immediate aftermath of Lausanne witnessed the proliferation of publications on the population exchange by legal experts, mostly, of Greek origin who had served in Greek bureaucracy in various capacities since the nineteenth century. Séfériadès 1929, Devedji 1929, and Streit 1929 sought to situate the exchange on the timeline of human rights, assessed the changing socioeconomic and political conditions of the Greeks and other minority groups in the Ottoman Empire, summarized the recent historical developments leading up to the population exchange, and cast their views on the legal

aspects of the Lausanne Convention. The findings and arguments of these bureaucrat-scholars on this crucial event laid the foundations of a more scientific approach to the historical and legal aspects of this event which would be represented by the highly specialized texts of Stephen Pericles Ladas and Dimitri Pentzopoulos. Ladas 1932 has remained the most authoritative documentation and assessment of the Lausanne Convention from the perspectives of domestic and international law. Pentzopoulos 1962 treats the legal side of the convention as part of a broader research agenda addressing all aspects of the population exchange, mostly, in relation to Greece and in a relatively favorable language. Özsu 2015 takes up the convention exclusively from the perspective of international law and provides the most comprehensive and theoretical analysis to this date. In the meantime, several general studies such as Yıldırım 2006 address the legal and institutional aspects of the exchange from more holistic and comparative perspectives. Two international conferences held at Oxford and Istanbul stand out for having provided platforms for the students of the subject to present and share their research with a wider audience. The compilation of the proceedings of these two conferences, Hirschon 2003 and Pekin 2005, facilitated the debates and research on the exchange. These two volumes contain articles on the legal aspects of the Lausanne Convention involving property liquidation and compensation as well as issues of refugee settlement and minority rights. The proceedings of the conference in Istanbul were also translated into Greek and published in Tsitselikis 2006 with a few additional articles on the subject. The centennial of the event in 2023 is anticipated to see the publication of many more monographs and collected volumes.

**Devedji, Alexandre. *L'échange obligatoire des minorités grecques et turques en vertu de la convention de Lausanne du 30 janvier 1923*. Paris: Imprimerie du Montparnasse et de Persan-Beaumont, 1929.**

Examines the juridical status of the Ottoman Greeks and the impact of political developments upon their status after the Balkan Wars. Legal impediments that arose during the implementation of the exchange convention concerning the status of the remaining Greek populations and the patriarchy in Constantinople highlighted. Settlement and indemnification of Greek refugees is covered. Presented as a doctorate thesis to the Faculty of Law at Université de Paris in 1929.

**Hirschon, Renée, ed. *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.**

The proceedings of an international conference on the Greek-Turkish population exchange held at Oxford in 1998. Several articles (chapters 3 and 8) analyze the contents of the convention from the perspective of international law. Barutciski's contribution (chapter 3) provides a long-term assessment of the Greek-Turkish case in juxtaposition with the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s.

**Ladas, Stephen Pericles. *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*. New York: Macmillan, 1932.**

Completed between 1929 and 1932 this voluminous treatment of the Greek-Bulgarian and Greek-Turkish population exchanges by a Greek American remains the principal reference on the legal aspects of these arrangements. As a specialist in international law, he offers a close reading of legal texts and interprets the workings of local and international institutions involved with the various phases of the exchanges. His view of population exchange, though somewhat critical, is favorable.

**Özsu, Umut. *Formalizing Displacement: International Law and Population Transfers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.**

The only contemporary book on the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the perspective of international law. The author combines international law with historical sociology and economic history in its critical assessment of the event. He conceptualizes the Greek-Turkish exchange of minorities as a legally formalized method of nation-building in the twentieth century. This is the revised version of a PhD dissertation completed at the University of Toronto.

**Pekin, Müfide, ed. *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar: 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005.**

The proceedings of the second largest international conference on the Greek-Turkish population exchange held in Istanbul in 2003. Includes several chapters on the legal aspects of the exchange convention especially regarding the property matters and the status of the

minorities in Istanbul and Western Thrace. Part 3 contains several articles addressing the issues of cultural heritage conservation from the perspectives of domestic and international law.

**Pentzopoulos, Dimitri. *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece*. Paris: Mouton & Co/École pratique des hautes études, 1962.**

Uses numerous primary and secondary sources to explore the subject with special reference to Greek state and Greek refugees. Chapter 2 has an appraisal of the exchange convention from a legal perspective. Chapter 3 explores the international aspect of the refugee settlement including the activities of Refugee Settlement Commission and refugee loans. Includes an extra essay on unresolved issues of the exchange. First produced in 1962 as a Princeton PhD dissertation in political science.

**Séfériadès, Stelio. *L'Échange des populations*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929.**

One of the first comprehensive treatments of the exchange convention from the standpoint of international law. Starts with a brief discussion of the development of human rights and a survey of historical background and political developments after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Chapter 4 examines the convention. The author was a professor of international law at the University of Athens and worked closely with the Greek diplomatic circles during the Lausanne Conference.

**Streit, Georgios S. *Der Lausanner Vertrag und der griechisch-türkische Bevölkerungsaustausch*. Berlin: Verlag von Georg Stilke, 1929.**

The text of a lecture given at the Institute of International Law at the University of Kiel on 13 February 1928. It provides a historical and a legal analysis of the exchange. The author served the Greek state in various capacities during his career including as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Venizelos government in 1913. He was a judge of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague from 1929.

**Τσιτσελίκης, Κωνσταντίνος, ed. *Η ελληνoturκική ανταλλαγή πληθυσμών: Πυχές μιας εθνικής σύγκρουσης*. Athens, Greece: Kritiki, 2006.**

The expanded edition of the 2003 Istanbul conference volume cited above. Includes an article (by Triadafilopoulos and Vogel) that compares and contrasts the Greek-Turkish exchange with contemporary cases of population transfers on theoretical grounds of partition and conflict resolution. The volume contains maps, tables, and an extensive bibliography on the Greek-Turkish population exchange in addition to the text of the convention.

**Yıldırım, Onur. *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations*. New York: Routledge, 2006.**

Examines the making and implementation of the Greek-Turkish exchange convention. It explores the conditions of the refugees and the workings of domestic and international institutions involved in the settlement and indemnification of the refugees. It highlights the discrepancies between the clauses of the convention and the practical realities. The role of the international legal mechanisms amply documented and discussed. First submitted as a PhD dissertation to Princeton University in 2002.

