

## Synopsis from Dr. Elizabeth H. Prodromou

This brief presentation considers the Treaty of Lausanne as a useful hermeneutic tool that reveals the fundamental continuities between Kemalism and Erdoganism as exclusivist, nationalist ideologies which have been foundational to Turkey's dismal human rights record and revisionist-rogue foreign policy. Ankara's violation of its Lausanne obligations in the inter-related spheres of domestic and foreign policy helps to illustrate the causes of the at-risk condition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox community of Turkey. Therefore, analysis of the realities of the Ecumenical Patriarchate within the context of the approaching 24 July centennial of the Treaty of Lausanne tells a larger story about Turkey's threats to a global order based on rule of law and universal human rights.

Lausanne is oftentimes called the birth certificate of modern Turkey, establishing the territorial boundaries of the state and specifying the protections for the new state's religious minority (numerical) populations, but Kemalist, and more recently, Erdoganist models of nationalism are incompatible with both the human rights and sovereignty provisions of Lausanne. Kemalist nationalism built on the Turkish Historical Thesis explicitly identified ethnic Turks as superior to the country's religious ethno-religious minorities, providing ideological justification for the targeted wealth taxes, punitive property rights regime, and violent pogrom that was visited on the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Greek Orthodox community. Erdoganist nationalism's turn towards a neo-Ottoman model of separate and unequal has deployed discriminatory property rights and appropriationist cultural heritage policies to reinforce the Phanar's position of vulnerability and inequality vis-à-vis the Turkish state. A century-long foreign policy pattern of Turkey's violations of the territorial integrity of its neighbors—in Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, and Greece—stands at odds with the Lausanne provisions on sovereignty, and Ankara's ability to act with impunity in foreign policy terms has emboldened the Turkish state's systemic human rights violations perpetrated against the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In sum, this presentation suggests that Ankara's willingness to abide by its Lausanne obligations with regard to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Greek Orthodox community of Turkey tells a far broader story about Ankara's impact on a rules-based international order that respects sovereignty and protects universal human rights.