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## General Studies and Collected Volumes

The explosion of interest in forced migration and refugees following the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s resulted in the organization of thematic conferences and the publication of broad compilations on historical cases of massive population transfers and refugee movements. The early instances of population exchange from the Balkans made a vigorous comeback on the agenda of researchers during this period. Marrus 2002, the first edition of which appeared in 1985, was one of the first comprehensive books on the history of European refugees devoting a subsection to the Greek-Turkish population exchange and the ensuing refugee problem. It

contextualizes the Greek-Turkish case and highlights the role of international procedures and institutions in refugee matters. Cattaruzza, et al. 2000 brings together a number of essays on forced migrations in European history, juxtaposing the Greek-Turkish case with other European examples in terms of its broader legal implications for human rights. Naimark 2001 and Ther 2014 consider the Greek-Turkish population exchange as an example of ethnic cleansing and place it in the long history of state violence in the name of sovereignty. Kevonian 2004 and Schwartz 2013 provide a detailed survey of the interwar period in terms of large-scale displacements, dispossession, and international humanitarian efforts. Ferrara and Pianciola 2012 conceptualizes forced migration as an aspect of modernity and focuses exclusively on the 20th-century occurrences of forced migration in the context of Europe with due attention paid to the legacy of the nineteenth century. Gatrell 2013 highlights the refugee experience associated with the Greek-Turkish population exchange and integrates the treks of Greek and Turkish refugees into the broader history of refugees in the twentieth century. Frank 2017 provides the most comprehensive discussion of the population transfers in the twentieth century where he devotes special attention to the Greek-Turkish case owing to its significant impact on the intellectual and political discussions regarding the minority problems during the interwar period. Finally, Mylonas 2013 offers a broad theoretical framework incorporating population exchange into what he calls “exclusionary policies” that generate co-nationals, refugees, and minorities. All these general studies and collected volumes contain partial or detailed discussion of legal issues involved in the formulation, execution, and discussion of the exchange convention.

**Cattaruzza, Marina, Marco Dogo, and Roul Pupo, eds. *Esodi: Transferimenti forzati di popolazione nel Novacento europeo*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2000.**

The proceedings of an international conference on forced migration in Europe. Divided into three parts, the book deals with the Greek-Turkish exchange, the Central and Eastern European cases, and finally the forced migrations involving the Italians, particularly the post-World War II Istrian-Dalmatian expulsions. One of the first attempts to juxtapose the Greek-Turkish population exchange with other cases of forced migration in Europe.

**Ferrara, Antonio, and Niccolò Pianciola. *L'Età delle migrazioni forzate: Esodi e deportazioni in Europa, 1853–1953*. Bologna, Italy: Società editrice il Mulino, 2012.**

An interpretive survey of forced population transfers in Europe and Imperial Russia/Soviet Union. More attention paid to security concerns than ethnic cleansing and national homogenization as the source of forced migration. The authors consider the Greek-Turkish population exchange as a form of “expulsion” rather than “deportation.”

**Frank, Matthew. *Making Minorities History: Population Transfers in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.**

Trails the footsteps of the concept of “population transfer” across the globe in the twentieth century. Surveys intellectual and political discussions as well as the planning and execution of population transfers. Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the involvement of the League of Nations and the internationalization of the Minorities Problem. Frank considers the Greek-Turkish case as a diplomatic revolution that ended “a century-long minorities dispute in the Near East.”

**Gatrell, Peter. *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.**

The most up-to-date coverage of the legal and practical aspects of the refugee phenomena of the twentieth century. In addition to its institutional and policy aspects, the author uses a vast array of academic and popular source material to document and analyze the human side of this long historical process. The experiences of the refugees of the Greek-Turkish population exchange promptly added into the global history of refugees.

**Kevonian, Dzovinar. *Réfugiés et diplomatie humanitaire: les acteurs européens et la scène proche-orientale pendant l'entre-deux-guerres*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004.**

Discussion of the European states' involvement in refugee relief in the Near East during the interwar period. Chapter 2 has a special section devoted to the refugees of the Greek-Turkish population exchange. Contains significant insights into the interwar phase of

international humanitarianism and the development of its international legal framework.

**Marrus, Michael. *The Unwanted: European Refugees from the First World War through the Cold War*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.**

A comprehensive history of forced displacements from the end of World War I to the last decade of the Cold War era. It promptly includes the episode of the Greek-Turkish exchange in the long trek of “the Unwanted” and assesses the role of international legal structures and agencies in the refugee movements. First published by Oxford University Press in 1985.

**Mylonas, Harris. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees and Minorities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.**

Examines the policies of nation-states toward refugees, minorities, and other non-core groups within their borders. Drawing his examples from the Balkans, the author dwells on the role of the international politics in the behaviors of nation-state elites to assimilate, accommodate, or exclude these non-core groups. He considers population exchange, deportation, and mass-killing as “exclusionary policies,” leading to the making of co-nationals, refugees, and minorities.

**Naimark, Norman M. *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.**

An overview of ethnic cleansing in 20th-century Europe with special reference to some select cases. Draws attention to the connection between the Treaty of Lausanne and the Potsdam Agreements and the Dayton Accords.

**Schwartz, Michael. *Etnische “Säuberungen” in der Moderne: Globale Wechselwirkungen nationalistischer und rassistischer Gewaltpolitik im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013.**

A survey of all major cases of ethnic cleansing since the nineteenth century and considers ethnic cleansing as a function of democratization and nation-state building. Conceptualizes the Greek-Turkish population exchange as “the Lausanne Model” and draws attention to its appraisal by many statesmen of authoritarian and democratic inclinations during the interwar period.

**Ther, Philipp. *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014.**

A comprehensive study of ethnic cleansing in all its forms from a variety of primary and secondary sources, especially in eastern European languages. Considers the Treaty of Lausanne as the legitimization of ethnic cleansing, marking the shift of priorities of international politics from protecting to reducing minorities. Ther treats the Greek-Turkish population exchange as the end of the first of four phases of ethnic cleansing in 20th-century Europe.

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## Archives and Reference Works

The authentic sources on the Greek-Turkish population exchange comprise various archival repositories located in Greece, Turkey, and Switzerland. The principal address in Turkey is the Republic Archives in Ankara where a wide range of documents related to the formulation, implementation, and results of the exchange process are found and made digitally available to the researchers. The petitions of the refugees to the relevant offices of the states, their “certificates of property liquidation” (*tasfiye talepnamesi*) which they had been granted by the Mixed Commission upon application, and their appeals to the Mixed Commission are all found in this location. The copies of the minutes of consecutive meetings held between the Greek and Turkish officials in Ankara, Athens, Istanbul, and at the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva are also available among the collections of the Republic Archives. The Greek counterpart to the Turkish Republic Archives is the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens where the official documents related to the different stages of the exchange process are found. This repository holds all the official correspondence between Lausanne and Athens as well as a wide

range of documents related to the refugee affairs. The principal venue of the archives of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (1925–1930) and the archives of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Population (1923–1934) is the United Nations Archives in Geneva. None of the latter archival materials have been published in any form. The published official documents on the Exchange contain the proceedings of the diplomatic meetings at Lausanne published in several languages; the official publication of the League of Nations; the telegraphs between the Turkish diplomats in Lausanne; and the state officials in Ankara during the Lausanne Conference. The principal archival repository on the testimonies of the refugees from Asia Minor is the Oral History Archives of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. The Centre is home to the transcriptions of numerous interviews conducted with the first-generation refugees over a period of four decades. Several volumes were published out of a select collection of interviews. There is no counterpart to this project in Turkey. A few feeble ventures were attempted to collect the testimonies of the refugees but there is much to be desired in the resulting publications in terms of the details of the refugee experience, especially in the aftermath of the Exchange.

## Official Documents and Reports

Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs 1923 provides the transcriptions of all the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference including those of the meetings of the Commissions and Sub-Commissions. Meray 1969–1973 is the most comprehensive publication of the Lausanne proceedings supplemented by the additional documentation and legal analysis. Atuner 1937 complements Meray's seminal publication by the compilation of the official documents related with the operation of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Population. Şimşir 1990 contains the telegrams of the Turkish diplomats at Lausanne illustrating the making of the exchange decision on the Turkish part. US Department of State elucidates the position of the United States regarding the making of the Exchange Convention and its implementation. League of Nations 1924, League of Nations 1926, and League of Nations 1927 present detailed quantitative and qualitative information about the Greek refugee settlement conducted by the Refugee Settlement Commission and also the refugee loan that accompanied this settlement scheme. These three volumes are particularly important in documenting the involvement of the international public through the League of Nations in the execution of the exchange convention. Palestine Royal Commission 1937 contains the direct references to the Greek-Turkish population exchange considering it as a success story to be emulated for the solution of the territorial and demographic problem in Palestine.

**Atuner, Mehmed Esad. *Mübadeleye Dair Türkiye ve Yunanistan Arasında İmza Olunan Mukavelenameler, Muhtelit Mübadele Komisyonu Kararları, Bitaraf Azaların Hakem Kararları*. Istanbul: Damga Matbaası, 1937.**

A compilation of all the population exchange-related documents signed between Greek and Turkish governments and the select decisions of the Mixed Commission. It also contains the translations of decisions taken by the neutral members of the Mixed Commission. One of the most valuable sources on the Greek-Turkish population exchange in terms of documenting the arising problems during the implementation and the proposed solutions with reference to the international law.

**[Great Britain] *Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs (1922–1923): Records of Proceedings and Draft Terms of Peace, Cmd. 1814*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923.**

The single most important published primary source on the planning and negotiation of the Greek-Turkish population exchange. The minutes of the sessions held by various committees contain details as to the views of the representatives of the participating countries over contentious issues regarding the proposed exchange plan. Documents the most decisive event in the formulation of the international legal procedures and institutions regarding the population exchange.

**[Great Britain] *Palestine Royal Commission, Report, Cmd. 5479*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937.**

This infamous report, prepared by the Peel Commission, recommended a partition plan for Palestine which included an exchange of Arab and Jewish populations along the Greek-Turkish model. Citing the Greek-Turkish case as precedent, the report contains an appraisal of its benefits for the two countries. The first published international report that openly proclaims the conformity of the population exchange with the international law.

**League of Nations. *The Settlement of Greek Refugees. Scheme for an International Loan.* Geneva, Switzerland: Publications of the League of Nations, 1924.**

This official publication presents financial and legal details of the settlement scheme with a view to justifying the necessity of a comprehensive loan package to the Greek government. The introduction offers comparative insights from the earlier Austrian and Hungarian loan schemes.

**League of Nations. *Greek Refugee Settlement.* Geneva, Switzerland, 1926.**

The official report about the activities of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. It contains sixty-seven illustrations, a map of the settlement of rural and urban refugees, and an ethnographic map of Macedonia. Contains numerous details relevant to the assessment of the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the perspective of international law. Its French version: *L'établissement des réfugiés en Grèce*. Genève: Publications de la Société des Nations, 1926.

**League of Nations. *Greek Stabilisation and Refugee Loan: Protocol and Annexes.* C.556. M.198.1927. II. Geneva, Switzerland: Publications of the League of Nations, 1927.**

A collection of official letters, reports, and documents regarding the refugee loan that accompanied the establishment of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. It presents numerous financial and legal details about the loan process that began in the immediate aftermath of the Lausanne Conference.

**Meray, Seha L. *Lozan Barış Konferansı: tutanaklar, belgeler.* 2 vols. Ankara, Turkey: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1969–1973.**

Complete translation of the proceedings and documents of the Lausanne Conference, including the meetings of the committees and sub-committees, with annotations and technical information. Rendered into Turkish by one of the foremost authorities of international law, this compilation remains the most detailed documentary study of the Lausanne Conference. Volumes I.1.1 and I.1.2 contain the material related to the population exchange.

**Şimşir, Bilal. *Lozan Telgrafları (1922–1923).* 2 vols. Ankara, Turkey: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1990.**

The collection of telegraphs between the Turkish plenipotentiaries at Lausanne and the political leadership in Ankara throughout the conference. Notwithstanding the bias involved in their selection by the compiler, a retired Turkish ambassador, they present valuable information on the calculations of the Turkish side regarding the decision for the population exchange, especially their concerns on the conformity of their decision with the international law concerning the minority rights.

**United States, Department of State. *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910–1929; Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Turkey, 1910–29; Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Greece, 1910–1929; Records of the Department of State Relating to the Political Relations of Turkey, Greece and the Balkan states, 1930–1939.* Washington, DC: U.S. National Archives.**

These four volumes contain correspondence between the State Department and US diplomats at Lausanne. There are also detailed reports about specific topics. Document no. 767.68115/143 in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Political Relations of Turkey, Greece and the Balkan states, 1930–1939 is a special report prepared by Raymond Hare on “The Origin and Development of the Greco-Turkish Exchange of Populations Question (15 October 1930).”

## Oral Sources

The implementation of the exchange convention involved from the outset numerous violations of the clauses stated in the official document. Despite several additional meetings between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish governments after Lausanne, many issues regarding the property liquidation, compensation, and resettlement remained to be a source of discontent among the refugees. The oral archives of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens contain the transcriptions of interviews conducted with the first-generation Greek refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor where the refugees provide detailed information about the resettlement problems and other socioeconomic and cultural impediments they faced during their early years. These sources are partially digitalized and published in print. Η έξοδος 1980–2015 has been published in five volumes so far. On the Turkish side, there is no oral archival repository about the refugee experience commensurate with the Greek case. There are several books such as Yalçın 2006 that contain interviews with the first-generation refugees presenting information about their departure, transportation, distribution, resettlement, and adaptation. The oral sources provide valuable information that would help see the discrepancy between the official legal document and the practical realities of the exchange. Needless to say, much caution is needed in the use of these testimonies given the lapse of time in both cases.

**Η έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. *Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες των δυτικών παραλίων της Μικρασίας*. 5 vols. Athens, Greece: Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών, 1980–2015.**

The Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens houses oral accounts of five thousand first-generation refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace amounting to 300,000 handwritten pages. The interviews were conducted with refugees from 1,375 settlements in Greece between 1930 and 1975. These five volumes with a selection of interviews provide ample evidence to refute the violent co-existence thesis regarding the pre-exchange period and also the success story attributed to the population exchange. Other volumes include: Τόμος Β'. *Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας*; Τόμος Γ'. *Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου*; Τόμος Δ'. *Μαρτυρίες από τον Ανατολικό Παράλιο Πόντο*; Τόμος Ε'. *Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία*.

**Yalçın, Kemal, ed. *Emanet Çeyiz; Mübadele İnsanları*. Istanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2006.**

A pioneering oral history project to collect the testimonies of the first-generation Turkish refugees which present valuable information regarding the execution of the principles of the exchange convention by both Greek and Turkish government during the initial stages of the exchange. Many violations of the official procedures and principles and numerous legal abuses involved in the distribution of properties and the compensation of material losses are attested by the refugees.

## Country Studies

The most detailed coverage of the implementation of the exchange convention in Greece with a focus on the settlement of the refugees in northern Greece is in Kontogiorgi 2006. One can find in Voutira 1997 some comparative insights into the settlement and integration of Greek refugees in northern Greece drawn upon the case of the White Russians. The pioneering research of Hirschon 1989 offers an entirely revolutionary framework to approach the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the bottom-up, rich in detail in terms of documentation and analysis of the actual experiences of the Greek refugees in an urban setting. Eddy 1931 shares the author's firsthand observations on the refugee situation in Greece in the immediate aftermath of the exchange. Mavrogordatos 1983 and Mazower 1991 provide respectively the best accounts of the political and economic developments associated with the arrival of the refugees in Greece. Τούντα – Φεργιάδη 1986 highlights the impact of the refugee loans on the country's economic reconstruction. The discovery of the population exchange as a subject of research is relatively recent in Turkey and there has been an outburst of both academic and popular interest in the subject in Turkey since the 1990s. Arı 1995 is the most notable representative of the academic scholarship offering the most comprehensive coverage of the institutional and legal developments regarding the initial years of the population exchange in Turkey. Unlike Arı's state-centric perspective, Morack 2017 devises a completely people-based approach to study the process of exchange, especially its property related aspects, in an urban setting, namely, İzmir.

**Arı, Kemal. *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923–1925)*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995.**

Examines the decision-making process behind the population exchange from the Turkish viewpoint and also discusses the implementation of the convention in Turkey. There is reference to the local legal arrangements and to the activities of the Mixed Commission representing the League of Nations and the involvement of the international law in the exchange process.



**Eddy, Charles. *Greece and the Greek Refugees*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1931.**

Eddy was the chairman of the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC) set up in Greece by the League of Nations in 1923. The RSC, first of its kind, was an autonomous institution financed by the foreign loans that were secured by the Greek government. The volume presents personal experiences of the author as well as the technical details concerning the structure and operation of the RSC from 1926 to 1930.

**Hirschon, Renée. *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.**

A social anthropological study of the Asia Minor refugees in a neighbourhood in Piraeus with an emphasis on the conventional implications of the exchange and the whole resettlement process. It is the pioneering publication on the human side of the population exchange and presents plenty of evidence against its idealization as a method of international law to ethnic and religious-based conflicts.

**Kontogiorgi, Elisabeth. *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees, 1922–1930*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.**

It documents and analyzes the agricultural settlement of the refugees from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, Bulgaria, and the Caucasus in northern Greece and examines the workings of domestic and international institutions involved with the execution of the exchange convention. Part 2 offers detailed information and discussion on the role of the League of Nations, the issue of refugee loans, and the topics of agrarian reforms and land distribution.

**Mavrogordatos, George Th. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Part Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1983.**

The most acclaimed study of the interwar politics in Greece paying much needed attention to the role of the refugees. Chapter 4 dwells exclusively upon the social composition and political behaviors of the refugees of the Greek-Turkish population exchange. There is a limited discussion of the participation in the political process, of the Turkish minority of Western Thrace who were exempted from the population exchange.

**Mazower, Mark. *Greece and the Interwar Economic Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.**

The single most important study of the economic developments in Greece during the interwar period with a special emphasis on the impact of the Great Depression on the country's economy. Part 2 offers numerous insights into the economic outcome of the Greek-Turkish population exchange and the living conditions of the urban and rural refugees with due attention paid to the involvement of the League of Nations and international financial institutions.

**Morack, Ellinor. *The Dowry of the State? The Politics of Abandoned Property and the Population Exchange in Turkey, 1921–1945*. Bamberg, Germany: University of Bamberg Press, 2017.**

Trails the long history of property dispossessions in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey with a focus on the role of exchange of populations. It documents and discusses the irregularities and abuses in the implementation of the property-related clauses of the exchange convention and other legal documents in Turkey with a focus on the city of Izmir.

**Rodocanachi, Andre. *Les Finances de la Grèce et L'Établissement des Réfugiés*. Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1934.**

A detailed documentation and description of the financial aspects of the refugee problem in Greece from the Balkan Wars to the late 1920s. Offers a chronological survey of the refugee-related developments with an eye on the evolution of the public debt from 1922 to 1932. Chapters 2 and 4 are devoted to the discussion of the financial and economic consequences of the settlement of the refugees.

**Τούντα – Φεργάδη, Αρετή. *Το Προσφυγικό Δάνειο του 1924*. Thessaloniki, Greece: Παρατηρητής, 1986.**

The single most important study of the foreign loan package that accompanied the establishment of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. Discusses the impact of these loans on the economic reconstruction of Greece. Presents factual and chronological details concerning Greece's negotiations with the international financial institutions and the role of the National Bank of Greece in the whole process. Contains extensive information on the legal terms of the loans.

**Voutira, E. "Population Transfers and Resettlement Policies in Inter-War Europe: The Case of Asia Minor Refugees in Macedonia from an International and National Perspective." In *Ourselves and Others, the Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity Since 1912*. Edited by P. Mackridge and E. Yannakis, 111–131. Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997.**

Examines the resettlement of refugees in Greece in comparison to similar processes in interwar Europe. Highlights the unusual character of the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the stance of the history of international human rights law but underlines the normality of the resettlement and integration for the period concerned. Juxtaposing the Greeks of Asia Minor with the White Russians, it examines the patterns of social integration and the long-term consequences of resettlement.

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## Historical Circumstances

There is much discussion in the related literature, of the historical developments that led to the open confrontation between the Greek army and the Turkish paramilitary forces in Anatolia which is considered as the main cause of the compulsory population exchange agreement at Lausanne. The victory of the Turkish forces is termed "Turkish War of Independence" by the Turks and "the Asia Minor Disaster" by the Greeks. Petsalis-Diomidis 1978 offers the best descriptive account of the discussions at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) which opened the way for Greece's occupation of Western Anatolia. Smith 2018 explores at length all the different alternatives discussed at Paris regarding demographics and territorial arrangements to redesign the post-imperial space across southeast and central Europe. Weitz 2008 considers population exchange as one of the characteristics of the new liberal international system. Gingeras 2009 documents and analyzes the social and material conditions of confrontation between the Greeks and the Turks in Anatolia with an emphasis on the intercommunal violence. The diplomatic and international aspects of the Greek-Turkish conflict are discussed on the basis of the author's personal observations and experiences in Toynbee 1923. Mourellos 1985 provides a vivid description of the first attempt at a population exchange between Greece and the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) that involved certain communities in Western Anatolian towns and the newly ceded territories by Greece. This failed attempt together with the slightly earlier agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria (1913) and the protocol between Greece and Bulgaria (1913) laid down the legal and institutional foundations of the later agreements (e.g., Neuilly and Lausanne) for exchange of populations. Wurfain 1930 is the earliest scholarly analysis of the Greek-Bulgarian voluntary exchange of populations signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine in 1919, which is key to understanding the spirit of the text formulated at Lausanne. Dragostinova 2011 offers the most up-to-date discussion of the Greek-Bulgarian exchange with numerous insights into the Greek-Turkish case. Pallis 1925 puts all the population movements in the Balkans after the Balkan Wars on a timeline and provides detailed statistical information about each, highlighting the transformation of the ethnic composition of the region. Fabbe 2019 offers a solid discussion as to why religion was adopted as the sole criteria for the exchange of populations at Lausanne. All of these studies yield a complete picture of the historical context—including demographic conditions—in which the two countries were engaged in an open warfare and then settled their conflict with a compulsory exchange of populations.

**Dragostinova, Theodora K. *Between Two Motherlands: Nationality and Emigration among the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900–1949*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.**

A social anthropological study of the Greeks of Bulgaria during the early twentieth century with much space devoted to the convention of Neuilly. Combines the hitherto unexplored Bulgarian and Greek official sources to explore the implementation of the voluntary emigration and discuss its broad implications for the Greek minority in Bulgaria. Contains numerous details on its judicial aspects that offer comparative insights into the execution of the Lausanne Convention.

**Fabbe, Kristin. *Disciples of the State: Religion and State-Building in the Former Ottoman World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.**

Examines the relationship between state and religion in Greece, Turkey, and also Egypt. Chapter 8 explores the religious concerns that went into the making of the exchange convention at Lausanne and also into the implementation of the clauses of the convention in Greece and Turkey.

**Gingeras, Ryan. *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.**

Offers a detailed documentation and analysis of the intercommunal violence including the property-related conflict between the former and newly arriving refugees from the Balkans in northwest Anatolia from the Balkan Wars to the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Provides many details regarding the social setting of the Greek-Turkish confrontation that may help assess the circumstances that led to the formulation and adoption of the Greek-Turkish exchange convention at Lausanne.

**Mourellos, Yannis G. "The 1914 Persecutions and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities between Greece and Turkey." *Balkan Studies* 26 (1985): 389–413.**

Uses the documents from the archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to document and analyze the discussions between the Ottoman and Greek governments after the Balkan Wars for a plan to exchange minority populations on a voluntary basis. Although the plan was not materialized due to the outbreak of World War I, these negotiations provided the groundwork for the formulation and adoption of more comprehensive plans at Neuilly and then Lausanne.

**Pallis, Alexander A. "The Exchange of Population in the Balkans." *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 47 (1925): 376–383.**

A pioneering study considering the theoretical and practical aspects of the Greek-Turkish exchange of populations in its immediate aftermath and identifying the problems that emerged during its implementation. Presents firsthand observations about the political developments that led to the population exchange convention and contains valuable statistical information regarding the transformation of ethnic composition of populations in regions that were affected by the convention.

**Petsalis-Diomidis. *Greece and the Paris Peace Conference 1919*. Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978.**

Documentation and analysis of all the political, diplomatic and military developments surrounding the Paris Peace Conference, which paved the way for the Greek occupation of Western Anatolia and the military confrontation with the Turkish nationalists. The defeat of the Greek army and the following Mudanya Armistice marked the de facto displacement of Greek populations in Anatolia, to be formally integrated as a clause into the peace settlement at Lausanne.

**Smith, Leonard V. *Sovereignty at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.**

Covers the political and diplomatic developments surrounding the Paris Peace Conference with due attention paid to the peace treaties that were produced by this conference and their specific implications for the emergent notion of sovereignty. Chapter 4 and 6 offer significant insights into the role of the Treaty of Lausanne in the emerging international system.

**Toynbee, Arnold J. *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilisations*. 2d ed. London: Constable, 1923.**

A detailed survey of political and military developments in Anatolia in the aftermath of World War I. The author shares his personal observations and experiences in the region with regards to the unfolding of the conflict between the Greeks and Turks. Chapter 2 offers

significant insights into the involvement of European states in the Near Eastern affairs and chapter 3 does the same with the Greco-Turkish conflict prior to the Lausanne Conference.

**Weitz, Eric D. “From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions.” *American Historical Review* 11.5 (2008): 1313–1343.**

Highlights the role of the Paris peace settlement in shifting the focus of the international system away from dynastic legitimacy and state sovereignty associated with defined borders to populations and an ideal of state sovereignty entrenched in national homogeneity. Weitz draws attention to partition, plebiscites, minorities treaties, population exchange, and mandate as characteristics of the new liberal international system. He treats Lausanne as the precedent-setting example for the later policymakers.

**Wurfain, André. *L'échange gréco-bulgare des minorités ethniques*. Lausanne, Switzerland: Librairie Payot & Cie, 1930.**

The Greek-Bulgarian voluntary exchange of populations stipulated by the Peace Treaty of Neuilly (27 November 1919) is considered the source of inspiration for the Greek-Turkish compulsory exchange. Wurfain's thesis presented to the University of Geneva for a doctorate in political sciences is to date the most comprehensive study of this agreement. It offers a detailed documentation and analysis of the resettlement, indemnification of refugees, and the liquidation of properties on both sides.

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## Legal Instruments

The Lausanne Convention violated the principle of self-determination—championed by the newly founded League of Nations in the aftermath of World War I—and the basic human rights by ordering forceful removal of people from the homeland of their ancestors and transferring their domicile to another country. Human beings were treated not as subjects but as objects of law and exposed to all the hardships of the transfer, settlement, and integration into the national frameworks of the receiving countries. This bilateral treaty also contained specific provisions for juridical persons. The establishment of the Mixed Commission implied the direct involvement of the international law in the process. Thus the refugees on both sides were able to seek justice in the commission although often to no avail. Greece in cooperation with the League of Nations created an autonomous institution, namely, the Refugee Settlement Commission, with its own charter to provide for the implementation of housing projects and refugee-aid programs. Turkey also had the short-lived experience of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. Both states created legal instruments, procedures, and principles and their diplomats met multiple times to settle grievances which resulted in the additional legal documents that supplement the convention. By and large, the Lausanne Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations introduced not only the concept of compulsory population exchange into the international law but also a whole set of legal instruments to this effect. Many studies explore the convention and its institutional apparatus from the perspective of international law. Drew 2006 discusses how it contradicts but also affirms the principle of self-determination. Schechtman 1946 provides a survey of the population transfers directed by Germany around World War II and see Lausanne as a precedent-setting example. Vishniak 1942 criticizes the convention as a wrong and unlawful action and argues for the creation of an international status for minorities under the protection of a worldwide organization. Leontiades 1935, Özsu 2011, and Özsu 2013 contextualize the convention and explore its specificities from the perspective of international law. Meindersma 1997a and Meindersma 1997b argue that population exchanges contradict the fundamental norms of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. Skran 1995 trails the evolution of the institutionalized approach to the refugee affairs on a global scale during the interwar period. Finally, Skordos 2021 considers the role of the Lausanne Treaty and the convention as a southeastern European phenomena on the development of international law.

**Drew, Catriona Janet. “Population Transfer: The Untold Story of the International Law of Self-Determination.” PhD diss., University of London, 2006.**

Offers a critical assessment of the prevalent accounts of the 20th-century history of the right of self-determination and explores the relationship between the policies and practices of population transfer and the principle of self-determination. Considering these policies and practices as “the dark side of the self-determination picture” she draws attention to their role in reconfiguring Europe along national lines.

**Γουναράκη, Πέτρου Ν. *Περί της Συνθήκης της Λωζάννης. Ειδικώτερον της συμβάσεως περί ανταλλαγής των πληθυσμών και των συναφών προς αυτάς διατάξεων της ελληνικής νομοθεσίας: Διάλεξις γενομένη εν τω Δικηγορικώ Συλλόγω Αθηνών την 31 Μαρτίου 1927.* Athens, Greece: Τυπογραφείον Γ. Η. Καλλέργη, 1927.**

One of the first legal assessments of the Treaty of Lausanne and the exchange convention in terms of their implications for Greek domestic law.

**Leontiades, Leonidas. “Der griechisch-türkische Bevölkerungsaustausch.” *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht (ZaöRV)* 5 (1935): 546–576.**

A legal analysis of the Greek-Turkish population exchange on the basis of the Greek scholarship. Having also immensely benefitted from Ladas's text (1932), the author surveys the historical circumstances leading to the exchange and assesses the scope of the process. The unresolved legal and financial issues as well as the additional negotiations between Turkey and Greece are covered. The author also reviews the activities of the Mixed Commission in Greece.

**Meindersma, Christa. “Population Exchanges: International Law and State Practice, Part 1.” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 9.3 (1997a): 335–364.**

The first part of a comprehensive analysis of the legal instruments employed to regulate the processes of compulsory and voluntary population exchanges. The Greek-Turkish case is considered together with Cyprus and former Yugoslavia in terms of their human rights implications. The author argues that population exchanges contradict the fundamental norms of international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

**Meindersma, Christa. “Populations Exchanges: International Law and State Practice, Part 2.” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 9.4 (1997b): 613–653.**

Follow-up to Meindersma 1997a. It focuses primarily on the concept of “ethnic cleansing” and discusses its various definitions and modalities as well as its legality in the specific case of former Yugoslavia.

**Özsu, Umut. “Fabricating Fidelity: Nation-Building, International Law, and the Greek–Turkish Population Exchange.” *Leiden Journal of International Law* 24 (2011): 823–847.**

A Marxist interpretation of the Greek-Turkish population exchange agreement with an emphasis on its role in nation-building by redividing land, crafting national identities, and triggering new processes of capital accumulation. Özsu highlights the semi-peripheral character of the region as an explanation for the adoption of the population exchange instead of plebiscite, minority protection, or mandate as a solution to ethno-national conflict and as a means of nation-building.

**Özsu, Umut “‘A thoroughly bad and vicious solution’: Humanitarianism, the World Court, and the Modern Origins of Population Transfer.” *London Review of International Law* 1.1 (2013): 99–127.**

The article provides a contextual analysis of the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice on Article 2 of the Greek-Turkish population exchange convention in 1925. Özsu uses this “Exchange opinion” (21 February 1925) as a prism through which to explore international law's role in determining the boundaries of domestic jurisdiction in the specific example of Turkey's interpretation of Article 2 of the exchange convention.

**Schechtman, Joseph B. *European Population Transfers, 1939–1945.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.**

Examines all the European population transfers, especially those conducted by Germany. Schechtman views population transfer as an effective method of solving the minorities problem and as a legitimate means of international policy. Some sources dubious and claims unfounded but he offers valuable insights into the patterns common to the post–World War I and World War II population transfers. He

highlights the role of the Greek-Turkish population exchange as an instructive precedent for future cases. Reissued, New York: Russell & Russell, 1977.

**Skordos, Adamantios Theodor. *Südosteuropa und das Iodern Völkerrecht: Eine transregionale und globale Geschichte im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein Verlag, 2021.**

Highlights the role of southeastern Europe (e.g., prominent legal experts, politicians, and diplomats as well as major political conflicts) for the development of international law in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is a brief section on the opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice on Greek-Turkish exchange, followed by a full chapter entitled “The Lausanne Convention (1923) as a Blueprint for Population Transfers under International Law.”

**Skran, Claudena M. *Refugees in Inter-war Europe: The Emergence of a Regime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.**

A comprehensive survey and analysis of the refugee movements with an emphasis on the formation of an international refugee regime involving the participation of governments, the League of Nations, and private organizations. The author trails the evolution of this regime in giving the refugees a special treatment in domestic and international law. Pages 41–48 focus on the refugee movements in the Balkans.

**Vishniak, Mark. *The Transfer of Populations as a Means of Solving the Problem of Minorities*. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1942.**

The main text is in Hebrew but has a long English summary in the end. Vishniak surveys the instances of population exchanges and transfers from the end of World War I to the outbreak of World War II. The author argues that neither exchange nor transfer provides solutions to the minority problem. The solution lies in the creation of an international status for minorities under the protection of a worldwide organization.

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## Human Rights Implications

The Greek-Turkish exchange of populations was considered from the beginning as a violation of basic human rights for having proposed forceful removal of human beings from their ancestral lands. The criticism was first voiced during the negotiations at Lausanne and then expressed at various platforms, mainly by the Greek bureaucrat-scholars and legal experts cited above, and then the scholars of international law during the 1930s. The harshest critique is found in the declaration of the British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, who presided over the Military and Territorial Commission at Lausanne. He considered the proposal for the exchange as “a thoroughly bad and vicious solution for which the world will pay a heavy penalty for a hundred years to come.” Despite his initial opposition, he would go on to approve and defend it in the later stages of discussions at Lausanne. Neither the advocates nor the critiques of the population transfers voiced their opinions against the background of a corpus of law and policy on human rights. Macartney 1934 shares Lord Curzon’s precarious view of the exchange. He is against it in principle but agrees to it on the ground that it pre-empted the possibility of interstate conflict and further violence. Ténékidès 1924 offers the earliest interpretation of the implications of the Greek-Turkish exchange for the status of minorities. His morally grounded position denounces forcible displacement of human beings from their country of origin on the basis of their national or ethnic identity in pursuit of peace. Barutciski 2003 and Barutciski 2004 highlight the contradictions of the Lausanne Convention with the international law and assess the Lausanne Convention from the perspective of the contemporary norms of human rights. Alexandris 1982 and Kamouzis 2020 reflect upon the conditions of the Greek minority of Constantinople who were exempted from the exchange of populations and whose minority status was confirmed at Lausanne. Oran 1986 brings under the magnifying lens the situation of the Turkish minority of Western Thrace against the background of the principle of “reciprocity” that has characterized the treatment of minorities in Greece and Turkey since Lausanne. Another lane of critical scholarship on Lausanne highlights the harsh realities of refugeehood. Hope Simpson 1938 was one of the first accounts in English to systematically treat the refugee affairs on a global scale and publicize the trek of the refugees generated by the Lausanne Convention. Demirözü 2008 draws attention to the impact of the Ankara Convention on the refugees, especially regarding their demands for compensation.

**Alexandris, Alexis. *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918–1974*. Athens, Greece: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1982.**

The first comprehensive documentation and analysis of the Greek minority of Constantinople which was exempt from the population exchange. The Turkish state's violation of the minority rights granted to them by the Lausanne Treaty and the diminishment of the community in the face of state pressure are discussed in detail. The author accentuates the correlation between the Turkish-Greek state relations and the situation of the Greek minority.

**Barutciski, Michael. "Lausanne Revisited: Population Exchanges in International Law and Policy." In *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*. Edited by Renée Hirschon, 23–37. New York: Berghahn, 2003.**

A pioneering study of the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the perspective of international law. It juxtaposes the Greek-Turkish conflict with the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) to assert the claim that population transfers can be adopted as a solution to ethnic cleansing and to achieve peace and evade massacres. The case of Bosnia-Herzegovina testifies to the validity of this claim despite the new human rights norms that emerged in the late twentieth century.

**Barutciski, Michael. "Les transferts de populations quatre-vingts ans après la Convention de Lausanne." *Canadian Yearbook of International Law/Annuaire canadien de droit international* 41 (2004): 271–303.**

Examines the Greek-Turkish conflict and the ensuing dilemmas raised by the population exchange. Comparing the Greek-Turkish conflict with the recent conflicts characterized by ethnic cleansing, de facto population transfers, and an international legal framework drawn upon new human rights standards, the article appraises the pragmatism shown by the High Commissioner Nansen during the Greek-Turkish conflict to adopt a population exchange in order to mitigate the suffering of the civilian populations.

**Demirözü, Damla. "The Greek-Turkish Rapprochement of 1930 and the Repercussions of the Ankara Convention in Turkey." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19.3 (2008): 309–324.**

The article offers a brief survey of the discussions that took place in Turkey during the Greek-Turkish rapprochement of 1930. The two countries signed a pact (Ankara Convention) to settle, among other things, a number of pending legal issues related to the implementation of the exchange convention including the official termination of property compensation claims by the refugees.

**Hope Simpson, John. *Refugees: Preliminary Report of a Survey*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1938.**

An extensive survey of the refugee movements across the world since World War I with a discussion of various categories of refugees. Simpson highlights his own experiences with the Greek refugees and overviews refugee-related developments in the Balkans and eastern Europe. He deals with the policies of the refugee-receiving countries with special attention to the situation in Germany. A critical text behind the emergence of the international refugee regime and law.

**Kamouzis, Dimitris. *Greeks in Turkey: Elite Nationalism and Minority Politics in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Istanbul*. New York: Routledge, 2020.**

Includes a chapter (chapter 6) on the implementation of the minority clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne upon the Greeks of Constantinople within the first decade of its ratification by both states.

**Macartney, C. A. *National States and National Minorities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934.**

The most comprehensive account and legal assessment of the developments concerning the League of Nations system of minority protection that emerged with the Paris Conference. Part 3 has a special section (pp. 430–449) on the exchange of populations as one of

the possible solutions of the minority problem on the basis of the national state. The author relies heavily on Stephen Ladas's findings and argument on the Greek-Turkish case.

**Oran, Baskın. *Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde Batı Trakya Sorunu*. Ankara, Turkey: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1986.**

The most detailed documentation and analysis of the Turkish-speaking Muslim minority of Western Thrace which was exempted from the population exchange. The Greek state's violation of the minority rights granted to them by the Lausanne Treaty and the cases brought to the International Court of Justice in The Hague are discussed in detail. The author highlights the connection between the Turkish-Greek state relations and the situation of the Muslim minority.

**Ténékidès, C. G. *Le statut de minorités et l'échange obligatoire des populations Gréco-Turques*. Extrait de la *Revue Générale de Droit International Public*. Paris: A Pedone. Editeur, 1924.**

One of the earliest assessments of the Greek-Turkish population exchange from the perspective of international law with a special reference to its implications for the status of minorities. It begins with a discussion of the general situation of minorities under Ottoman rule and then reviews the recent political and legal developments regarding the protection of minorities. The author was a professor of law at the University of Athens.

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## Conflict Resolution and Security Implications

The scholarship that operates through conflict resolution and security concerns considers the population exchange as a measure to promote peace and avoid massacres. The assumption is that if it is not possible to prevent ethnic cleansing, it would be an appropriate step to displace populations with a view to evading further violence, settling peace, and maintaining security. Although this scholarship is prompted primarily by the contemporary conflicts such as the conflict in Bosnia -Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, there is allusion to the historical instances such as the Greco-Turkish conflict which eventually led to the forceful displacement and dispossession of nearly two million people from their ancestral lands. The argument, notwithstanding its anachronistic tone, holds that the minorities on both sides would be subjected to massacres and extermination, should they have been allowed to stay. With the exchange, the two national states not only eradicated irredentism as a potential source of conflict but also created conditions conducive to peace. The great majority of the writers of the listed works were prompted in their approach by the peaceful relations between Greece and Turkey in the aftermath of Lausanne. Dark 2005, Koufa and Svolopoulos 1992, Petropoulos 1976, and Psomiades 1968 represent this approach at its best. Katz 1992 highlights this point and also show how it became a source of inspiration for policymakers elsewhere. Solonari 2009 alludes to the role of the Greek-Turkish case in prompting Romanian intellectuals and politicians to advocate a population exchange. Frank 2007 surveys the intellectual currents and debates around the time of the German expulsions (in the aftermath of Potsdam) and discuss the ways in which the Greek-Turkish exchange influenced their discourse. Kaufmann 1996 and Kaufmann 1998 can be considered as best examples of conflict-resolution approach to interstate conflict where the author sees the Greek-Turkish case as a success story in terms of providing for the establishment of interstate peace and the effective incorporation of the populations subjected to the transfer.

**Dark, Michael William Anthony. "Population Exchange and Peace Making." PhD diss., Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2005.**

This unpublished dissertation completed under the supervision Michael Doyle and Jeff Herbst at Princeton University explores population exchange as a peacemaking tool. It considers the Greco-Turkish case together with several other cases of population exchange negotiations during peacemaking.

**Frank, Matthew. *Expelling the Germans: British Opinion and Post-1945 Population Transfer in Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.**

Explores the relationship between the concept of population transfer and the response to a postwar refugee crisis. It shows how British policymakers moved from considering the Greek-Turkish population exchange as an "Asiatic abomination" to seeing it "a rational and



progressive choice of ‘last resort’ in the 1930s and 1940s.

**Katz, Yossi. “Transfer of Population as a Solution to International Disputes: Population Exchanges between Greece and Turkey as a Model for Plans to Solve the Jewish-Arab Dispute in Palestine during the 1930s.” *Political Geography* 11.1 (1992): 55–72.**

A general analysis of the Greek-Turkish population exchange and how it was considered by the Peel Commission (British Royal Commission) as a useful method for conflict resolution before moving to adopt a comprehensive partition plan for Palestine.

**Kaufmann, Chaim D. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20.4 (Spring 1996): 136–175.**

A discussion of partition and population transfer as a solution to ethnic and religious conflicts. Kaufmann considers the Greek-Turkish population exchange as a successful undertaking for that purpose.

**Kaufmann, Chaim D. “When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century.” *International Security* 23.2 (1998): 120–156.**

Considers the Greek-Turkish exchange of populations together with the post–World War II compulsory transfer of ethnic Germans from eastern Europe as a successful solution to end inter-ethnic conflicts. He argues that both examples led to the establishment of interstate peace and the effective incorporation of the transferred populations.

**Koufa, Kalliopi K., and Konstantinos Svolopoulos. “The Compulsory Exchange of Populations Between Greece and Turkey: The Settlement of Minority Questions at the Conference of Lausanne, 1923, and Its Impact on Greek-Turkish Relations.” In *Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1940*. Edited by Paul Smith, Kalliopi Koufa, and Arnold Suppan, 275–307. New York: New York University Press, 1992.**

Examines the Greek-Turkish agreement in view of the general international law of the period when it was signed and the contemporary human rights standards.

**Petropoulos, John A. “The Compulsory Exchange of Populations: Greek-Turkish Peacemaking, 1922–1930.” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976): 135–160.**

The author argues how the Greek state successfully used the population exchange to consolidate the borders in northern Greece by settling the refugees therein from Asia Minor. Although the interests of the refugees were subordinated to those of the state, Greece, according to Petropoulos, benefited in the long run from the exchange in terms of its national development.

**Psomiades, Harry J. *The Eastern Question: The Last Phase—A Study in Greek-Turkish Diplomacy*. Thessaloniki, Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1968.**

Trails the evolution of the Eastern Question with a focus on its implications for Greek-Turkish relations. It considers the Lausanne Treaty as the final episode of this long and tumultuous history. Chapters 8 and 9 document and discuss the Turkish state's violations of the Treaty of Lausanne and the convention in terms of their stipulations concerning the status of the minorities excluded from the exchange and the status of the patriarchate.

**Solonari, Vladimir. *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009.**

Examines various instances where the Romanian state was involved with the forceful removal of ethnic Hungarians, Roma and other ethnic groups. It offers the most comprehensive coverage of the population exchanges involving Romania, alluding to the inspiring role of the Greek-Turkish population exchange.

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